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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1799.



LONDON:

Printed by T. Burton, No. 31, Little Queen-ſtreet,

for the Proprietors of Dodſley's Annual Regiſter,

RIDGE AND SON; R. FAULDER; J. CUTHELL; OGILVY AND SON;
. LEA; J. NUNN; J. WALKER; LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO.
E. JEFFERY; AND VERNOR AND HOOD.

1801.

PREFACE.

THE campaigns, or rather combined campaign of 1799, in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, for extent and variety of action, is diſtinguiſhed even among thoſe of the preſent war, and unprecedented in the annals of the world.

In the hiſtory of a war, carried on by ſo many armies, on ſo extended a theatre, it is impoſſible, without confuſion, and loſing ſight of thoſe combinations and deſigns, which alone can give intereſt to the ſubject, to be ſo copious and circumſtantial as in that of wars, in which, the campaign is bounded by the occupation of a few paſſes, and the reduction of one or two fortified towns. What would have been formerly the whole of a plan, for one ſeaſon, has now become only a part of a more comprehenſive ſyſtem. The Annaliſt muſt therefore write his accounts of military deſigns and operations on the ſame general ſcale on which they are conceived and executed. Marches, ſieges, battles, and retreats, which might, in former times have ſerved, each of them, for the ſubject of a ſeparate narrative, or perhaps, ſome of them of a heroic poem, muſt, in the hiſtory of the preſent, and probably of future, wars, be conſidered as only component parts of one more general action. If books were extended in proportion to the multiplication of facts and reaſonings,

ings, the republic of letters would ſink under its own weight. Claſſifications, reſults, concluſions, and maxims, long perhaps the ſubjects of diſcuſſion, become the elements of new compoſitions.

The neceſſity of compreſſion, in our European campaigns, is not leſſened by the co-incident movements of armies in Syria, Egypt, and India; nor yet by the negociations at Raſtadt and Seltz: a ſcene of political intrigue bearing ſome analogy to the wide and various field of action.

The time that was neceſſary for the arrangement of ſo many materials into a plan, not entirely diſproportionate to our uſual dimenſions, and for the correction of errors, by recent and undoubted information, will, we truſt, afford not only an apology for being ſomewhat later in the publication of this volume, than was promiſed in our laſt; but afford a new proof of our earneſt deſire, by all means, to render our work as complete and ſatisfactory as poſſible. On the whole, our engagements to the public, with regard to the time of bringing up this work, which had indeed fallen greatly behind, have been now fulfilled. It may be ſaid that we have now very nearly overtaken time. It ſhall be our care to keep an equal pace with this in future: though at a due diſtance. The Annual Regiſter is not addreſſed to the ſame curioſity that thirſts after newſpapers, but to curioſity of a higher order: that of ſeeing plans and ſyſtems unfolded by events; and theſe events, from new relations and combinations, deriving not only a degree of novelty, but greater intereſt and importance.

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THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1799.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

A general View of the Year 1799.—Hazardous Situation of Buonaparte, in conſequence of the Deſtruction of the French Fleet.—Preſent State of Egypt.—Mammalukes.—Beys.—Arabs.—Jews.—Greeks.—Cophts.—Force, Land and Marine, under the Command of Buonaparte.—Various Cares of Buonaparte.—Means of maintaining the Army.—And of recruiting and preſerving it.—Buonaparte reſpects himſelf, and gives Orders to his Officers to reſpect, the Prejudices of all the Egyptians.—His Proclamation to the People of Egypt.—At great Pains to propagate, in all Mahometan Countries, a Belief of his Veneration for Iſlanmiſm and the Prophet.—Treachery and Puniſhment of the principal Sheick, or Shereef, of Alexandria.—Endeavours of Buonaparte to blend and harmonize the French and the Egyptians.—Meaſures taken for the Accompliſhment of that Deſign.—Grand Feaſt at Cairo, on the Anniverſary of the French Republic.—Great Ceremony at the annual opening of the Grand Canal of Cairo.—Liberality of Buonaparte to the Egyptians.—Uſeful Inſtitutions.—Government of Egypt attempted to be aſſimilated to the new Government in France.—Notables.—Departments.—And a general Aſſembly, or Divan, in Egypt.—Difficulty of operating and producing any permanent Change in the Minds of Barbarians.—Jealouſies of the French.—Diſcontents.—Mur-

murs.—And Insurrections.—Particularly at Cairo.—This, with the others, subdued.—A general Amnesty.—Mourad Bey defeated, with great Loss.—And forced to retreat to the Mountains.—The French, under the Command of Dessaix, in Possession of the best Part of Upper Egypt.

THE year 1799 exhibited a strange picture of the world turned upside down: the sublime Porte at war with France, and in confederacy with Russia and Great Britain; the Turkish banners united with those of Russia and Austria; a nation of professed philosophers fraternizing, or attempting to fraternize with the votaries of Mahomet; the Roman catholic religion, with institutions therewith connected, persecuted by a power formerly one of its main supports, but, on the other hand, patronized by sovereign princes, sons of churches heretofore its zealous adversaries;* a great and illustrious nation, once so highly distinguished by a devotion to the Romish faith, as well as political power, valour, and a sense of honour, in close alliance with infidels, and the murderers of a royal family, connected with their own, by ties of blood, by political treaties and interests, and a long intercourse of mutual and courtly politeness. Nor was the situation of the Spaniards less whimsical than it was deplorable. They dreaded the power of their ally; and their only safety lay in the victories of their enemies.

The destruction of the French fleet, which cut off Buonaparte from any certain and effectual support from France, or any of her conquered and dependent states, left him in such an isolated state, as those in which great commanders in former times, when war was less complicated than now, have voluntarily precipitated themselves, by burning their own ships, in order to shew their troops that there was no retreat, and that they must perish or conquer. In this new and trying situation, his conduct became an object of more interest and curiosity, with ingenious minds, than ever it had been, in the most rapid career of his success and victory. The circumstances in which he was now placed were universally admitted to be pregnant with danger. Attention was every where awake to the measures and contrivances that would be suggested by genius and science, or to the resolution that might be prompted by despair.

But, in order that a tolerably just idea may be formed of both the advantages and disadvantages under which the invading army laboured in Egypt, the enemies they had to encounter, and the means that presented themselves for encountering them, it may be necessary to recall to the minds of some of our readers, a view of the present state of that ancient and celebrated country.

It was not with the Mammalukes and Arabs alone, that the French general had to contend, but with the climate, endemial distempers, and the usual perfidy of barbarians, united with the malignity of a proud and illiberal superstition. On the other hand, as there were certain

* The dislike of the Greek church to the Pope's and the Western church, was formerly so great, that one of their patriarchs declared publicly, to a Romish legate, that he would rather see a turban, than the pope's tiara, on the great altar of Constantinople.

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common principles and paſſions which united great numbers of the natives and others in hoſtility to Buonaparte, ſo there were circumſtances alſo which divided them againſt one another; while the common weakneſs of human nature, prevailing over ſentiments of religion and duty, ſubjected them to various arts of corruption, and thus tended naturally to draw them over to the ſide of the moſt powerful party.

Egypt is commonly reckoned to be about 500 miles in length, and 160 in breadth. The borders of the Nile, from Abyſſinia to Grand Cairo, form a narrow valley, which, with leſſer vallies or openings into the hilly country, and the deſerts on either ſide, is called the Upper, and the whole country watered by the Nile from thence downward, the Lower Egypt. The two grand branches of the Nile, which part at Grand Cairo, together with the Mediterranean, into which they fall, form a triangle, called the Delta, of which the ocean is the baſe, the two branches of the Nile the ſides, and Cairo the apex, or head. A great portion of this part of Egypt, being enriched by the overflowing of the Nile, is extremely fertile. No country in the world is more plenteouſly ſtored than Egypt with corn, rice, fleſh, fiſh, ſugar, fruits, vegetables, and oil. The Delta produces oranges, lemons, figs, dates, almonds, and plantains in the greateſt abundance. The extent of this famous country, that is, of the part of it now inhabited, does not ſeem, at firſt ſight, to correſpond with the deſcriptions which have been left by the ancients of its twenty thouſand towns and cities, ſeveral millions of inhabitants, and armies kept by its ancient kings of three hundred thouſand men, executing the pyramids, the labyrinths, the grottos of Thebes, the lake Moeris, vaſt canals, obeliſks, temples, and pompous palaces. But although the reports by travellers, of Egypt, being even at this day a moſt delicious garden be unanimouſly reprobated, by all the French who have ſpoken or written on the ſubject, ſince their late expedition thither, the moſt intelligent and obſervant admit, that the extent to which the happy influence and dominion of the Nile, by means of induſtry and art, may have been carried in times paſt, and yet carried in times to come, very much farther than at preſent, from the banks of the river over the arid deſart. As a heavy counter-balance to theſe natural advantages, except in our winter, and the latter part of the autumnal months, the heat of the climate is oppreſſive to all who are not accuſtomed to it. The winds are ſometimes of ſuch extreme heat and aridity, that their influence proves mortal. During the time theſe laſt, the ſtreets are deſerted, and the inhabitants almoſt blinded by drifts of ſand, ſo ſubtle, that they inſinuate themſelves into the cloſeſt apartments: ſo, that from this enemy there is no ſuch thing as a perfectly ſecure retreat. The vermin that infeſt this land, to ſtrangers particularly, is intolerable. And, in addition to all theſe evils, it is frequently viſited by the plague.

Since Egypt fell under the dominion of the Turks, it has been oſtenſibly governed by a pacha, or, as we pronounce the word, baſhaw, who reſided at Grand Cairo: but whoſe authority, for a long time paſt, has been more nominal than

real. The baſhaw was, in fact, little more than a ſign and memorial of the reſpect formerly paid, and ſtill profeſſed, by all Muſſelmen, to the eldeſt ſon of the prophet. Under the baſhaw there were inferior governors, under various deſignations, in the different provinces, but the power of the ſword was in the hands of the Mammalukes. A ſmall number of Janiſſaries indeed was retained at Cairo, and a few other places in the ſervice of the Porte, of which they held landed poſſeſſions, in return for their ſervice. In Upper Egypt, there were ſome Arabs who paid tribute to the grand ſignior, or made preſents to the baſhaw: and in the Lower Egypt, there were ſome villages in the poſſeſſion of ſheicks. But the real government or ſovereignty of Egypt was poſſeſſed by the Mammalukes, originally ſoldiers of fortune, but who paid very little regard to the conditions on which they held their power and property. They came originally from the mountainous countries, between the Black Sea and Caucaſus, and their armies were ſtill recruited by boys from thoſe countries, and other youth, the children of Chriſtian ſlaves brought for ſale to Grand Cairo. The laws of Mahomet enjoin great compaſſion and tenderneſs for ſlaves, and nothing is conſidered as more pleaſing and meritorious in the ſight of God than their total emancipation. The condition of the young ſlaves, who fell into the hands of the Mammalukes, was certainly among the gentleſt lots of ſlavery. It was the road to fortune. They were brought up by the Mammalukes in the ſame manner as their own children, and came, in time, to be almoſt conſidered as ſuch: nor did the circumſtance of their having ever been in a ſtate of ſlavery preclude them from any degree of preferment, even that of bey, which was the chief; who was choſen freely by a plurality of voices in a full council of officers: ſo that the beys, elevated to power, neither by the accident of birth, nor the particular favour of any ſovereign prince, but in ſome degree at leaſt, if not chiefly, by their own merit, were, for the moſt part, men of ſuperior talents and unqueſtionable courage. The Mammalukes were all of them brave, even to exceſs. In the battle of the Pyramids, the iſſue of which gave the French a footing in Egypt, and of which ſome notice has been taken in the laſt volume of this work, they had the temerity to ruſh in between the compacted and ſquare battalions of the French army; and there meet their fate. They, to a man, refuſed quarter, and fought to the laſt, ſometimes when deſperately and mortally wounded. They were accuſtomed, from their earlieſt years, to a dextrous management of the fineſt and moſt ſpirited horſes in the world. They were armed with ſwords and piſtols, muſkets, and lances. Their wealth and ſtate diſplayed in their arms, dreſs, and equipage. Their habitations and houſehold furniture were wretched. It was their manner, inceſſantly to wheel round about an enemy in his front, flank, and rear, and to retreat as he advanced, unleſs they perceived an advantage, or were under a neceſſity of coming to cloſe action, while another diviſion of them hung upon his rear, and endeavoured to ſurround and cut off detached parties, wherever they could find an opening. The gene-

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ral ſpirit of their warfare, like that of the ancient Scythians and the Arabs, was, to cut off ſupplies, and harraſs and deſtroy their enemy by repeated attacks, according to opportunities. But in different circumſtances, their courage, as might be expected, was more or leſs impetuous and daring.

The beys were not all of them, without exception, of Chriſtian origin, as has been commonly ſuppoſed. Of late years the annual number of ſlaves from Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circaſſia, has been greatly diminiſhed. In 1762, five of the beys were of Mahometan deſcent: and from the cauſe juſt mentioned, the proportion of the Mahometan to what we may call the Chriſtian beys, has probably become greater.

The number of the beys, originally four-and-twenty, by the encroachments of the more powerful over the weaker, had been reduced, it is ſaid, to eighteen or twenty: but on that point the accounts vary. They had frequent quarrels with one another, but theſe did not lead to ſuch ſerious and obſtinate conteſts as has been imagined. They did not draw the whole of their reſources, whether of actual poſſeſſion or credit, and many thouſands of unoffending people, into the vortex of protracted war, but quickly ſettled their diſputes by pitched encounters; in which they were accompanied and joined by the ſmall corps of their reſpective bodyguards. When the combat was over, the conqueror returned immediately to the capital, where moſt of the baſhaws reſided. The vanquiſhed party returned alſo thither, in a few days thereafter. If he fell in battle, another bey was choſen in his ſtead; and there was an end of the matter. So that on the whole the diſputes among the Mammalukes were not of ſuch an inveterate nature, as to prevent a ready union againſt a common enemy.

There were about 10,000 Mammalukes clothed in one uniform, and which were at the diſpoſal of government; or rather that of the Beys, who ſeem to have conſidered themſelves as forming, in ſome reſpects, a kind of republic. But, beſides theſe, each Mammaluke kept on foot, or could eaſily raiſe bodies of men among his own vaſſals.

There were in Egypt, beſides the military and predominant caſte of the Mammalukes, a great number of Arabs, Jews, Greeks, and Cophts, who were Chriſtians, and the deſcendents of the ancient Egyptians. The Bedouin Arabs were attached to the Mahometan faith, and hoſtile to ſtrangers: but neither abſolutely proof againſt the power of money, nor the uſual influence of a career of victory amongſt barbarians.

After his firſt ſucceſſes, the reduction of Alexandria, Roſetta, Damietta, and Cairo, and, above all, the battle of the Pyramids, there was ground for hope, that many of the Arabs might be drawn over to the ſide of the conqueror. The Jews, as uſual, were at the ſervice of the beſt paymaſter; not to make any account of the reſentment they muſt have felt at the treatment they received from the Turks and other Muſſelmen. The Greeks and the Cophts, though greatly humbled in their minds, as in their fortunes, and the latter debaſed almoſt to brutality, by a long ſeries of tyranny and oppreſſion, might yet be rouzed by kinder treatment, and better proſpects, to a ſenſe of natural dignity and freedom. The clouded proſpects of Buonaparte were therefore, on the

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whole, brightened up by gleams of hope, ſufficient to call the powers of his inventive and active mind into full exertion.

The land-forces on board Buonaparte's fleet, when he took poſſeſſion of Malta, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, amounted to near 40,000. Four thouſand were left to garriſon that iſland; but, in return, ſome thouſands of the Malteſe ſailors and ſoldiers joined him, as volunteers, in his expedition to Egypt. And the battle of Aboukir, which ruined the fleet, contributed to reinforce the army. To the 36,000 that remained, after leaving a garriſon in Malta, he added the volunteers of that place, under the deſignation of the Malteſe legion: and the mariners, who eſcaped from the wrecks of the fleet, to the number of 2 or 3,000, under that of the nautical legion. There were, on board the ſhips of the line, frigates, and other veſſels of war, in the port of Alexandria, about 4,000 men. The crews of the tranſports amounted to 2,000, and thoſe of a flotilla, equipped on the Nile, to 1,500. So that there ſtill remained, at the diſpoſal of the French commander, a force, land and marine, of near 50,000 men. The land force was diſpoſed along the courſe of the Nile, as far as Salachier, at the entrance of the deſert. Here a ſtrong fort was raiſed with great expedition. The old caſtle of Cairo commanding that great city, whoſe population has been calculated at 400,000, was repaired, or rather rebuilt and ſtrengthened, according to the rules of modern fortification. Redoubts were caſt up in other places; and the entrance into the harbour of Alexandria was defended by formidable batteries, raiſed, on the appearance of the Britiſh fleet, with wonderful celerity.

The firſt care of the general was to provide for the ſupport of his troops, and the preſervation of their health. The Egyptians, by nature a ſoft and timid race, were naturally ſtruck, after the arrival of the French, with terror. They ſhut themſelves up in their own houſes, and concealed whatever they had fit for being uſed as food. So that for ſeveral days the French were forced to ſubſiſt on their own naval ſtores. But when the apprehenſions of the natives were removed, by the good diſcipline of the French, the markets of Alexandria were ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, in the greateſt abundance. The Delta was fully ſufficient to ſupply all neceſſaries, which could be conveyed to the French magazines, by the Nile, or by canals. The old canal that conveyed the waters of the Nile to Alexandria, with other canals, were cleared and repaired. Wind-mills were conſtructed for the grinding of corn, the only mills known to the natives being hand-mills, and here and there mills wrought by oxen. The want of wine was found capable of being ſupplied by a ſpirit extracted from dates. And the Egyptian inſtitute, formed on the plan of that of France, had it in charge, from the commander-in-chief, to inquire whether Egypt did not furniſh a ſubſtitute for hops for the making of beer. At Alexandria, and Grand Cairo, boards were inſtituted for inquiring into the beſt means for the prevention of contagious diſtempers, and in general for preſerving the health of the ſeamen and ſoldiers: among the firſt fruits of which was the cleaning of theſe and other cities from many impuri-

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ties, and a recommendation of the bath, with directions for using it, to the French ſoldiers. At Cairó, a theatre was eſtabliſhed for the amuſement of the French; and muſic was introduced on all occaſions. But, in ſpite of every effort of this kind, the French army muſt be diminiſhed by the accidents of war in the proceſs of time, and that not very long, and by natural deaths and diſeaſe moulder away at laſt to nothing, unleſs it ſhould, from time to time, be recruited by freſh ſupplies of men. Buonaparte, therefore, in imitation of the Romans, and of Alexander the Great, whoſe examples were ſtill before him, determined to arrange, under his ſtandard, the inhabitants of the country, which, as yet he had over-run, and that only in part, rather than conquered. He allured into his ſervice, by liberal pay and the proſpect of plunder, corps of Arabs and Greeks, and even a company of Janiſſaries. The ſons of the Mammalukes, who had fallen in battle, or fled from the country, above eight but under ſixteen years of age, as well as thoſe of their ſlaves, white or black, he brought into the demi-brigades to ſupply the place of the French drummers, and players on the fife, whom he placed in the ranks, as fuſileers. The young Mammalukes, from ſixteen to twenty-four, were incorporated with the battalions.

The predominant paſſions of the inhabitants of Egypt, were religious bigotry and ſuperſtition, and a jealouſy and indignation againſt any degree of familiarity with their women. Buonaparte, therefore, deemed it neceſſary to inſtruct and caution his army on theſe two important and delicate ſubjects. In a proclamation, dated at head-quarters, on board the L'Orient, June 22, 1798, after declaring the object of the expedition, which was, to promote the general intereſts of civilization and commerce, and humble the naval power of England, and confidently promiſing, after ſeveral fatiguing marches, and ſome hoſtile encounters, complete ſucceſs, he told them, that the people, among whom they were going to live, were Mahometans; the firſt article of whoſe religious creed was, that "There is no God, but God, and Mahomet is his prophet." Do not contradict them, ſaid he. Conduct yourſelves towards them, as we have done towards the Jews and the Italians. Shew reſpect to their muftis and their imans, and the ceremonies preſcribed by the Koran; as you have ſhewn to the rabbis and the biſhops. Cheriſh the ſame ſpirit of toleration for the moſques that you have entertained for the convents and the ſynagogues, for the religion of Moſes, and of Jeſus Chriſt. The Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here uſages different from thoſe of Europe. You will reconcile yourſelves to them by cuſtom.

The people of the land into which we are about to enter differ from us in their mode of their treatment of women: but, in every country, he who offers violence to the women is a monſter. Buonaparte proceeded next to warn them againſt giving way to a ſpirit of plunder. "Pillage, which can enrich only a very few, reflects diſhonour on the whole; it dries up our reſources, and converts into enemies thoſe whom it is our intereſt to have for friends." In concluſion, he reminded them that the city they were going to attack was built by Alexander, and that grand recollections, fitted to excite the

emulation of Frenchmen, would be recalled to their minds at every ſtep. At the ſame time, orders were iſſued that every individual of the army who ſhould pillage or ſteal ſhould be ſhot; that the puniſhment of death ſhould alſo be inflicted on every individual of the army who ſhould impoſe contributions on towns, villages, or individuals, or ſhould commit extortions of any kind; and that, when any individuals of a diviſion ſhould have committed any diſorders in a country, the whole diviſion, if the offender ſhould not be diſcovered, ſhould be reſponſible, and pay the ſum neceſſary to indemnify the inhabitants for the loſs ſuſtained.

Nothing but neceſſaries for the ſoldiers, hoſpitals, tranſports, and artillery, was to be put in requiſition; and, when once the requiſitions were made, the objects required were to be put into the hands of the different adminiſtrations, who ſhould give receipts for them, and receive others from thoſe to whom they ſhould diſtribute them, and be accountable for every thing. Thus, in no caſe, could officers or ſoldiers receive directly the objects required.

While Buonaparte was anxious to reſtrain his officers and ſoldiers from giving any offence to the people of Egypt, he was farther ſolicitous to gain their forbearance and good will by the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of regard for both their religious ſentiments and civil intereſts, endeavouring to perſuade them that they and the Great Nation could have no other than the ſame objects in view, the ſame friends, and the ſame enemies. In a letter to the baſhaw of Egypt, June 30. he ſays, "The executive directory of the French republic have frequently applied to the Sublime Porte to demand the puniſhment of the beys of Egypt, who oppreſſed, with their vexations, the merchants of France; but the Sublime Porte declared that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refuſed to liſten to the principles of juſtice; and, not only, that the Porte did not authorize theſe inſults, but withdrew their protection from the perſons by whom they were committed; the French republic has reſolved to ſend a powerful army to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the ſame manner as it has been ſeveral times compelled, during the preſent century, to take theſe meaſures againſt the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the maſters of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority. You ought to regard my arrival with pleaſure; you are, doubtleſs, already appriſed that I come not to attempt any thing againſt the alcoran or the ſultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally which the ſultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curſe along with me the impious race of the beys."

On the ſame day, the general-in-chief, aſſuming the air and character of a true Muſſelman, addreſſed a proclamation to the people of Egypt. As it ſerves to diſplay the character of the Egyptians, as well as that of Buonaparte, it may be acceptable to the reader that it ſhould be inſerted here, at full length, rather than receive a tincture of any other mind, even by abridgement. It is a curious ſpecimen of that moral artillery with which Buonaparte, "becoming all things to all men," propoſed to ſpread the power of the French republic over the world. "In the

gracious:

name of God, moſt merciful and gracious: there is no god, but only one God: he has not any ſon or aſſociate in his kingdom. The moment deſtined for chaſtiſing the beys, long impatiently expected, has now come.

" For a long time, the beys who govern Egypt have inſulted the French nation, and oppreſſed their merchants with exactions.

" For a long time, this heap of ſlaves, purchaſed in the mountains of Caucaſus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the faireſt part of the world.

" But God, upon whom all depends, has directed that their empire ſhould ceaſe.

" Inhabitants of Egypt, when the beys tell you I come to deſtroy your religion, believe them not: anſwer them, that I come to reſcue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and that the French reſpect, more than the Mammalukes, God, his prophet, and the Koran.

" Tell them that all men are equal in the eyes of God. Underſtanding, ingenuity, and ſcience alone, make a difference between them; and what wiſdom, what talents, what virtues, diſtinguiſh the Mammalukes, that they ſhould have excluſively all that renders life ſweet and pleaſant?

" Is there a beautiful woman? ſhe belongs to the Mammalukes. Is there a handſome ſlave, a fine horſe, a fine houſe? they belong to the Mammalukes.

" Is Egypt their farm? let them ſhew the leaſe which God has given them. But God is juſt and merciful to all his people. All the Egyptians are entitled to the poſſeſſion of all places. The wiſeſt, moſt enlightened, and moſt virtuous, will govern, and the people will be happy. You had once great cities, large canals, much trade: who has deſtroyed them, but the avarice, injuſtice, and tyranny, of the Mammalukes?

" Cadis, cheiks, imans, tcherbadjies, tell the people that we are the friends of true Muſſelmen. Did we not deſtroy the pope, who ſaw that it was neceſſary to make war againſt the Muſſelmen? Did we not deſtroy the knights of Malta, becauſe thoſe fooliſh men thought that God wiſhed war to be carried on againſt the Muſſelmen? Have we not been, at all times, the friends of the grand ſeignior, (may God accompliſh his wiſhes!) and the foe of his foes? The Mammalukes, on the contrary, are not they ever revolting againſt the authority of the grand ſeignior, whom they ſtill refuſe to acknowledge? Thrice happy thoſe who are with us! they ſhall proſper in their fortune and rank; happy thoſe who are neuter! they will have time to learn, to know us, and will be with us. But miſerable, thrice miſerable thoſe who ſhall arm for the Mammalukes, and fight againſt us; there ſhall be no hope for them, they ſhall periſh!

Article I. All places which ſhall be three leagues diſtant from the route of the French army ſhall ſend one of their principal inhabitants to the general, to declare that they ſubmit, and will hoiſt the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

II. Every village which ſhall arm againſt the French army ſhall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which ſhall ſubmit to the French ſhall hoiſt the French flag, and that of the Sublime Porte, their ally.

IV. The

IV. The chieks, cadis, and imans, ſhall continue to exerciſe their reſpective functions: each inhabitant ſhall remain in his houſe; and prayers ſhall continue as uſual: every one ſhall return thanks to God for the deſtruction of the Mammalukes. Glory to the ſultan; glory to the French army, his friend! curſes to the Mammalukes; and happineſs to the people of Egypt!"

To the ſame effect, but with the brevity of a conqueror, Buonaparte, after he was maſter of Cairo, addreſſed the baſhaw and the people of Cairo. He confirmed, when maſter of Egypt, by means of the ſignal victory which his army had gained, his former declaration, to preſerve to the baſhaw of the grand ſeignior his revenues and appointment; and begged of him to aſſure the Porte that it would ſuffer no kind of loſs, and that he would take care that it ſhould continue to receive the tribute heretofore paid to it.

Buonaparte not only declared himſelf a diſciple and friend to Mahomet, but, by means of his emiſſaries, as well as no obſcure hints in meſſages and letters to different parties of Muſſelmen, inſinuated, that he was acquainted with their inward thoughts and deſigns, and endeavoured to propagate a perſuaſion that he had been actually and expreſſly commiſſioned, by the prophet, to reſiſt, repel, and overthrow, the tyranny of the beys, to reform certain errors and abuſes, and to promote juſtice, mercy, and piety; the great ends of the Mahometan and only religion.

He was careful to pay homage, on every occaſion, to the prophet. By his deſire, and according to his example, the French officers and ſoldiers were in the habit of aſſiſting at the great feſtivals and ceremonies in honour of the prophet. The whole army took the tone of outward reſpect for Iſmauliſm.

In a few days after the reduction of Cairo, accompanied by ſeveral of his principal officers and ſeveral members of the Egyptian inſtitute, he went to ſee the grand pyramid, called Cheops; in the interior of which he was attended by ſeveral muftis and imans. In a curious and intereſting converſation, which took place between himſelf and thoſe religious characters, on this occaſion, Buonaparte ſuſtained his part ſo well as to impreſs on their minds, at once, a reſpect for his own underſtanding and knowledge, and an idea, at leaſt for a time, that he entertained a reſpect for the faith of Muſſelmen. Having ſaluted the ſtrangers and ſat down with them, in their manner, on the ground, he ſaid, "God is great, and his works are marvellous. Here is a great work accompliſhed by the hands of man. What end had he in view who conſtructed this pyramid?" One of the prieſts anſwered, "It is the work of a great king of Egypt, called Cheops, who wiſhed that his aſhes might not be diſturbed by ſacrilegious intruſions." "Cyrus, the Great," replied Buonaparte, "gave orders, that his inanimate body ſhould be expoſed to the open air, on purpoſe that it might be the more eaſily and completely diſſolved, and be re-united to the natural elements. Dont you think that he did much better? What think you?" one of the muftis bowing his head ſaid, "Glory to God to whom all glory is due." Buonaparte added, "Honour to Allah," (who was the caliph

caliph that gave orders for the opening of this pyramid, and disturbing the ashes of the dead.* The mufti and imans made answer, "According to some, Mahomet, the commander of the faithful, who reigned, many centuries ago, at Bagdad; but, according to others, Haroun al Reschid, who fancied, that he should find treasures in it; but when those whom he had sent had entered this apartment, as the tradition is, they found nothing but mummies, with the following inscription on the wall, written in letters of gold, "The impious commit iniquity without fear, but not without remorse." Buonaparte applied a proverb, well known to the persons with whom he now conversed, "The bread that is taken by violence fills the mouth of the robber with gravel."

It was not only in Epypt that Buonaparte laboured to propagate a belief of his attachment to Musselmen and the Sublime Porte. He sent letters, to this end, to different agents of France, in different parts of the Turkish empire, and one written, in Arabic, to the shereef of Mecca, to whom he entrusted another to their friend, Tippo Sultan. This letter was received at Judda, early, first of July, 1799, and thence forwarded to the Holy City. But Buonaparte, who possessed much discernment, was at great pains to study characters, and who varied his tone according to that of the persons whom he addressed, seemed to consider the hierophant of Mecca rather as a political prince, concerned for the prosperity of his place and people, than as a devotee to the religion of Mahomet; he told him, that every thing was quiet at Cairo and Suez, and between those places, and peace established among the inhabitants; not a single Mammaluke oppressor, he said, remained in the country, and the inhabitants, without dread or fear, employed themselves in weaving, cultivating the ground, and other trades, as formerly. The duties on merchandize were now the same as they were prior to their being raised by the Mammalukes; the merchants had every assistance granted them; and the road between Suez and Cairo was open and safe. He therefore requested of the shereef to assure the merchants of his country, that they might bring their goods to Suez and sell them without dread or apprehension, and might purchase, in exchange for them, such articles as they might wish.

It is impossible to ascertain the degrees of faith that was reposed in different places, and by different persons, in the religious professions of Buonaparte. Perhaps they were wavering, and different at different times in the same persons. The presence and authority of Buonaparte, and his literary staff, if we may borrow a metaphor from arms to arts, as well as military, no doubt, detracted somewhat from the compliments which were paid to him, and them, by the mufti and imans with whom they met and conversed, as he had done before, with the priests at Rome, on sundry occasions: yet they might probably be impressed with a temporary conviction of his sincerity, until they

* The ancient Egyptians believed that the soul never wholly forsook the body, while any part of it hung, or was held together.

compared

compared his profeſſions with that ſpirit of domination, and worldly intereſt and advantage, which appeared in the tenor of his conduct. A like obſervation may be made on certain teſtimonials which were given in favour of the French general, by Muſſelmen, and others, particularly a letter from the notables of Cairo, on the arrival of Buonaparte, to the ſhereef of Mecca, giving an account of his reſpect for the law of the prophet. There was more ſincerity probably in a hymn, compoſed by the muſti of the Cophts, and chaunted in the grand moſque of Cairo, on the twenty-third of July, in celebration of the arrival of Buonaparte in that city; who, at the command and under the protection of Allah, had come at the head of the brave warriors of the weſt, to ſuccour the oppreſſed, and drive out the beys with their Mammalukes. It is conceived in the moſt beautiful ſtyle of eaſtern ſimplicity, and gives no mean idea of either the ſentiments of the muſti of the Cophts, or his taſte in compoſition.

That the expreſſions of reſpect for the French general-in-chief were not always voluntary and ſincere, were it a matter that needed any proof, would be placed, beyond doubt, by the conduct and fate of Koraim, ſhereef of Alexandria, who, after ſwearing fidelity, with the mufti and principal ſheicks of the city of Alexandria,* to the French republic, was convicted of treaſonable correſpondence with the Mammalukes, and, on the ſixth of September, condemned and executed. His head, with a label of his crime, was carried through the ſtreets. This act of ſeverity was fitted indeed to inſpire terror: but the perfidy of Koraim would eaſily be forgiven by Muſſelmen, while his death might be followed by the uſual conſequences of martyrdom.

The taſk undertaken by Buonaparte, to amalgamate the prejudices of the Mahometans with the pretentions of the French, was difficult almoſt beyond example, and even more arduous than that of Mahomet. The plan purſued by Mahomet was great, but ſimple. The ſpirit of it was terror: the inſtruments or means of executing it, great and ſimple alſo; God, war, and fate. It was a more complicated, and a nicer undertaking to mingle terror with reaſoning, the rights of man with the privileges or rather prerogatives of Muſſelmen, and the ſubmiſſion of the followers, to ſtrangers, at beſt only dubious friends to the prophet. Of the manner in which Buonaparte ſet about to accompliſh that deſign, ſome idea may be formed, from a view of a French feaſt at Cairo, on the twenty-third of September, the anniverſary of the French republic.

On the ſetting of the ſun, September twenty-ſecond, the feaſt was announced by three ſalutes of artillery. The commencement of the feaſt was proclaimed at ſun riſing

* The ſignatures of theſe to the declaration of fidelity ſhew how natural it is for all religioniſts (except, perhaps, the ancient polytheiſts) to affect heavenly-mindedneſs and an indifference to the things of this world: *the poor Suleiman*, mufti of *Maliki*; *the poor Ibrahim el Boarge*, chief of the Sect Hamfie; *the poor Mahomed el Meſſira*; *the poor Ahmed*, &c. The titles beſtowed on Chriſtian prelates did not ariſe immediately from ſentiments of religion, but from the dignity and conſequence accruing to them from ſecular poſſeſſions.

the

the next morning, by three diſcharges from the whole of the artillery; that of all the different diviſions of the army; that of the park; and that of the marine, or flotilla, on the Nile. Immediately the *generale* was beaten through the whole city, and all the troops, in the higheſt order, appeared under arms, in the place of Elbecquier. In this place a circle had been traced of two hundred fathoms diameter, of which the circumference was formed by one hundred and five columns, decorated with three-coloured flags, bearing the names of all the departments. Theſe pillars were united by a double row of garlands, emblematical of the unity and indiviſibility of all the parts of the French republic.

One of the entries into the circle was decorated by a triumphal arch, on which was pourtrayed the battle of the Pyramids: the other by a portico, above which were placed ſeveral Arabic inſcriptions. Of theſe there was one as follows: "*There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.*"

In the middle of the circle, there was raiſed an obeliſk of granite, of the height of ſeventy feet. On one of its faces was engraven, in letters of gold, *To the French republic, ann.* 7: on that oppoſite to it, *To the expulſion of the Mammalukes, ann.* 6. On the collateral ſides, theſe two inſcriptions were tranſlated into Arabic. The pedeſtal of the obeliſk was embelliſhed with *bas reliefs;* on the adjoining ground, ſeven altars in the ancient ſtyle, intermixed with candleſticks, ſupported trophies of arms, ſurmounted with three-coloured flags, and civic crowns. In the centre of each of theſe trophies, there was a liſt of thoſe brave men, of each diviſion, who fell in the act of delivering Egypt from the yoke of the Mammalukes.

As ſoon as all the troops had aſſembled, and were drawn up on the place of Elbecquier, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by his ſtaff officers, the generals of diviſions, the commiſſary-general, the commiſſaries of war, and of civil adminiſtrations, artiſts and men of ſcience, the kiaya, or Turkiſh officer, next in authority to the baſhaw, the emir Hadji, and the members of the divan, (of which we ſhall preſently give ſome account) both of Cairo and the provinces. The commander-in-chief, with his ſuite, ſeated themſelves on the platform that ran round the obeliſk. Superb carpets covered the mount on which it ſtood. The muſic of the different demigrades ſtruck up warlike marches, and patriotic airs, and ſongs of victory.

The troops, after going through their exerciſes with great readineſs and preciſion, came and arranged themſelves around the obeliſk: when a proclamation, by the commander-in-chief, for the diſcipline of the army, and the good government and well being of Egypt was read aloud, by the adjutant-general. It was liſtened to with the moſt profound ſilence, and followed by repeated cries of *vive la republique.* A hymn was performed at the orcheſtra, and the troops filed off, in perfect order, before the general-in-chief, who returned with his company to his quarters. The whole of this company, with ſeveral Turkiſh officers and Arabian chiefs, who had come up during the exhibition, were invited to dinner at the general's houſe; where a ſumptuous table was provided, of one hundred

hundred and fifty covers. The French colours were united with the Turkiſh, the cap of liberty was placed by the ſide of the creſcent, and the rights of man by the Koran. The gaiety of the French was tempered with the gravity of the Turks. The Muſſelmen were left to their own choice of meats and drinks, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction with the attentions that were ſhewn them. After dinner, ſeveral toaſts were drank. The commander-in-chief gave, for a toaſt, *To the three hundredth year of the French republic.* One of his aides-de-camp, *To the legiſlative bodies, and the executive directory.* Mongé, preſident of the Egyptian inſtitute, *To the perfection of the human underſtanding, and the advancement of knowledge.* General Berthier, *To the expulſion of the Mammalukes, and the proſperity of the people of Egypt.* Other toaſts were given, but theſe were the chief. Each toaſt was received with unanimous plaudits, and ſuitable airs of muſic. Patriotic couplets, ſung by the ſoldiery, concluded this civic feaſt.

At four o'clock, foot and horſe races began, and the prizes were adjudged to the victors, who were borne in triumph around the circus. At the cloſe of the day, the whole of the circumference of this was illuminated in the moſt brilliant manner. The pillars, the intermediate garlands, and the triumphal arches were hung with chryſtal lamps, which produced the happieſt effect. At eight o'clock, there was a beautiful diſplay of fire-works, accompanied, at different intervals, by diſcharges of muſquetry and artillery. A conſiderable number of Turkiſh ladies enjoyed the ſpectacle from the windows and tops of the houſes that ſurrounded the place of Elbecquier. The intent of this entertainment, it will readily be perceived, was, to impreſs the minds of the Egyptians with a ſenſe of the power, art, and magnificence of the French nation, and of their reſpect for Muſſelmen, and good-will towards all the Egyptians. Nor was it by profeſſions alone, that Buonaparte ſtudied to gain the attachment and confidence of the people among whom, according to his own phraſe, the French had come to dwell, but by actions. In order to pleaſe the people, and diſpel their apprehenſions of ſome unknown impending calamities; the opening of the canal of Cairo, was this year accompanied by even greater ceremony and pomp than uſual. On this occaſion the general diſtributed conſiderable ſums, in alms, among the poor, and gave an entertainment to the notables of Cairo. In like manner he gave a conſiderable ſum for defraying the expenſe of a magnificent feaſt, in honour of the birth-day of the prophet. Having, on that occaſion, declared himſelf the protector of all religions, he received, from the Muſſelmen, the name of *Ali Buonaparte.* But the overt-act, by which he moſt ſignally diſplayed regard to the grand ſeignior, the head of Muſſelmen on earth, was his permitting all the Turkiſh veſſels in Alexandria, as well as all neutral veſſels, either to remain or ſet ſail for their reſpective deſtinations, at their pleaſure, and ſetting free and ſending to Conſtantinople, on board thoſe veſſels, with a letter to the grand vizier, fraught with many profeſſions of regard and even ſubordination to the Porte, the Turkiſh ſlaves, in number of three hundred, whom he had found at Malta.

Malta. He made preſents to Turks, Greeks, and Arabs. He patronized ſtrict juſtice between man and man: he gave free paſſage and protection to the pilgrims going to and from Mecca, and encouraged all kinds of commerce. On the fifth of Auguſt, when in purſuit of Ibrahim Bey, he had the good fortune to fall in with different parties of Arabs, who had taken a great part of a caravan, on its return from Mecca. He ſent the pilgrims and merchants, under a proper eſcort, to Cairo.

He found a number of prædial ſlaves whom he encouraged, and endeavoured to raiſe, by hope, to induſtry, and the dignity of men, by giving them lands to be cultivated on their own account. He gave equal rights of inheritance to all the children of the ſame parents. He improved the condition of women, by giving them a certain portion of their huſband's goods, at their deceaſe, and the right of diſpoſing of it. He encouraged marriages between his ſoldiers and the natives, and endeavoured to reſtrain polygamy. He eſtabliſhed ſchools for the inſtruction of the young French, Cophts, and Arabs, in French, Arabic, geography, and mathematics. He was a friend to ſhews, feſtivities, games, and other diverſions; in all which he wiſhed the French and the natives to mingle together. And he ſubmitted, as a problem, to the inſtitute by what inſtruments and airs, the minds of theſe laſt, might be the moſt readily and effectually impreſſed through the power of muſic.

By his orders, iſſued about the middle of September, a general aſſembly was to be held, on or before the twelfth of October, of all the notables throughout the fourteen provinces, into which Egypt is divided. Deputations from each of theſe provinces were to form a general council, or divan, for the government of the nation at the capital, Grand Cairo. Each deputation was to conſiſt of three men of the law, three merchants, and three ſheicks, or chiefs, of Arabs. The French generals, commanding the different provinces, had it in charge to chooſe the perſons who ſhould form the aſſemblies of notables, in the particular provinces, out of thoſe perſons who had moſt influence with the people, and were the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge, their talents, and *the manner in which they had received the French:* They were charged to take ſpecial care not to name any perſons for notables, who had declared againſt the French: but to take a note of their names, and tranſmit them to the general-in-chief. A regiſter-office was eſtabliſhed for titles to eſtates, and other deeds that might be produced as evidence. The members of the divan allowed liberal ſalaries, and every meaſure was taken that might tend to reconcile the Egyptians to the government of their new maſters.

In purſuance of the orders of the general, deputies from all the provinces of Egypt, aſſembled at Cairo, on the eight of October, and held their firſt ſitting under the title of the general divan. In this aſſembly Mongé and Bartholet performed the functions of commiſſaries on the part of the French. The beauty of the Turkiſh dreſs, the gravity of the perſons who wore them, and the numerous domeſtics in their train, conſpired to ſhed on the general divan an air of majeſty. The

Arabian

Arabian chief, Abdalla Kezkaori, was choſen preſident. The only buſineſs tranſacted in the divan was the paſſing into laws, or the giving conſent to the decrees of the general.

But this ſhew of freedom could ſcarcely be expected to impoſe on the weakeſt minds. Beſides the preſence of the French commiſſioners, and the manner of the appointment of the notables, there were other circumſtances which brought the ſubjection of the Muſſelmen ſtill more forcibly to their recollection. Orders had been given, that the whole of the inhabitants of Egypt ſhould wear the three-coloured cockade; that all the Egyptian veſſels (called germes) navigating the Nile, ſhould hoiſt the three-coloured flag. And this flag was flying from the great pyramid, the pillar of Pompey, and the loftieſt minaret of the caſtle of Cairo, and the higheſt minaret of all the places of note in the fourteen provinces. To the members of the divan alone it was permitted to wear, by way of diſtinction, if they choſe it, three-coloured ſhawls on their ſhoulders. A government reſembling, as near as circumſtances would admit, the form of the French republic, was organized throughout Egypt. A land-tax was impoſed on all the villages in all the provinces. And a tax on houſes in Grand Cairo, and other cities.

Though it has been an eaſy matter to produce ſudden effects on the minds of barbarians and ſemi-barbarians, it is extremely difficult, by any powers of reaſoning or improvements, however beneficial, to produce any permanent change in their ſyſtem of thinking; which, in proportion to the paucity of their ideas, is inveterate and unchangeable. Neither the grand divan at Cairo, nor the ſubordinate councils, anſwered the ſanguine expectations of Buonaparte. Murmurs of diſcontent were ſoon intermingled with the deliberations of the national aſſembly of Muſſelmen. Every innovaſion, it was generally agreed, though not at firſt reſolutuly expreſſed, was contrary to the Koran, which had foreſeen and provided for all caſes, worthy of conſideration. Theſe murmurs did not eſcape the vigilance of the French commander, who had his ſpies in every place, and was informed of every thing that paſſed. He endeavoured to preſerve peace and good order, by meaſures of prevention. Out of the numbers of individuals who were followers, and employed in various ſervices of the government and army; and all the Europeans, of whatever nation, reſiding at Cairo, he formed, about the beginning of October, ten companies of national guards, not to be employed as regulars, but to occupy and maintain certain appointed poſts in the city, on any announced emergency.

It was not long before the inſurrection apprehended burſt forth. On the twenty-ſixth of that month, immenſe crowds, armed with ſpears and ſharp ſtones, aſſembled in and around the grand moſque, and every other moſque in Cairo. Theſe were the fortreſſes in which they were to make their ſtand, and from which to make their attacks. A ſecret correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between the Mahometan prieſts and the Mammalukes; ſome of whom were concealed in different houſes, in the garb of women. General Dupuy, at the head of a regiment of dragoons, repaired to the grand moſque,

moſque, to diſperſe the multitude that was every moment increaſing. He was furiouſly attacked, and mortally wounded. Not a few of his men were killed. The reſt carried back the general to his quarters, where he died in a few hours thereafter. The alarm being given, the whole of the French were immediately under arms. The general gave orders for a battalion to march againſt the grand moſque, where the Turks were aſſembled, to the number of eight or ten thouſand. They were ſummoned, but decidedly refuſed to ſurrender. The citadel then fired on the city, particularly the grand moſque, into which there fell ſeveral bombs, exciting terror and deſpair. Other battalions were ſent againſt the other moſques, in the avenues and approaches to which the Turks were attacked, and driven back into the moſques. The doors of theſe were forced by the French, who made a dreadful ſlaughter. But the Muſſulmen, though defeated, were not yet conquered. The place of the ſlain was ſupplied by new combatants, and the conteſt was prolonged. This was a terrible day, and ſcarcely was that which followed leſs bloody. Not a Turk who was armed with ſo much as a club, or a ſtone, eſcaped with life. The Turks, on their part, aſſaſſinated every individual, or ſmall party of French, whom they found in the ſtreets. They burſt into the houſes of the French, and plundered them; and, if any European domeſtics were found, they were put to the ſword. Some traces of the inſurrection remained till the twenty-third of October: towards the evening of which the city began to reſume the appearance of tranquillity. The loſs of the inſurgents was calculated, by the French, at five or ſix thouſand men: that of the French themſelves, in killed and wounded, was ſtated by them not to have exceed a hundred, in killed and wounded. And this loſs, it was alſo ſtated, was owing to a ſhower of heavy ſtones thrown on the French, from the tops of houſes. In this affair the Greeks, at Cairo, took a decided and active part on the ſide of the French. Some of them took up arms in their cauſe, while its iſſue was yet dubious: a greater number, after it was decided, were active in the diſcovery of fugitives. All the priſoners, whom they brought to the different military ſtations in Cairo, and who were found guilty on evidence, we may preſume not very ſcrupulous, were put to death. The diſguiſed Mammalukes, conformably to a former decree, underwent the ſame fate. Several parties of the inſurgents retaining their arms, endeavoured to eſcape death by a precipate flight; but theſe unfortunate men were aſſailed by double terrors. While they were purſued by general Danourt, at the head of a body of cavalry, they were met in front by the Arabs of the deſart, who are equally hoſtile to all ſtrangers, Turks, Europeans, and Egyptians, and ſometimes parties of their own nation; all ſtrangers not of their own tribe. They are always on horſeback, and live in the midſt of the deſart. Their ferocity is equal to the wretched life they lead, expoſed for whole days to the burning heat of the ſun, without a drop of water to drink. They are perfidious, and, maintaining a conſtant ſtruggle for the maintenance of their own exiſtence, are but little ſuſceptible of humanity and compaſſion for others.

They preſent the moſt hideous picture of barbarians that can be conceived. The unhappy fugitives from Cairo, hemmed in between ſuch enemies, and the avenging French, had no retreat. The fate of the whole was ruin, ſlavery, or death. Buonaparte, having inflicted ſevere, though in his circumſtances perhaps not unneceſſary, puniſhment, publiſhed an amneſty to all peaceable people, and held the ſame language of conciliation, and affected confidence, as uſual.

While the inſurrection was brewing at Cairo, the French arms were employed in the ſuppreſſion of plots of leſs moment, and in ſubduing open reſiſtance in other places. Scarce a day paſſed without ſome ſkirmiſhing between the French and Arabs. At Sombat, capital of a diſtrict of Gambia, the inhabitants aſſaſſinated a detachment of French, conſiſting of one half of a demi-brigade, and a part of a regiment of dragoons. On the thirteenth of September, the village, by orders of the generals Dugua and Verdier, was burned. About the ſame time there was an engagement at Mitcamar, between the Arabs and the troops under general Murat, in which the former were completely routed. On the night between the fifteenth and ſixteenth of September, the French garriſon of Damietta was attacked by a number of Arabs, joined by inſurgents from ſeveral neighbouring provinces. The generals Vial and Andreoſſi attacked them in their turn, at their head-quarters in the village of Schouarra, ſituated within cannon ſhot of Damietta. The Arabs, to the number, as ſtated by the French, of about ten thouſand, were ranged in one line, extending from the Nile to the lake Menzales. The number of the French did not exceed five hundred. Fifteen hundred of the Arabs were killed or drowned, in the inundation of the river, and in the lake. The village Schouarra was taken, and committed to the flames. Columns of light troops ſcouring the country, between Damietta and Manſoura, puniſhed the chiefs of the revolt. On the ſeventh of October the diviſion of the French, under general Deſſaix, who, having driven the Mammalukes before, had paſſed ſome weeks in the neighbourhood of the cataracts, in ſearch of the ruins of Thebes, defeated Mourad Bey, at Sediman, in Fayoum, a province of Upper Egypt. The French had been greatly haraſſed on their march by the troops of the bey, who endeavoured to ſtraiten the quarters of the French, and cut off their proviſions. At day break they found themſelves in front of the army of the bey, five or ſix thouſand ſtrong, compoſed of nearly an equal number of Mammalukes and Arabs, and a corps of infantry, which guarded the entrenchments of Sediman; where there were placed four pieces of cannon; general Deſſaix formed his infantry into a ſquare battalion, which he flanked with two ſmall diviſions of two hundred horſemen each. The Mammalukes and Arabs, after long heſitation, formed their reſolution, and charged a ſmall platoon on the right, commanded by captain Valette, with horrible cries, and the greateſt valour; and, at the ſame time, the rear of the ſquare. They were every where received by the French with the greateſt coolneſs.

coolneſs. The chaſſeurs, compoſing the platoon, preſented their bayonets, and reſerved their fire till the enemy were within ten paces. The barbarian cavalry were no leſs intripid. They advanced impetuouſly in front of the French ranks. After firing, and throwing their piſtols and muſkets at the heads of the French, they ruſhed on into cloſe action with their ſpears and ſabres. Some of them, whoſe horſes were killed under them, crept along upon their bellies, in order to be under the bayonets, and cut the legs of their enemies. But all was in vain: they were obliged to fly. The French, notwithſtanding the fire of the four pieces of cannon, which was the more to be dreaded, that their ranks were deep, advanced to Sediman; and the entrenchment, cannon, and baggage were immediately in their poſſeſſion. On the ſide of the united forces of the Mammalukes and Arabs, three beys were killed, two wounded, and four hundred of the flower of his troops killed on the ſpot. The loſs of the French was, by them ſtated, to be thirty-ſix killed, and ninety-ſix wounded.

Here, as well as at the battle of the the Pyramids, the ſoldiers made a conſiderable booty. There was not a Mammaluke on whom they did not find from three to five hundred louis. Mourad Bey retreated to the gorges of the mountains of *Tajain-raſt*, to take care of his wounded, and recruit his army. And thus Deſſaix was left in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of Upper Egypt.

CHAP. II.

The French keep their Ground in Egypt.—Yet many Cauſes remain of Alarm.—Means uſed by Buonaparte, for obviating or encountering theſe.—An Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, between the Turks and Ruſſians.—Expedition of the French into Egypt.—Objects of this avowed.—Or probable.—Preparations for the Expedition.—Diſpoſition of the Troops.—And March.—Oppoſed by Mammalukes, Arabs, Samaritans, and other Syrian Tribes.—Battle of El-Ariſch.—El-Ariſch taken by the French.—Progreſs of the French Army to Gaza.—Of which it takes Poſſeſſion without Reſiſtance.—And of Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), after a deſperate Reſiſtance.—Importance of Jaffa.—Letter from Buonaparte to Ghezzar, Baſhaw of St. John d'Acre.—Ghezzar's Anſwer.—March of the French Army along the Roots of Mount Carmel.—Towards St. John d'Acre.—Deſcription and Hiſtory of Acre.—French encamp before Acre.—And open Trenches againſt it.—Project, combined by the Britiſh and Turkiſh Governments, for a general Attack on Buonaparte, by Sea and Land.—A French Flotilla, with Battering-cannon, Ammunition, and Stores, taken by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith.—Breach effected in the Wall of Acre.—Repeated Aſſaults of the French, on Acre, repulſed.—Immenſe Multitudes aſſembled on the ſurrounding Hills, waiting for the Iſſue of the Conteſt, with a Determination to join the Victors.—Circular Letter from Sir Sidney Smith to the Princes and Chiefs of the Chriſtians of Mount Lebanon.—Their friendly Anſwer.—Sallies from the Garriſon of Acre.—Account of Ghezzar Baſhaw.—Diſcomfiture and Retreat of the French from Acre.

NOTWITHSTANDING the deſtruction of the French fleet, and that all reaſonable hopes of timely ſupport from the ſquadrons at Genoa, Toulon, and Corfu, were cut off, by the irreſiſtible power of the Engliſh in the Mediterranean, the French had now eſtabliſhed themſelves in Egypt. Their dominion might be ſapped by peſtilence and diſeaſe, or ſhaken and ſubverted by external aggreſſion; and this the rather, that they were ſo completely humbled at ſea; but, over the inhabitants of Egypt, their ſway was uncontrouled, ſave by thoſe deſultory and predatory incurſions of the Arabs, who often moleſt the beſt eſtabliſhed governments. Buonaparte had ſtrengthened his army by the wrecks of the navy, and by recruits of different nations in Egypt. All the important ſtations were occupied by the French. Taxes were impoſed and collected. Horſes and camels, as well as proviſions for the army, were ſupplied in abundance. And new fortreſſes, riſing in divers places, ſtrengthened the hands of the

the invaders, by their genuine importance, and alſo by that air of ſovereign power which they carried to the imaginations of the humbled Muſſelmen. Yet many circumſtances of alarm continued to agitate the mind of Buonaparte.—The extenſion of the French arms extended alſo the ſphere of hoſtility and reſiſtance to their power. Ghezzar Oglou, the baſhaw of St. John d'Acre, had aſſembled a great force, the deſtination of which, in the preſent circumſtances, could not be doubtful. The baſhaw of Damaſcus, too, was in motion. Multitudes of Arabs might be induced to join the enemies of the French. The appearance of a great force in Egypt, or on its confines, might awaken the courage, with the reſentment of the inhabitants, and overturn an authority not yet confirmed by the lapſe of time, the abatement of prejudices, and the change of habits. While theſe dangers were threatened in the eaſt, farther attacks were to be apprehended, and new combinations, againſt the French in Europe.

Among the ſhips which lay in the harbour of Alexandria, at the arrival of the French, was a large veſſel, belonging to the Turkiſh government, of that kind called caravals, ſent to bring home the annual tribute. It was the time when the Turkiſh ſhips of commerce uſually ſet ſail from Egypt; and the caraval received orders from government to return, with the other veſſels, to Conſtantinople. Buonaparte aſſured the captain of the veſſel of the friendſhip of the French; deſired that he would bear witneſs at home, that the Turkiſh, as well as the French flag, was flying at Alexandria; and, giving him a preſent, gave him in charge, as a paſſenger, citizen Beauchamp, with diſpatches to the Porte, containing aſſurances of the ſincere deſire of the French nation to live with the Porte on the uſual terms of friendſhip. At the ſame time he ſtated, in the letter, the grounds of complaint which he had againſt the baſhaw, Ghezzar, who had given a cordial reception to Ibrahim Bey, with about a thouſand Mammalukes, after he had been driven out of Egypt into Syria. Finally, he ſtated, that the puniſhment which he might find it neceſſary to inflict on that baſhaw, ought not to give the Porte any uneaſineſs. Buonaparte, foreſeeing every thing that would tend to give offence to the Porte, had already diſpatched an officer to Ghezzar, by ſea, with a letter, aſſuring him that the French nation was deſirous to live at peace, and preſerve friendſhip with the grand ſeignior. But he inſiſted that Ghezzar ſhould diſmiſs Ibrahim, with his Mammalukes. Ghezzar, who, in his military preparations, had acted by orders from the Porte, made no anſwer to this letter from Buonaparte, but ſent back the officer who carried it, and put the French at Acre into irons.

The ſpirit and ſubſtance of theſe diſpatches, from Buonaparte, very emphatically mark the advanced decline and degradation of the Turkiſh empire. Such inſolence and contempt, however, one would imagine, muſt have tended rather to provoke the reſentment and revenge of the Turks, under all their political weakneſs, ſtill retaining a proud and haughty ſpirit, than to conciliate even the appearance of acquieſcence and connivance. Yet

Buonaparte, no doubt, knew how to eſtimate the ſpirit of the Porte, which, under the diſadvantages of ignorance, anarchy, and the torpor of old age, would have, perhaps, come to ſome accommodation with the invaders of Egypt, rather than hazard an appeal to arms, if the divan had not been encouraged and ſpirited up, by the victory obtained over the French fleet, near Aboukir, to form an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Engliſh and Ruſſians.

Buonaparte, ſuſpecting that ſuch an alliance would be formed, and that, in this caſe, a combined operation would take place againſt Egypt (an attack on the ſide of Syria, and an attack by ſea), reſolved to march into Syria, chaſtiſe Ghezzar, and deſtroy the preparations made for an expedition againſt Egypt, rather than wait and receive the combined attack apprehended on the coaſts of that country.

This plan of military operations, our readers may probably recollect, is exactly in the ſame ſpirit with the maſterly and bold conduct of Buonaparte, during the blockade and ſiege of Mantua, in 1796, when he marched rapidly againſt an Auſtrian army, which had turned the lake of Garda, and was intended to form a junction with general Wurmſer. If the French army, which covered the ſiege, had waited their approach, and given them battle near Mantua, a ſortie from the garriſon might have, probably, decided the action in favour of the Auſtrians; therefore, Buonaparte, with his covering army, advanced to a very conſiderable diſtance, northward, beat the Auſtrian army, and returned, and carried the ſiege of Mantua.

It was the intention of Buonaparte, if the Porte ſhould ſtill remain quiet, in the midſt of all this invaſion and interference in the Turkiſh dominion and government, after he had driven Ghezzar from his government of Acre, to have complimented the grand ſeignior with the nomination of a new baſhaw: a determination, it may be obſerved, by the way, which leads to a very probable conjecture, that he entertained ſome ideas of extending the power and influence of the republic, under a ſhew of homage and reſpect for the ſublime Porte, in the ſame manner that the Engliſh Eaſt-India company ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of different territories, in the name of the mogul. In Aſia, a few victories often lead to extenſive dominion and empire. If ſucceſs ſhould attend his arms in Syria, the glory of his name, by attracting, as uſual, numerous warlike, but barbarous tribes, to a victorious ſtandard, might prepare the way for his march to Conſtantinople, and even Vienna. In the deſign, declared by Buonaparte, of anticipating a ſtorm ready to fall on Egypt, there is nothing improbable; and it appears to be pretty certain, that the end in view was not limited, as was ſuppoſed by ſir Sidney Smith,* to the treaſures amaſſed by Ghezzar Baſhaw.

Buonaparte having, by a proper diſpoſition of his troops, and other

* In his letter to rear-admiral Blanket, commanding the Britiſh ſquadron in the Red Sea; and to John Wilſon, eſq. appointed, by the governor and council of Bombay, agent to the Eaſt-India company.

precautions

precautions of a political nature, provided for the internal quiet of Egypt, as well as ſecurity againſt incurſions by the Arabs of the deſart, towards the end of January, 1798, gave orders to general Almeyrus to embark proviſions and ſtores, for the army of Syria, to be conveyed, by the lake of Menzales, to the port of Tinch, and from thence to be carried, by land, to the village of Cathich. The artillery, that had been employed in the ſiege of Alexandria, was put on board three frigates, which were to cruize off Jaffa, and to maintain a communication with the army. Camels and mules were provided with extraordinary expedition, at Cairo, for carrying the light artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, of which, the moſt bulky, as well as the moſt neceſſary article, was water. The army was parted into four diviſions: one under general Kleber, one under general Regnier, one under general Bon, and one under general Lannes. The cavalry was commanded by general Mourat, the artillery by general Dommartin, and the engineers by general Caffarelli.* A junction was formed, on the fourth of February, 1799, between the diviſions of Kleber, and the advanced guard of Regnier, under the command of general Grange, at Cathich; from whence they proceeded to Lariſſa, otherwiſe called El-Ariſch, a village pleaſantly ſituated on the river Peneus, and the ſeat of a Greek archbiſhop, as well as of moſques for the votaries of the Mahomedan religion. El-Ariſch was carried, by general le Grand, with the bayonet. The barbarous Arnautes and Maugrabins, who defended it, took refuge in the fortreſs, but with ſuch precipitation, that, in barricading the gates, they ſhut out two hundred men, who were put to the ſword, or made priſoners.

Scarcely was the blockade of El-Ariſch begun, by Regnier's diviſion, when a reinforcement of infantry and cavalry, eſcorting a convoy of proviſions for the defenders of El-Ariſch, appeared in ſight of that village, and encamped on a riſing ground, covered by a very deep ravine. At that moment, general Kleber came up with the advanced guard of his diviſion. General Regnier communicated to him the deſign he had formed, of turning the ravine, and ſurpriſing the camp of the Mammalukes in the night. Kleber entirely approved this project. The attack was made, and ſucceeded. The camp was carried, and the

* The effective force of the army, deſtined for the Syrian expedition, is thus ſtated by general Berthier:

The diviſion of Kleber	2,349 men
Ditto of Bon	2,449
Ditto of Lannes	2,924
Ditto of Regnier	2,160
Cavalry attached to the different diviſions	800
Engineers	340
Artillery	1,385
Guides, on foot and on horſeback	400
Dromedaries	88
	12,945

corps of Mammaluke cavalry cut in pieces, or taken. A number of horſes, camels, ſtores, and proviſions, and the whole of the convoy, fell into the hands of the French. Two boys were killed on the field of battle. The two other diviſions of the army, with the artillery, formed their junction a few days thereafter. Buonaparte, himſelf, with his *etat-major*, and a ſtrong guard, who had ſet out from Cairo on the tenth, arrived at El-Ariſch on the ſeventeenth of February. In his march acroſs the deſart, he loſt ſeveral men and a number of horſes, through bad proviſions, and the want of water, as well as by the attacks of the Arabs, who never ceaſed to haraſs him.

The main army, thus aſſembled, took a poſition before El-Ariſch, on the eighteenth of February. Buonaparte ordered one of the towers of the caſtle to be cannonaded, and, a breach being ſoon made, he ſummoned the place to ſurrender. The garriſon was compoſed of Arnautes and Maugrabins, all rude barbarians, without leaders, uninformed in any of the principles of war acknowledged by civilized nations. Their anſwer was, that they were willing to come out of the fort, with their arms and baggage, as it was their wiſh to go to Acre. Buonaparte, anxious to ſpare the effuſion of his ſoldiers' blood, delayed the aſſault. But at length, on the twentieth of February, the garriſon ſurrendered, on condition of being permitted to retire to Baydat, by the deſart. A number of the Maugrabins entered into the French ſervice.

On the twenty-fourth of February, the head-quarters of the army marched to Kan-jouneſs, the firſt village of Paleſtine, as they got out of the deſart, and from whence they diſcovered the cultivated plains of Gaza.

The French army had now ſucceeded in traverſing eighty leagues of the moſt dry and barren part of the deſart: for, the inhabitants of El-Ariſch, as well as thoſe of Cathich, enjoy only a few ſpots of cultured ground, and a few palm-trees near their wells: all around is a dry and burning ſand. The aſpect of the plains of Gaza was the more pleaſing and recreating to the ſight, that they appeared bordered by mountains, which rendered the proſpect ſimilar to that of European countries, without having the tireſome monotony of Egyptian plains, and of thoſe parching ſands which uniformly fill the air with an annoying, inſufferable duſt.

Abdallah Baſhaw, with a thouſand cavalry, and fifty thouſand Naplouſians, lay encamped in the heights of Korſum. After haraſſing the French army, attempting to take it in flank, and to entangle it in the mountains, he was beat back, forced to raiſe his camp, during the night of the twenty-fourth, and fell back upon Gaza; againſt which place the French proceeded to march on the twenty-fifth of February. The fortreſs of Gaza being evacuated by the enemy, was taken poſſeſſion of by the French, without reſiſtance. In Gaza, they found a very ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores. The inhabitants having gone out, to meet Buonaparte, the city was treated in a friendly manner.

On the twenty-ninth of February, the main army began to move towards Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), a ſea-port on the coaſt of Paleſtine, between

between which and Damietta, along the ſea-coaſt, the whole is deſart and wild. Here, pilgrims pay for permiſſion to viſit the Holy Land.

This city is ſurrounded by a wall, without a ditch, and defended by ſtrong towers, provided with cannon. Trenches were opened, batteries were erected, and a practical breach was made in the wall. Notwithſtanding two deſperate ſorties, and every exertion on the part of the garriſon, about four thouſand ſtrong, the principal tower was taken, and the greater part of the brave garriſon was put to the ſword: with a view, no doubt, of ſtriking terror into other parts of Paleſtine, and wherever Buonaparte might direct his march.—About three hundred Egyptians, who eſcaped from the aſſault, were ſent back into Egypt, and reſorted to their families. The French found, in the towers of Joppa, ten pieces of cannon, and about twenty indifferent ſiege-pieces, either iron or braſs.

Buonaparte, having made himſelf maſter of the towers of Joppa, ordered the inhabitants to be ſpared. About fifteen ſmall trading veſſels were found in the harbour. The conqueſt of Jaffa, according to the report of ſir Sidney Smith, coſt the French above one thouſand men. Buonaparte then formed a divan, compoſed of the principal Turks of the town. He alſo gave orders for taking every neceſſary meaſure for the defence of the place. Jaffa proved a ſituation of the higheſt importance to the army: it became the port, and the *entrepôt*, of every thing that was to come from Damietta and Alexandria. From Jaffa, Buonaparte wrote the following letter to Ghezzar Baſhaw, dated the ninth of March:

"Since my arrival in Egypt, I ſeveral times informed you, that I had no deſign to make war againſt you; and that my only object was to expel the Mammalukes. You returned no anſwer to the overture which I made you. I announced, that I deſired that you would drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; but, inſtead of that, you ſent troops to Gaza: you formed there large magazines, and gave out, that you intended to march againſt Egypt. You, indeed, began to put this plan in execution; and you threw two thouſand of your troops into the fortreſs Ariſch, which is only ſix miles from the frontiers of Egypt. I was obliged, then, to depart from Cairo, to direct, in perſon, the war which you ſeemed to invite. The diſtricts of Gaza, Ramley, and Jaffa, are already in my power. I have treated with generoſity ſuch of your troops as ſurrendered at diſcretion, but I have been ſevere towards thoſe who violated the rights of war. In a few days, I ſhall march againſt Acre. But why ſhould I go, to deprive an old man, with whom I am not acquainted, of the few remaining years of his life! What are a few miles more of territory, in compariſon of thoſe which I have already conquered! And, as God grants me victory, I will, like him, be clement and merciful, not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no ſolid reaſon for being my enemy, ſince you were that of the Mammalukes. Your government is ſeparated from that of Egypt by the diſtricts of Gaza, Ramley, and impaſſable marches.

marches. Become my friend, be the enemy of the Mammalukes and the Engliſh, and I will do you as much good as I have done you hurt; and I can ſtill do you more. Send me a ſhort anſwer, by ſome perſon inveſted with full powers, that I may know your views. He needs only to preſent himſelf to my advanced guard, with a white flag; and I have given orders, to my ſtaff, to ſend you a paſs of ſafety, which you will find here annexed. On the twenty-firſt of March, I ſhall march againſt Acre; I muſt, therefore, have an anſwer before that day."

The verbal anſwer of Ghezzar was, "I have not written to you, becauſe I am reſolved to hold no communication with you. You may march againſt Acre when you pleaſe. I ſhall be prepared for you, and will bury myſelf in the ruins of the place, rather than let it fall into your hands."

The army marched to Zetta, under the tower of which it paſſed the night. On the ſixteenth, they encamped at Sabarieu, after extricating themſelves from the narrow paſſes of mount Carmel, on the plains of Acre. A diviſion of the army, under general Kleber, marched againſt Caiffa, which the enemy abandoned at their approach. On the ſeventeenth, late in the evening, they arrived at the mouth of the little river of Acre, which is at the diſtance of about fifteen hundred fathoms from the fortreſs. The night was employed in conſtructing a bridge, over which the whole army paſſed, at break of day, on the eighteenth.

The city of Acre (anciently called Accho by the Hebrews and Phœnicians, and afterwards Ptolemais by the Greeks) was, by the French, called St. Jean d'Acre, on account of its being the reſidence of the knights of Jeruſalem, which they defended againſt the Saracens. It is the laſt and moſt ſouthern city on the Phœnician coaſt. It was a conſiderable place, ſo early as the Iſraelitiſh judges, ſince we find that the tribe of Aſher could not drive out its inhabitants. After being in the poſſeſſion of the emperor Claudius, it fell into the hands of the Turks and Arabs, who kept it till the holy war, when it was retaken by the Chriſtians, in the year 1104. The Turks took it a ſecond time, under Saladin. It was wreſted from them a ſecond time, in 1191, by Guy, king of Jeruſalem, Richard I. king of England, and Philip, king of France. It was then given to the knights of St. John, who held it, about one hundred years, with great bravery. But a diſpute, concerning the poſſeſſion of it, among the Chriſtians themſelves, gave an opportunity to ſultan Melech Seraf, with an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, to reduce it again under the Ottoman yoke, in the year 1291. The greater part of the inhabitants fled, for refuge, to the iſland of Cyprus. Acre was immediately entered and plundered by the Turks, who made a horrible ſlaughter of thoſe who remained in the city, raſed its fortifications to the ground, and deſtroyed all its noble edifices, as if they could never take ſufficient revenge upon it, for all the blood it had coſt them, or ſufficiently prevent ſuch ſlaughters for the future. It was in this city that our Edward I. then a prince, received

eceived a wound with a poiſoned rrow.

Acre, by its excellent ſituation, eems to enjoy all the advantages o be derived from ſea and land, eing encompaſſed, on the north nd eaſt ſide, by a ſpacious and ertile plain, on the weſt by the Mediterranean, and on the ſouth y a large bay, extending itſelf rom that city to mount Carmel. Theſe advantages pointed it out as fit *entrepôt* for commerce, to Facardino (not improperly called the great), chief of the Druſes, who, owards the end of the fifteenth century, threw off the Turkiſh yoke, ortified Acre with additional towers, and, alſo, that it might be naccefſible to the Turkiſh gallies, depoſited large maſſes of ſtones in the deepeſt parts of the entrance into the harbour. Without the harbour, in the bay, there were roads where veſſels lay at anchor, and to and from which the commerce with Acre was carried, in lighters, or boats. The Druſes,* like the Arabs, maintain an independence, almoſt total, on the Ottomans. Their ſubmiſſion to the Porte is rather nominal than real. Tribute, very irregularly paid, is the only proof or ſymbol of ſubjection. The Marconites, a ſect of Chriſtians anciently diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Neſtorians (a term well known in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory), live among, and, indeed, form a part of the Druſes. The Marconite Chriſtians have, in the preſent day, a college, even in the Vatican, in Rome, where there is a ſociety for propagating and cheriſhing all ſects of Chriſtians acknowledging the Roman-catholic religion. The Marconites, in external matters and ceremonies, are the ſame with the ancient Syrian church; in articles of belief, or ſpeculation, the ſame with the Romiſh. In the times of Faccardino (who carried on a correſpondence and commerce with India, as well as the Grecian iſlands and Italy), the moſt opulent and commercial, and, indeed, the moſt accompliſhed, noble-minded, and princely family in Europe, was the Medici, who gradually aroſe, through the uſual gradations in democracy, to the ſovereignty of Florence, and the dependent diſtricts, under the names of the great dukes of Tuſcany. Faccardino paid a viſit to Coſmo de Medici, at Florence: he was received, at the court of Coſmo, with the moſt elegant hoſpitality, and returned to Syria, and St. John d'Acre, accompanied by all manner of artiſts from Italy.—Bridges, high-ways, palaces begun (though, unfortunately, not finiſhed), improvements in navigation and fortification, and agriculture and commerce, as well as ſome approaches towards literature and ſcience, in Syria, were the effects of the viſit, paid by Faccardino the great, to Coſmo de Medici.—Soon after the death of Faccardino, Acre fell again under the dominion of the Turks.

On the eighteenth of March, the French army, having croſſed the

* The Druſes inhabiting the woody, as well as mountainous parts of Syria, Libanus (or Lebanon), and Antilibanus, &c. claim their deſcent from the cruſaders that went to conquer the Saracens, and take Jeruſalem. They profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, are enemies of the Turks, and have their particular princes, called emirs. Faccardino was the chief of the Druſes, or emir.

little

little river of Acre, encamped upon an inſulated eminence, that was near to, and parallel with the ſea. On the twentieth, the trenches were opened, at about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the fortreſs.

A project for a general attack on Buonaparte, by ſea and land, had been concerted between the Britiſh and Turkiſh governments. A deſcent was to be made, by the baſhaw Ghezzar, on the frontiers of Egypt, on the ſide of the deſart of Syria. Ghezzar was to be ſupported by an army, which was to march acroſs Aſia *minor*, from Damaſcus; and the combined operation of theſe armies, from Syria, was to be favoured by a diverſion, towards the mouth of the Nile, by Mourad Bey, who, though forced to retreat before the advances of the French, was yet in conſiderable ſtrength, and would be joined by bodies of Arabs. It was to direct the execution of this plan, and to contribute towards its execution, by maritime co-operation, that ſir Sidney Smith had left Portſmouth in the preceding autumn, on board the Tigre, of eighty-four guns, and ſailed for the Levant, where he endeavoured to haſten the preparations for this campaign in Egypt. Commodore Hood continued to block up the port of Alexandria, and the mouths of the Nile. He had experienced the impracticability of burning and deſtroying the fleet of tranſports, and French frigates, without a debarkation of troops conſiderable enough to attack Alexandria. Sir Sidney, informed of the firſt movements of Buonaparte, endeavoured to detain him, by making attempts on Alexandria, which he bombarded, without farther injury to the French than ſinking two tranſports.

In the mean time, Ghezzar ſent timely notice, of the approach of Buonaparte, to ſir Sidney Smith, on whom the command of the Britiſh naval force, in the Archipelago, had devolved, after the departure of commodore Trowbridge.

Sir Sidney, on the 7th of March, 1799, proceeded towards the coaſt of Syria, and, on the eleventh, arrived before Caiffa. On the fifteenth, he ſteered for St. John d'Acre, to concert meaſures with Ghezzar, having got the ſtart of the enemy by two days, which he employed in making preparations for the defence of the place.

On the ſixteenth, about eight in the evening, after a chace of three hours, the commodore, ſir Sidney, took, off the cape of Carmel, the whole French flotilla, under the command of Eydoun, chief of diviſion, laden with heavy cannon, ammunition, platforms, and other articles, neceſſary for Buonaparte's army to undertake the ſiege. This artillery, conſiſting of forty-four pieces, was immediately mounted on the ramparts of Acre, againſt the lines and batteries of the enemy, as well as on gun-veſſels. The latter were employed with the greateſt ſucceſs, againſt the enemy's fire. The nature of the ground, however, permitted the French to carry their trenches within half a muſket-ſhot of the ditch of the place.

The French, on the thirtieth of March, having effected a breach in the wall, on the north-eaſt part of the town, endeavoured to take it by aſſault, but were vigorouſly repulſed by the garriſon, with conſiderable

derable loſs. The ditch was filled with dead bodies. The troops of Ghezzar afterwards made three ſucceſsful ſorties. The object of the laſt was to deſtroy a mine, which the enemy had conſtructed under the covered way, to the northward, in order to fill up the ditch, near the breach. The Engliſh took charge of this enterprize; and, while two thouſand Turks took charge of the ſortie, they jumped into the mine, and, finding that the works were not quite finiſhed, tore down the ſupports, and deſtroyed the whole conſtruction. After this, an uninterrupted fire was kept up, from the fortreſs of Acre; the artillery being ſerved by Engliſh and Turkiſh artillerymen, who had ſet out for Acre, from Conſtantinople, on the fifth of March. Theſe men were placed under the immediate command of colonel Phelippeaux, the chief engineer in the place, to whoſe councils, plans, and unwearied exertions, the ſafety of Acre, and the important conſequences that followed, were, by the moſt intelligent part of the Anglo-Turkiſh garriſon, principally attributed. As the town of Acre ſtands on a rectangular point of land, in the form of a ſquare, of which two ſides are waſhed by the ſea, the Britiſh ſhips, in the bay of Acre, were enabled to contribute the protection of their guns, to the garriſon, and to the working parties, detached from thoſe ſhips, who were employed in throwing up two ravelines, or half-moons. Theſe, taking the enemy's neareſt approaches (advanced within ſtone's caſt, in flank), conſiderably impeded his operations. The enemy having nearly made a lodgement on the crown of the glacis, and mined the tower forming the inward angle of the town-wall, which is compoſed of curtains and ſquare towers, after the manner of the twelfth century, Buonaparte, who had tranſported the cannon he found at Jaffa, and effected a breach on the fourteenth day of the ſiege, attempted to ſtorm, but was repulſed. Repeated aſſaults were equally unſucceſsful.

It was judged to be the beſt mode of defence, by the garriſon, to make frequent ſorties, in order to keep the enemy on the defenſive, and to impede the progreſs of their covering-works.

Agreeably to the plan of operation already mentioned, and in the execution of which Ghezzar was very active,* a number of Mammalukes, who had followed Ibrahim into Syria, the janiſſaries of Damaſcus, troops from Aleppo, Maugrabins, and others, advanced with an intention of joining the Arabs and Naplouſians (inhabiting the ancient Samaria), and attacking the French army at Acre, on one ſide, while the troops of Ghezzar, ſupported by the fire of the Britiſh ſhips, ſhould attack them on the other. Neither a detachment of Kleber's diviſion, under general Junot, which had taken poſt at Na-

* Ghezzar had ſent emiſſaries to Aleppo, Damaſcus, Sayd in Egypt, and the Naplouſians, not without ſupplies of money, for the purpoſe of exciting all Muſſelmen (as he ſaid in his manifeſtoes) to take up arms againſt the infidels. He gave out, that the French were only a handful of men, and without artillery; that he was ſupported by a formidable force from England; and that, in order to exterminate the Polytheiſts, they had only to make their appearance.

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zareth and Saffat, in order to watch and oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy, and cover the ſiege of Acre, nor the remainder of that diviſion, under Kleber himſelf, ſent for his ſupport, were found adequate to that object. General Junot, ſurrounded and attacked by nearly three thouſand cavalry, was forced to fall back upon Caff-cana. Kleber had, on the eleventh of April, reached Sed-jarra, within four miles of Cana, when four thouſand Turkiſh and Arabian cavalry, ſupported by four or five hundred foot, coming down from the hills, ſurrounded the French, and were preparing to charge them. Kleber attacked the village of Sed-jarra, and routed the Turkiſh cavalry, which fled acroſs the Jordan. But by this time, or within a day or two thereafter, the whole Syrian army, having paſſed the Jordan, in different diviſions, at the bridge of Jacob, and at that of El-mecana, encamped on the plains of Fouli (the ancient Eſdrelon), where they formed a junction with the Samaritans, or Naplouſians. The united army amounted from fifteen thouſand to eighteen thouſand men, and (as was computed by the French generals), together with the armed inhabitants of the country, by whom, as is uſual in Aſia, they had been joined in their march, and after their arrival in the plains of Fouli, to above forty thouſand. At the ſame time, Simon, the commandant of the party of French at Saffat, had been obliged to retire within the fort, where he was attacked by the enemy, who attempted to carry the place, by ſcaling it. They were repulſed, with great loſs, but the French ſtill held it in a ſtate of blockade, with very little of either ammunition or proviſions. Buonaparte, informed of theſe circumſtances, by general Kleber, who, at the ſame time, intimated his intention of making an attempt to get behind, and ſurprize the enemy), immediately determined to attack at all points, and come to a deciſive engagement with a multitude, by whom he might be attacked and haraſſed, at their pleaſure. He gave orders to Murat, general of brigade, to leave the encampment before Acre, with a thouſand infantry and a regiment of cavalry, by forced marches, to ſeize poſſeſſion of Jacob's bridge, to fall on the beſiegers of Saffat, in rear, and, having raiſed the ſiege of that place, to join general Kleber. This general, retarded by the difficulty of the roads, and the defiles through which he had to paſs, could not reach the Syrian camp till about two hours after ſunriſing. The enemy, warned of his approach, by their advanced parties, from the heights of mount Hermon, was quickly on horſeback, and marched forward, as far as the village of Fouli, which they occupied with the Naplouſian infantry, and two ſmall pieces of cannon, carried on the backs of camels. Buonaparte, leaving only two diviſions to keep the trenches, and carry on the ſiege of Acre, with what remained of his cavalry, after detaching general Murat to Jacob's bridge, the diviſion of Bon, and eight pieces of artillery, haſtened to the relief of Kleber. Having marched from Acre on the fifteenth of April, he reached and took poſt on the heights of Saffuria, in the evening of that day, and, on the next morning, at day-break, marched towards Fouli, along the Gorges of

of the Samaritan mountains. From the laſt eminence that he had to paſs, he ſaw Eſdrelon, or Fouli, and mount Tabor: and, at the foot of this mountain, general Kleber in cloſe action with the enemy. The general had drawn up his men, in number two thouſand, upon ſome ruins, where he had depoſited his baggage, and where he maintained a reſiſtance to twenty thouſand cavalry, by whom he was nearly ſurrounded. Buonaparte formed his troops into three ſquare bodies, of which one was cavalry, and made proper diſpoſitions for turning the enemy, at a great diſtance, and cutting off their communication with their camp, as well as their retreat; and, with the aſſiſtance of general Murat, deſtroying or overthrowing them in the Jordan. The cavalry, with two field-pieces, were ſent to take the enemy's camp; the infantry proceeded to turn their army. When it had advanced within the diſtance of half a league of Kleber, Buonaparte diſpatched, for his ſupport, the general Rampon, with a demi-brigade, and general Vial, with another, to cut off their retreat towards the mountains of Naplouſia; while he himſelf ordered his foot-guides to lead him to the proper places, for intercepting their retreat to their magazines at Jenina. The enemy, then, for the firſt time, began to perceive, that the approaching forces were Frenchmen. Their great maſs of cavalry was thrown into diſorder. The diſcharge of an eight-pounder announced the arrival of the French to Kleber, who, thus aſſiſted, charged the Turkiſh cavalry with the bayonet, and attacked and carried the village of Fouli. The enemy, perceiving that they were cut off, both from their magazines and camp, were ſtruck with conſternation. They threw themſelves behind mount Tabor, and, having gained, during the night, the bridge of Gizel-mecana, retreated towards Damaſcus, in great diſorder, and with great loſs.

In the mean time, general Murat had ſurprized the ſon of the general of Damaſcus, at Jacob's bridge, had taken his camp, putting all, who had not fled, to the ſword, raiſed the ſiege of Saffat, and purſued and haraſſed the enemy's retreat for ſeveral leagues. Murat, having left a party to guard the poſt of Jacob's bridge, and thrown proviſions into the caſtle of Saffat, on the ſeventeenth of April, took poſſeſſion of the fort, ſituated on the lake of Tiberias, where he found a year's ammunition and proviſions.

The column of cavalry, ſent to attack the Syrian camp, under the command of the adjutant-general, le Turcq, had completely ſurprized it, taken five hundred camels, with tents, ſtores, and proviſions, killed a great number of men, and made two hundred and fifty priſoners. Buonaparte gave orders, that all that was found in the villages of Noures, Jenina, and Fouli, ſhould be deſtroyed by fire and ſword. After reproaching his Naplouſian priſoners, for having taken up arms againſt him, without provocation, he reſtrained his vengeance, and promiſed them his protection, on the condition, of their remaining quietly, in future, in their mountains. The loſs of the enemy, according to their reports, on their return to Damaſcus, exceeded five thouſand men. They could ſcarcely conceive, that, at the ſame juncture

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of time, they had been beaten on a line of nine leagues. With military combinations, on plans of any extent, thoſe barbarians are unacquainted: they are to be conſidered, indeed, not as warriors but as hordes of robbers.

General Kleber, with his diviſion, poſted in different ſtations, was left to guard the Jordan; Buonaparte, with the diviſion under general Bon, and the cavalry under general Murat, returned to the camp at Acre.

New works were puſhed with great vigour, on both ſides. Freſh aſſaults were made by the beſiegers and ſorties by the beſieged. The French, on the twenty-eight of April, were encouraged by the arrival of three pieces of battering-artillery, 24-pounders, brought to Jaffa by the frigates under the vice admiral Pernée, and ſix pieces of eighteen, ſent from Damietta; and, on the ſeventh of May, the Engliſh, by the appearance, in the bay of Acre, of a fleet of corvettes and tranſports, under the command of Haſſan Bey.

The approach of this additional ſtrength was the ſignal to Buonaparte for a moſt vigorous and perſevering aſſault, in hope to get poſſeſſion of the town, before the reenforcement to the garriſon could diſembark. The gun-boats, being within grape diſtance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkiſh muſketry, did great execution: ſtill, however, the enemy gained ground, made a lodgement on the ſecond ſtory of the north-eaſt tower, the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins of the ditch forming the aſcent by which they mounted. Day-light, on the morning of the eight of May, diſcovered the French ſtandard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the beſieged was much ſlackened, in compariſon with that of the beſiegers, and the flanking fire of the former, from the ravelines, was become of leſs effect, that the enemy had covered themſelves in the lodgements beforementioned; and the approach to it, by two traverſes, were now ſeen, compoſed of ſand-bags and the bodies of the dead built in with them, their bayonets only being viſible above them. Haſſan Bay's troops were in the boats, but as yet only half way on the ſhore. This was a moſt critical point of the conteſt; and an effort was neceſſary to preſerve the place, for a ſhort time, till their arrival. Sir Sidney, therefore, landed the boats at the Mole, and took the crews, armed with pikes, up to the breach. The enthuſiaſtic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the ſight of ſuch a reinforcement, at ſuch a time, was not to be deſcribed. Many troops returned, with the very opportune reinforcement, to the breach, which was defended by a few brave Turks, whoſe moſt deſtructive miſſile weapons were heavy ſtones: theſe, ſtriking the aſſailants on the head, overthrew the foremoſt down the ſlope and impeded the progreſs of the reſt. A ſucceſſion, however, aſcended to the aſſault, the heap of ruins between the two parties ſerving as a breaſt-work for both. The muzzles of their muſkets touched one another and the ſpear-head of the ſtandards were locked together. Ghezzar, hearing that the Engliſh were on the breach, quitted his ſtation, where, according to the ancient Turkiſh cuſtom, he was ſitting to reward ſuch as ſhould bring him the heads

heads of the enemy, and diſtributing muſket-cartridges with his own hand. The energetic old man, coming behind, forcibly pulled them down, ſaying, if any harm happened to his Engliſh friends all was loſt. This amicable conteſt, as to who ſhould defend the breach, occaſioned a ruſh of Turks to the ſpot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the firſt body of Haſſan's troops. It became neceſſary to combat the baſhaw's repugnance to the admiſſion of any troops, but his Albanians, into the garden of his ſeraglio, become a very important poſt, as occupying the terre-plein of the rampart. There were not above two hundred of the original thouſand Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate: his objections were over-ruled. A regiment, called the Chifflick, was introduced, conſiſting of 100 men, armed with bayonets, and diſciplined after the European method, under ſultan Selim's own eye, and placed, by his orders, under ſir Sidney's immediate command. The garriſon, animated by the appearance of ſuch a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being, conſequently, enough to defend the breach, ſir Sidney propoſed to the baſhaw to get rid of the objects of his jealouſy, by opening his gates to let them make a ſally, and then to take the aſſailants in flank; a requeſt with which he readily complied. Orders were given to the colonel to get poſſeſſion of the enemy's third parallel, or neareſt trench. The gates were opened; the Turks ruſhed out, but were driven back to the town with loſs. The ſortie, however, had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expoſe themſelves above their parapets; ſo that the flanking fire of the beſieged brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach: the ſmall number, therefore, remaining in the lodgement, were killed or diſperſed.

The groupe of generals and aids-de-camp, which ſhells, from ſixty-eight pounders, had frequently diſperſed, was now aſſembled on a mount, called Richard Cœur de Lion. Buonaparte was diſtinguiſhed in the centre of a ſemi-circle: his geſticulations indicated an intention to renew the attack, and his diſpatching an aid-de-camp to the camp ſhewed, that he waited only for a reinforcement. A little before ſunſet, a maſſive column appeared advancing to the breach, with a ſolemn ſtep. The baſhaw's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then cloſe with them, according to the Turkiſh mode of warfare. The French column thus mounted the breach unmoleſted, and deſcended from the rampart into the baſhaw's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the braveſt and moſt advanced among them lay headleſs corpſes; the ſabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet. The reſt retreated precipitately; and the officer commanding the column, who, as afterwards appeared, was general Lanne, while he was manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was ſeverely wounded. General Rambaud was killed.

During this conteſt, immenſe multitudes of ſpectators, on the ſurrounding hills, waited only, according to the manner of Aſia, to ſee how it would end, to join the victors.

Sir Sidney Smith, conceiving the ideas of the Syrians, as to the ſuppoſed irreſtability of the French, muſt be changed, ſince they had witneſſed the checks which the beſieging army daily met with, in their operations before the town of Acre, wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Chriſtians of mount Lebanon, recalling them to a ſenſe of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the ſupplies from the French camp. He ſent them, at the ſame time, a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boaſts of having overthrown all Chriſtian eſtabliſhments, accompanied with a ſuitable exhortation, calling upon them to chooſe between the friendſhip of a Chriſtian knight, and that of an unprincipled renagado. This letter had all the effect that he could deſire. They immediately ſent him two ambaſſadors, profeſſing not only friendſhip but obedience; aſſuring him that, in proof of the latter, they had ſent out parties to arreſt ſuch of the mountaineers as ſhould be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp; and putting eighty priſoners of this deſcription into his hands, and to be at his diſpoſal. Buonaparte's career farther northward was thus effectually ſtopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country.

The Turkiſh Chifflick regiment made a freſh ſally, the next night, the ninth of May, the lieutenant-colonel, Soliman Aga, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders he had received, to make himſelf maſter of the enemy's third parallel, which he did moſt effectually: but the impetuoſity of a few carried them on to the ſecond trench, where they loſt ſome of their ſtandards; though they ſpiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's diviſion, inſtead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to waſte its time and ſtrength in recovering their trenches; in which, after a conflict of ſome hours, it ſucceeded.

A flag of truce was now ſent into the town, by the hand of an Arabian derviſe, with a letter to the baſhaw, propoſing a ceſſation of arms, for the purpoſe of burying the dead bodies, the ſtench from which had become intolerable, and threatened the exiſtence of every one of the armies on both ſides; many having died delirious within a few hours after being ſeized with the firſt ſymptoms of infection. While the anſwer was under conſideration, a volley of ſhot and ſhells on a ſudden announced an aſſault, which, however, the garriſon was ready to receive, and the aſſailants only contributed to increaſe the number of the dead bodies in queſtion; "to the eternal diſgrace of the general" ſays ſir Sydney Smith, "who thus diſloyally ſacrificed them." Sir Sydney ſaved the life of the Arabian derviſe, who had come with the flag of truce, from the effects of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off with himſelf to the Tigre, from whence he ſent him back to the general with a meſſage, which made the army aſhamed of having been expoſed to ſuch merited reproof. It muſt have been extremely painful to ſir Sydney, whoſe humanity was equal to his extraordinary intrepity and bravery, and who had exerted himſelf, with

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs to ſoften the fate of the French priſoners at Conſtantinople, to behold the multiplied horrors which were committed under his inſpection, and theſe under the united flags of the Sublime Porte and of Great Britain. The French wounded and priſoners were maſſacred by the Turks, in cold blood. As they have a ſavage ſatisfaction themſelves in ſlaughtering their enemies, and even their women and children, they place no faith in capitulations, and think the only way to be ſecure againſt any future attacks from their priſoners of war is to put them to death. They bound two and two of them together, having firſt cut off their heads, in one ſack, and threw them into the ſea. It is uncertain, whether this invention was borrowed by the Turks from the French, in their war in La Vendée, or by the French from the Turks.

All hopes of ſucceſs having vaniſhed, the enemy had no alternative left but a retreat, which was put in execution on the night between the twentieth and twenty-firſt of May, after a ſiege of ſixty days. It has been already ſaid, that the enemy's battering train of artillery, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the Engliſh cruizers. Their howitzers, and the medium twelve-pounders, originally conveyed by land with great difficulty, and ſucceſsfully employed to make the firſt breach at Acre, were embarked in the country-veſſels, at Jaffa, to be conveyed coaſt-wiſe, together with the worſt among the wounded, which embarraſſed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected: ſir Sidney Smith (the Britiſh commodore), therefore, took care to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get as far as the former place. The veſſels being hurried to ſea, without ſeamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every neceſſary, even water and proviſions, they ſteered ſtraight to his majeſty's ſhips, in full confidence of receiving the ſuccours of humanity: in which they were not diſappointed. He ſent them on, to Damietta, where they would receive ſuch farther aid as their ſituation required, but which it was out of his power to give to ſo many. Their expreſſions of gratitude (ſir Sidney relates), to the Engliſh ſailors, were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they ſaid, expoſed them to peril, rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourſe with the Engliſh, which he had broken off by a falſe and malicious aſſertion, that the Engliſh commander, ſir Sidney, had intentionally expoſed the priſoners, he had formerly taken, to the infection of the plague.*

The French army had not long begun to retreat, when it was haraſſed in rear by the Arabs (a party of whom came down to the beats, and treated the Engliſh flag with every token of union and reſpect),

* We cannot, notwithſtanding all that has been advanced by one of the parties, but ſuſpend our final judgement, reſpecting the real cauſe, or, perhaps, accidental circumſtances, or miſtake, that may have led to the renewal of hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, while the meſſenger for a truce was yet in their hands, and before an anſwer was given. The narrative of Berthier, and a letter of Buonaparte's, aſcribes the blame to the garriſon.

while the van column, in its march along the beach, was severely annoyed by rowing gunboats.

Ishmael Bashaw, governor of Jerusalem, entered the town of Jaffa by land, at the same time that the English squadron brought their guns to bear upon it by sea.* The plunder and massacre of the helpless inhabitants, begun by the Naplousians, was stopped by the united efforts of Ishmael Bashaw and the English commodore. The English flag, re-hoisted on the consul's house, and under which the bashaw of Jerusalem met sir Sidney, served as an asylum for all religions, and for every description of the surviving inhabitants. Two thousand cavalry were dispatched, to harass the French rear. But this, after all the losses it had suffered, and disadvantages under which it laboured, returned, on its steps, from an unfortunate and disastrous expedition, to Grand Cairo, where the genius and good fortune of Buonaparte found early occasions of retrieving the disasters he suffered from Ghezzar Bashaw,† at St. John d'Acre, by new triumphs over internal commotion and foreign agrression. In the course of his retreat to Cairo, Buonaparte took signal vengeance on all the villages and towns in which assassinations had been committed on his troops, or where his convoys had been interrupted.—Many of them he ordered to be reduced to ashes, carrying away all their camels, cattle, or whatever provisions they possessed, for the use of his army. He visited all the forts on the Egyptian side of the desart (having previously demolished those on the side of Syria), directed new works to be constructed, and garrisoned the most important with troops.

* These are the words of sir Sidney Smith. But we presume, that he meant to say only, that the ships were brought to a station from which the guns might be made to bear on it by sea. There was no resistance made by the inhabitants of Jaffa: and, as for the French, they had taken to flight, after having laid the town under a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, blowing up the fortifications, and throwing the artillery into the sea, and also punishing the villages which had harassed their convoy, during the siege of Acre.

† The following account of this bashaw is given under the authority of general Berthier's Journal: and farther, we say, not for the credit to which it is entitled. Our readers will, perhaps, discern in it a characteristic trait of the French nations; a desire of degrading a powerful opponent, to facilitate conquest, and to elevate their own character in the same ratio in which the other sinks. "Achmet, surnamed Ghezzar (which signifies *butcher*), is a disgrace to human nature, and is regarded as a monster of ferocity, even among the most barbarous people of the east. This chieftain has filled his territories with monuments of cruelty, unheard of till his time. He has caused several of his wives to be flayed, on the most frivolous pretexts. He causes the men, he wishes to chastise, to be loaded with irons. He cuts off, with his own hands, the heads of his confidents. He cuts off nose, ears, hands, and feet, from the most trivial suspicions. He makes those, who displease him, rot alive, to the very head. He encourages the robbery and peculation of his officers, in order to seize and strangle them, for the wealth they have amassed. He had been appointed, by the grand seignior, bashaw of Egypt and Damascus, as well as of Acre."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Account of the Siége of Acre, by the Engliſh.—And by the French Commanders.—Demolition of Forts.—Contributions.—The French Army re-enters the Deſart.—Camps of the Arabs burned.—Arrival of the French Army at Cairo.—Loſs of the French Army in the Syrian Expedition.—Internal Diſſatisfaction and Commotion in Egypt.—And new Attacks threatened on the Coaſt and Frontier.—Obſervations on the different Reports of Sir Sidney Smith and General Berthier.—Proceedings of Buonaparte, after his Return to Egypt.—The Mammalukes, ſurprized in their Camp, betake themſelves to Flight.—A Turkiſh Army, ſupported by a Fleet, advances againſt Aboukir.—Poſition of the Turks at Aboukir.—And of the Squadron.—Diſpoſition of the French Army, for an Attack on the Turks.—Battle of Aboukir.—Gained by the French.—Declarations by Buonaparte.—Buonaparte, amidſt all his Proceedings, military and political, pays conſtant Attention to the Intereſts of Commerce, Arts, and Sciences.—A Detachment of the French Army occupies Suez.—Journey to Suez, by Buonaparte.

OF the immediate circumſtances or cauſes that induced Buonaparte, on the twenty-firſt of May, to abandon the ſiege of Acre, as well as the means and mode in which he effected his retreat, the account given has been no other than very general, though theſe points, particularly the laſt, excite a lively curioſity in all who are, in the leaſt, acquainted with the nature of military operations. The reports of the Engliſh commandant at Acre, and the French general, on theſe ſubjects, are widely different. Sir Sidney Smith, in his diſpatches to the Britiſh government, ſtates, that all ſubordination among the French troops was at an end, and that the grenadiers refuſed any more to mount the breach, in the walls of Acre, over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, as well as thoſe of their enemies. The utmoſt diſorder, he ſays, was manifeſted in their retreat; and the whole track, between Acre and Gaza, ſtrewed with the dead bodies of thoſe who had ſunk under fatigue, or the effect of wounds.—Buonaparte gave out to his army, and to the world, that he was unwilling to waſte even a few days longer, in the ſiege of Acre, though, in that ſhort ſpace, the baſhaw might have been taken in the midſt of his palace. The brave men that he muſt have loſt, were neceſſary for more important operations. He had accompliſhed his original deſign, of giving an effectual check to Ghezzar, and preventing an inva-

ſion of Egypt on the ſide of Syria. It had always been his intention,

tention, he ſaid, at the proper ſeaſon, to return to Egypt, in order to oppoſe and defeat any operation that might be combined at ſea, and which might probably take place early in July. With regard to the retreat, general Berthier, in his narrative, affirms, that the French army retreated, from Acre, in perfect order, after deſtroying an aqueduct of ſeveral leagues, which ſupplied Acre with freſh water, as well as burning all the magazines and harveſts in it: of all the ſick and wounded, the narrative ſtates, not a Frenchman was left behind. A fire in Acre was kept up to the laſt. The troops moved off in perfect ſilence, with their baggage, in the beſt order. After the whole had paſſed, the bridges over the river of Acre were cut down. A body of troops, left to protect the workmen employed in that ſervice, had orders not to leave the river, until two hours after the whole of the troops had paſſed over. The Turks and Engliſh continued to fire on the French lines, during the whole night of the twentieth and twenty-firſt of May. On this laſt day, the army arrived at Cantoura, where an immenſe quantity of artillery was thrown into the ſea. Twenty pieces, with the ſick and wounded, were ſent by ſea to Jaffa. On the twenty-ſecond, it reſted all night on the ruins of Ceſarea, and, on the fifth, arrived off Jaffa, where it remained for three days following, and took vengeance on the neighbouring villages, that had ſhewn themſelves hoſtile, carrying away all their grain and cattle. The fortifications of Jaffa were demoliſhed, and all the artillery of the place, which was iron, thrown into the ſea. The ſick and wounded were ſent on to Egypt, part by ſea, and part under proper convoys by land. A contribution was levied, from the merchants, of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres. On the thirtieth it reached, and on the thirty-firſt departed from Gaza. The fort of this place was blown up. Three of the principal and richeſt inhabitants, with whoſe conduct the French were diſſatisfied, were fined in a hundred thouſand livres. On the firſt of June, it came to Kan-Iouaneſſe, and, on the thirteenth, entered into the deſart, followed by a conſiderable quantity of cattle taken from the enemy, and deſigned for the proviſion of El-Ariſch. The deſart, between this place and Kan-Iouaneſſe, a ſpace of eleven leagues, was inhabited by Arabs, who had made frequent attacks on the French convoys. Several of their camps, by order of Buonaparte, were burned. The French carried off a conſiderable number of their cattle and camels, and ſet fire to what little harveſt was here and there found in this barren deſart. On the third of June, they halted at El-Ariſch, where Buonaparte left a garriſon. He raiſed new works, for the defence of the fort, which he furniſhed with ammunition and proviſions. The army, in croſſing the deſart between El-Ariſch and Cathich, a journey of twenty-two leagues, though in different and ſucceſſive diviſions, ſuffered greatly from thirſt. From Cathich, where the army reſted on the fourth of June, Buonaparte went to reconnoitre the port of Tinch, and the mouths of the Annularraga. On the ſixth, the diviſion of Kleber marched to Tinch, there to embark for Damietta. The reſt of the army pro-

proceeded from Cathich, by Salihich, to Cairo, where it arrived on the fourteenth of June.

The French army, in the expidition to Syria, loſt about ſeven hundred men, who died of diſeaſe; five hundred killed; and about one thouſand eight hundred wounded; of whom ninety-eight were obliged to undergo amputation: nearly the whole of the other wounded were healed and rejoined their reſpective companies. This is an abſtract of Berthier's narrative.

If the French general waſted a greater part of his troops in the ſiege of Acre, and in croſſing and re-croſſing the deſart, than has been publiſhed to the world by general Berthier, ſtill the projected invaſion of Egypt, on the ſide of Syria, was fruſtrated by the ſevere check in which the French army had kept Ghezzar Baſhaw, and by the repulſe of the army of Damaſcus.

But, while the enemy was held at bay within the walls of a town, or defeated in the field, in one quarter, they had collected different bodies, and indicated a diſpoſition to make freſh attacks in others. A Britiſh ſquadron cruized in the gulph of Suez: an Anglo-Ruſſian ſquadron, of about a hundred ſail, with a large body of troops, he was informed, was on its way for the coaſt of Egypt. He was appriſed, at the ſame time, by general Deſſaix, that the Mammalukes, in Upper Egypt, had divided their forces: the one party intending to join Ibrahim Bey, who had fallen back to Gaza; the other, under Murad Bey, to deſcend by the Fayoum, and gain the paſſes of the lakes of Natron. It was, probably, the intention of the latter to form a junction with a body of Arabs already aſſembled in that quarter, with the deſign of protecting a deſcent either at the tower of the Anates or at Aboukir. Symptoms of revolt, which had for ſome time appeared in the Lower Egypt, had lately been heightened by a report of the death of Buonaparte, and the total defeat of his army; which alienated the minds of the chiefs, in whom the general had been induced to repoſe confidence. In a word, while internal diſſatisfactions and commotions took place in Egypt, every thing on the frontiers and in the neighbouring countries indicated a great plan of attack on every part of it; while Ghezzar Baſhaw occupied the army in Syria. The proper ſeaſon, too, for re-croſſing the deſart, and re-embarking from Syria, was nearly expired; and, on the whole, the ſeaſon of the year and the actual circumſtances of affairs rendered it prudent, on the part of Buonaparte, to raiſe the ſiege of Acre, and return, on his ſteps for the protection of his infant colony, menaced equally by internal diſcord and foreign aggreſſion.

The army engaged in the Syrian expedition amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine thouſand four hundred and thirty-five men; of which, in four months, ſeven hundred died by diſeaſe, (the plague raging, at that time, in Syria); five hundred killed in battle; and about one thouſand wounded, ninety of whom underwent amputation. The loſs of the Turks and Engliſh he rates at ſeven thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners; beſides forty pieces of cannon and fifty ſtand of colours, taken in the courſe of the expedition into Syria.

Neither the loſſes of the French, during the ſiege of Acre, or on

their retreat and return to Egypt, according to this report of Berthier, given in the face of the army, can well be ſuppoſed to be extremely inaccurate and wide of truth. On the other hand, it may be obſerved, that the account which is given of the main deſign of the expedition, by general Berthier, was drawn up after his return to Egypt, and may not, improbably, have been warped, in ſome meaſure, and bent, in order to correſpond with the courſe of events. But, even on this ſuppoſition, we muſt acknowledge the good generalſhip and addreſs of Buonaparte. It was of great conſequence, eſpecially in a country where almoſt every thing depends upon the opinion that is entertained of the perſonal powers, fortune, and deſtiny, of the commander, that a report ſhould go forth, and prevail, that nothing had happened but what Buonaparte had foreſeen, and for which he had provided.

In weighing oppoſite teſtimonies, every reaſonable and candid judge conſiders the means or opportunities poſſeſſed by the reporters, and alſo the motives they might probably have had, either to declare the truth, or to conceal or diſguiſe it. The views of Buonaparte, both in forming and raſing the ſiege of Acre, were, undoubtedly, better known to himſelf than to ſir Sydney Smith: and, however he may have feigned or concealed his views in undertaking the ſiege, the real cauſe or circumſtance that induced a neceſſity of raſing it could not poſſibly have been concealed or gloſſed over, and far leſs wholly omitted; if that had been the real cauſe which is aſſigned by ſir Sydney. It muſt have been notorious and palpable, not only to every officer, commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned, but to every private in the whole French army. It is farther to be remarked, on this queſtion, that ſir Sydney had not, at that time, formed, by any means, a juſt eſtimate of the mind of Buonaparte; and, conſequently, that he was apt to miſtake his views, and the motives by which he was actuated. Inſtead of giving his illuſtrious antagoniſt credit for ſound judgement and uncommon abilities, in a letter to admiral Nelſon, he ſpeaks of "Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which," he ſays, "led him to commit ſuch palpable errors as even the common ſeamen could diſcern: he ſeemed to have no principle of action but that of preſſing forward:" and he adds, "Two attempts to aſſaſſinate me, in the town, having failed, recourſe was had to a moſt flagrant breach of honour and of war:" which, as already mentioned, was poſitively denied by the general-in-chief and the other French officers. There is ſomething in the manner, in which our *Chriſtian Knight* (a name in which ſir Sydney juſtly glories) ſpeaks of Buonaparte, contrary to the uſual courteſy with which knights and gentlemen of the army are wont to treat one another: while he pretty plainly inſinuates, in favour of himſelf, that the enemy had little hopes of ſucceſs, as long as he was perſonally ſafe. It would, indeed, be invidious to mingle little foibles with the praiſe juſtly due to the amiable as well as heroic qualities and actions of ſir Sydney Smith: if otherwiſe not neceſſary in balancing his ideas and reports with thoſe of Buonaparte and general Berthier.

It

It will not escape observation, that the courage and persevering resolution of the besieged are greatly inhanced by the supposition, that the French grenadiers, after such a brilliant career of uninterrupted conquest, though animated by the presence of Buonaparte, were yet so much intimidated by the efforts of the garrison as to disobey the positive orders of their commander. Farther still, neither the conduct of the French soldiers, before nor after the siege of Acre, gives the least countenance to the allegations of sir Sydney Smith. The proceeding of Buonaparte, after his return from Syria, in Egypt, are, indeed, a complete refutation of the reports made by sir Sydney, of the most terrible losses and disasters suffered by the French army. Time, the grand critic and judge of historic evidence, will, no doubt, bring all these points, concerning which, some doubts may be entertained, for the present, to the clearest light. But, as it is painful, and indeed scarcely possible, for the human mind to persevere long in the equilibrium of perfect suspense, but must lean to one side on every subject, we have anticipated the dicision of time by a few palpable observations and undeniable rules of criticism.

The various seeds of discontent, jealousy, and resentment, that prevailed among different tribes and classes of men in Egypt, during the absence of the commander-in-chief and flower of the French army, in Syria, threatened an eruption into open insurrection and revolt.* Soon, however, after his return, all things were reduced to their former state of tranquillity.

But, ideas of reconquering Egypt, as Buonaparte had foreseen, were inspired into the councils of the divan, by the victory of lord Nelson, and the consequences naturally resulting from that event; and also, what Buonaparte probably did not foresee, the brave and successful defence of St. John d'Acre.

Immediately upon his return to Cairo, from the Syrian expedition, Buonaparte directed his attention to the formation of different corps. He soon put the army in a state to march to new combats. He had destroyed one part of the general plan of attack, combined between the Porte and England, and he every moment expected that he would have to attack the other parts.

He was informed by general Dessaix, as already mentioned, that the Mammalukes, in Upper Egypt, had divided their forces; that a part had proceeded to the passes of Sababier, with the intention of joining Ibrahim Bey, who had gone back to Gaza; and that Murad Bey descended, by the Fayoum, to gain the passes on the lakes of Natron. He was of opinion that it was the intention of the latter to form a junction with a body of Arabs already assembled in that quarter; but that general Destaing would disperse them with the moveable column under his command.

General Le Grange, with a moveable column, left Cairo, on the tenth of July, and arrived at Sababier, where he surprized the

* An emissary from Africa, calling himself the angel, El Madhi, announced in the Alkoran, was one of the principal agents of sedition. He declared, that the muskets, bayonets, sabres, and cannons, of the French could have no effect on his followers.

Mammalukes

Mammalukes in their camp. They had ſcarcely time to eſcape, and abandoned all their baggage, and ſeven hundred camels. Fifty of their horſes were taken. The Mammalukes fled into the deſart.

General Murat, with another moveable column, received orders to proceed to the lakes of Natron, diſperſe the Arabs collected there, ſecond the operations of general Deſtaing, and cut off the retreat of Murad Bey. General Murat arrived at the lakes of Natron, took a Kiaſchef and thirty Mammalukes, who were purſued, along with ſome Arabs, by general Deſtaing. Murad Bey, when near the lakes of Natron, learned that the French were there, and made a retrograde movement. On the thirteenth of July he reſted near the pyramids of Gizeh, on the ſide of the deſert. In the beginning of July, a Turkiſh army, under Muſtapha Baſhaw, ſupported by the Anglo-Ruſſian and Turkiſh fleets, advanced againſt Aboukir, the bulwark of Alexandria and Egypt. The Turkiſh troops, under Muſtapha, and thoſe on board the united fleets, were computed from thirty to forty thouſand men. On the eleventh of July, Seid Muſtapha Baſhaw anchored, with all his forces, in the road of Aboukir. On the ſixteenth, they effected a landing, without oppoſition; and an attack was immediately made on the caſtle and redoubt. After a heavy cannonade, which was continued from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, the redoubt ceaſed to fire, and offered to capitulate: but the Turks, heated by the battle, would liſten to no propoſals: they ſcaled the redoubt and cut in pieces the whole garriſon, amounting to ſeven hundred men. The French in the caſtle, four hundred in number, fearing a ſimilar fate, ſurrendered priſoners of war.

Buonaparte, informed by a letter from Alexandria, that this Turkiſh fleet, of a hundred ſail, had anchored at Aboukir and indicated hoſtile intentions againſt Alexandria, having made the proper diſpoſitions for the defence and peace of Upper Egypt and Cairo, and alſo for keeping up the communication between Cairo and Alexandria, moved with the main army from Rhamanie, and, on the twenty-third of July took a poſition at Birket. The head-quarters were fixed at Alexandria. The miners were ſent to Leda to dig wells: ſprings were diſcovered, and the wells formed and guarded. Three battalions of the garriſon of Alexandria, under the command of general Deſtaing, were ordered to reconnoitre the enemy, take a poſition, and ſee wells cleared at midway between Alexandria and Aboukir.* Buonaparte employed the morning of the twenty-fourth in viewing the fortifications of Alexandria, and in preparing every thing for attacking the enemy at Aboukir; where, according to the report of ſpies and reconnoitering parties, Muſtapha Baſhaw, commanding the Turkiſh army, landed with about fifteen thouſand men, a great quantity of artillery, and a number of horſes, and was engaged in erecting forti-

* We have noticed, in this ſketch, thoſe attentions to wells; becauſe this is as great a point in warfare, in hot countries, as the eſtabliſhment of ſtores and magazines in other countries.

fications.

fications. In the afternoon, Buonaparte left Alexandria with the main army, advanced parties being ſent to various poſts, in different directions, and took a poſition between the wells of Alexandria and Aboukir. The army began to move forward toward Aboukir, at daybreak, on the twenty-fifth of July. A brigadier-general, with two ſquadrons of infantry and a hundred dromedaries, was ordered to take a poſition between Alexandria and the army, in order to oppoſe the Arabs and Murad Bay, who were every moment expected to arrive, with the deſign of joining the Turkiſh army, and in order to preſerve the communication with Alexandria. A diviſion of the army, which had proceeded to Roſetta, was directed to take poſt, by daybreak, at the extremity of the bar of Roſetta, at Aboukir, and near the entrance of the lake of Madie, in order to cannonade ſuch of the veſſels of the combined fleet as might be found on the lake, and to haraſs the enemy's left.

The firſt line of the Turks was poſted about half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir. About a hundred men occupied a mount of ſand, defended on its right, towards the ſea, by entrenchments, and ſupported by a village at the diſtance of about three hundred toiſes,* which was occupied by one thouſand two hundred men and four pieces of cannon. The left was upon a detached ſand-hill, to the left of the peninſula, and about ſix hundred toiſes in front of the firſt line. This poſition was very badly fortified; but the Turkiſh army occupied it in order to cover the moſt plentiful wells of Aboukir. Some gun-boats were ſtationed ſo as to protect the ſpace between this poſition and the ſecond line; which was alſo occupied by two thouſand men, provided with ſix pieces of cannon. Their ſecond poſition was about three hundred toiſes in the rear of the firſt village; their centre, at the redoubt which they had taken from the French; their right, behind an entrenchment extending from the redoubt to the ſea, a ſpace of about a hundred toiſes; their left was poſted between the redoubt and the ſea, on ſome low ſand-hills and the ſhore, commanded by the fire from the redoubts and the gun-boats. In this poſition, there were about ſeven hundred men and twenty-two pieces of cannon. About a hundred toiſes behind the redoubt lay the village and fort of Aboukir, occupied by nearly one thouſand five hundred men. The train of the baſhaw, who had the chief command, conſiſted of eighty horſemen. The ſquadron came to anchor in the road, about a league and a half from the ſhore. After a march of two hours, the advanced guard of the French came in ſight of the Turks. Theſe being attacked by the French with the bayonet, retreated towards the village. Two ſquadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides, on horſeback, cut off their retreat, and killed or drove into the ſea this body of two hundred men, of which not one eſcaped. The ſame diviſion of the French army then marched upon the village, which formed the centre of the r ſecond line, and turned it, while another corps attacked it

* A toiſe is a French meaſure of one fathom, or ſix feet.

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in front. The whole ſecond line, including the village, was carried. The French cavalry killed many with their ſabres, and drove many into the ſea. The reſt made their eſcape to the redoubt, which formed the centre of the ſecond poſition. This ſecond poſition was very ſtrong, the redoubt being flanked by a ditch of communication, which ſecured the peninſula on the right, as far as the ſea. Another ditch of the like kind ſtretched along on the left, to a ſmall diſtance from the redoubt. The remaining ſpace was occupied by the enemy ſtationed on the ſand-hills and in the batteries. In this poſition the enemy had from 8,000 to 9,000 men.

While the French troops halted to take breath, the general-in-chief ordered ſome pieces of artillery to be planted in the village, and along the ſhore, on the left. A fire was opened on the redoubt, and the right of the Turks. The French cavalry, on the right of their line attacked the enemy's left, which it repeatedly charged with great impetuoſity, cutting down, or driving into the ſea, all who came in their way. But they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being put between its fire and that of the gun-boats. Hurried by their bravery into this terrible defile, they fell back at each charge, and the Turks made a ſtand with freſh forces on the dead bodies of their companions. A reinforcement was ſent of infantry. The Turks at this inſtant made a ſally. The heads of the hoſtile columns fought body to body. The Turks endeavoured, by their ſuperiority of bodily ſtrength, to wreſt the bayonets from the French; they flung their muſkets behind them, and fought with their ſabres and piſtols: for every Turk carries a muſket, two piſtols in his girdle, and a ſabre. A French regiment at length reached the entrenchment: but the fire from the redoubt, which every where flanked the entrenchments, where the enemy again retired, checked the columns. The Turks, notwithſtanding the dreadful fire from the village, darted from their entrenchments, to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might receive the rewards which the Turkiſh government beſtows for the encouragement of this barbarous cuſtom. Another corps of the French was ſent to advance, for the ſupport of their friends, on the Turks. They leaped on the parapet, and were ſoon within the redoubt. Another party of the French ruſhed forward upon the Turks at the charging ſtep. General Murat, who commanded the advanced guard of the French, and who followed and ſupported every movement of his countrymen, and whoſe coolneſs on this day could be equalled only by his military talents and virtues, ſeized the moment when the redoubt was attacked, to order a corps of infantry to charge, and reverſe all the Turkiſh poſitions, as far as the ditch of the fort of Aboukir. This movement was executed with ſo much impetuoſity, and ſo opportunely, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, this column had already reached its deſtination, and entirely cut off the retreat of the Turks to the fort of Aboukir. Confuſed and terrified, they now found every where only the bayonet and death. The cavalry cut them down with their ſabres. They believed that they had now no reſource left but to fly to

to the ſea; into which ſix or ſeven thouſand precipitated themſelves in total deſpair. Muſtapha Baſhaw, commander-in-chief, as above mentioned, of the Turkiſh army, was taken, with about 200 Turks: 2000 men lay on the field of battle. All the tents, the equipage, and 20 pieces of cannon, (two of which were Engliſh, having been preſented by the court of London to the grand ſeignior), fell into the hands of the French. The Engliſh gunboats ſaved themſelves by flight. It was computed, that about 10,000 Turks were drowned. The fort of Aboukir ceaſed to fire: the garriſon was ſtruck with terror.

A flag of truce was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of the fort of Aboukir. Buonaparte, foreſeeing the certainty of this, retired, even before it took place, to Alexandria.

At this place he iſſued the following declarations, which it may not be improper here to record: whether Buonaparte ſincerely believed what he gave out, or meant, by affecting to believe it, to practiſe on the ſentiments and paſſions of his adherents, and thereby render them more docile and paſſive inſtruments of his future ſchemes of operation and ambition. Scarcely any thing that is done or ſaid by ſuch a man, is unworthy of a place in the record of the times; and it would be wholly unworthy of a Britiſh chronicler, whoſe countrymen oppoſe, with ſo great ſucceſs, ſuch a front, to all that can poſſibly be oppoſed to them, to conceal or ſhade the egregious merit of ſo illuſtrious an adverſary.

The firſt of theſe declarations is dated, *Army of the Eaſt*, general orders, July 27.

"The general-in-chief, wiſhing to give a mark of his approbation to the brigade of cavalry of general Murat, which covered itſelf with glory at the battle of Aboukir, orders the commandant of artillery to ſend to the brigade the two Engliſh pieces of cannon, which had been ſent by the court of London, as a preſent to Conſtantinople, and which were taken in that battle.

"On each cannon there ſhall be engraven the names of the three regiments compoſing that brigade, as well as the name of general Murat, and that of adjutant-general Roire; there ſhall be written round the touch-hole 'Battle of Aboukir.'

The ſecond declaration is dated, general orders, Auguſt 1ſt, Buonaparte, general-in-chief.

"The name of Aboukir was fatal to all Frenchmen. The 25th of July has rendered it glorious. The victory which the army has gained accelerates its return to Europe.

"We have conquered Mentz, and the limits of the Rhine, by invading a part of Germany. We have now reconquered our eſtabliſhments in India, and thoſe of our allies, by a ſingle operation. We have put into the hands of government the power to force England, notwithſtanding its maritime triumphs, to a peace glorious for the republic.

"We have ſuffered much: we have had to fight enemies of every kind: we have them ſtill to conquer: but, at length, the reſult will be worthy of you, and we ſhall merit the thanks of our country."

The account we have given of the battle of Aboukir, and the march of the French to that place,

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is extracted from the copious Journal of the Proceedings of Buonaparte, published in the name of Berthier, but drawn up, or for the moſt part we ſhould ſuppoſe dictated, by Buonaparte himſelf; a ſuppoſition which derives additional probability from this circumſtance, that we meet with many phraſes and modes of expreſſion, which appear prominent in the manifeſtoes and letters of Buonaparte. The very ſhort abridgement or abſtract we have given of that Journal, is calculated on ſuch a ſcale as might be intelligible to ordinary readers, not much converſant with military tactics. We preſume that the military reader will derive, from a peruſal of that Journal, both amuſement and inſtruction. Every movement is deſcribed with an exactneſs which, to moſt readers would be dry and tedious. But that Journal ſeems to have another object, beſides that of recording and juſtifying the commander-in-chief. Every corps, every individual of every rank that eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf, is mentioned with warm applauſe; and thus the love of fame is inflamed by the certainty of juſtice being done to merit, by an accurate and faithful record.

In the midſt of all Buonaparte's cares and efforts for eſtabliſhing the military power and political authority of the French republic in Egypt, he was not inattentive, but kept a vigilant eye on the great intereſts of the republic of letters and ſcience: to which univerſal republic, with a juſt taſte of glory, he appears to have been equally anxious to approve his conduct on the whole, as either to the French nation, or the rulers of the French democracy.

While the French generals were buſied in quelling tumults and inſurrections, erecting fortifications, and preventing or repelling hoſtile invaſions, Buonaparte formed a commercial company at Cairo, as well as a library and an inſtitution, on the plan of France, for promoting arts, ſciences, and philoſophy. The learned men, whom he took with him to Egypt, were employed in determining latitudes, examining the ſtate, and taking ſurveys of canals and lakes; in repairing canals; in examining and deſcribing plants and animals; in mineralogic reſearches; and, what is nearly connected with theſe, chymical experiments; in making obſervations geological, noſological, and meteorological; in drawing plans of towns, edifices, and various monuments of antiquity; in improving agriculture; in erecting a chymical laboratory, founderies, wind-mills, and other uſeful works. Early in December, 1798, a detachment of 1,500 men, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of general Bon, took poſſeſſion of Suez. Thither Buonaparte went himſelf, on the 22d of December, accompanied by ſeveral officers, and men of ſcience and learning, and eſcorted by a corps of cavalry. Having forded the red-ſea at low water, he viſited the fountains of Moſes, about ten leagues and a half from Suez, in Aſia. Five ſources contribute to form theſe fountains, which ſend up to the top little monticules of ſand. The water is very good, but ſomewhat brackiſh; you diſcover in them the veſtiges of a ſmall modern aqueduct which conducted the water to ciſterns on the borders of the ſea, from whence it was taken

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to ſupply ſhips. Theſe fountains are at the diſtance of three quarters of a league from the ſea.

In the evening he returned to Suez, but the ſea was high. His guide loſt him in the marſhes, from which he extricated himſelf with difficulty, being up to the middle in water.

Suez, if its magazines be conſidered, appears to have been the entrepot of a very conſiderable commerce. Barges only can come into the port; but a point of ſand that runs out a league into the ſea, and which is uncovered at low water, and near which frigates can lie at anchor, furniſhed every poſſible means for erection of a battery, that might protect the ſhipping at anchor, and defend the coaſt. At Suez, the Arabs of Top came and ſolicited the friendſhip of the French, and obtained it. Here alſo Buonaparte received a deputation of the monks of Mount Sinai. The pious Cenobites brought him the humble offering of the fruits of their mountain, and preſented to him the charter of toleration given originally, and ſigned by Mahomet, requeſting alſo the protection of the new conquerors: and Mahomet's charter was counterſigned by Buonaparte.

He took a very detailed ſurvey of the town and adjacent coaſts, and ordered the conſtruction of certain works for the defence of this important poſt. For the encouragement of commerce, he lowered the duties paid to the Baſhaws and Mammalukes, and for carriage of goods eſtabliſhed regular caravans from Suez to Cairo and Belbeis. During his ſtay of two days at Suez there arrived four veſſels. He then ſet out, and ſailing along the coaſt to the north, he diſcovered, at the diſtance of two leagues and a half from Suez, the remains of the entrance of the canal of Suez; which he purſued the length of four leagues. In four days he arrived at Honareb, where the remains of the canal of Suez are diſcoverable at its entrance on the cultivated and watered lands of Egypt.

He purſued the line of the canal the length of ſeveral leagues, and ordered citizen Peyre, an engineer, to go to Suez, and to return with a ſufficient eſcort, to take a geometrical ſurvey of the courſe of the canal, by means of which operation was reſolved the problem of the exiſtence of one of the greateſt and moſt uſeful works in the world.

It ſhould not be omitted, under the head of Buonaparte's care for the republic of letters, to mention, that he eſtabliſhed a newſpaper at Cairo, of which Coſtaz was the editor, under the title of the Courier of Egypt. He alſo ſet ſeveral of his learned men and philoſophers to work upon an almanack, containing five calendars, the republican calendar, and the calendars of the Romiſh, Greek, Copht, and Mahometan churches. In fine, it may be obſerved of Buonaparte, and it is, perhaps, what moſt happily diſtinguiſhes his character, that there never was any general, ancient or modern, if we ought not to except Alexander the Great, who ſo happily united the progreſs of arms with the advancement of ſcience.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Object of the French Expedition to Egypt.—Connection between France and the Sultaun of Myſore, in India.—Letter from Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultaun.—Hoſtilities againſt the Britiſh, in India, concerted between the French Government and Tippoo.—Embaſſy from Tippoo Sultaun to Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul.—The Kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul deſcribed.—Curious Inſtructions of Tippoo to his Ambaſſadors.—Plans for hoſtile Co-operation between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, againſt the Engliſh.—Letter from Tippoo to Zemaun.—Zemaun's Anſwer—According with the Wiſhes of Tippoo.—The Invaſion of India concerted between thoſe two Princes, prevented by the Vigilance and political Addreſs of the Government of Bombay.—Britiſh Army aſſembled on the Coaſt of Coromandel.—Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Mornington.—Junction between the Nizam's Army and that of Madras.—This united Army marches againſt Seringapatam on one Hand.—While the Malabar Army advances towards it on the other.—Engagement between the Malabar Army and that of Tippoo Sultaun.—Junction between the Bombay or Malabar and the main Army.—Tippoo abandons the open Country, and takes Refuge in the Fortreſs of Seringapatam.—Seringapatam taken by Storm.—Tippoo ſlain.—Diſtinguiſhing Features of the Houſe of Hyder.—Acquiſitions obtained by the Arts of Peace, contraſted with the Conqueſts obtained by War.—Proſperity of the Britiſh Settlement on Prince of Wales's Iſland.—The Magnitude, and the Proſpects preſented by its natural Advantages.

THE grand object of the expedition, from Toulon to Egypt, was no other than what was uniformly avowed and declared, to give a blow to the maritime greatneſs and commerce of England: and, among the various meaſures purſued or ſuggeſted for this end, none ſeemed more effectual to the French, for the execution of their plans, than the formation of alliances with the native powers of India. One of the moſt powerful princes of that peninſula, needed not any excitement, but an opportunity only of joining in any confederacy that ſhould yield a hope of recovering the territories that had been torn from him, or wreeking his ranckling and implacable vengeance againſt the Engliſh. That prince was Tippoo Sultaun, of whoſe proceedings againſt the Britiſh, and habits of connection with France, the readers of our former volumes want not to be informed.

The letter which was ſent to Tippoo, by Buonaparte, after he had gained a footing in Egypt, and which has already been incidentally noticed, is as follows: "Buonaparte to the moſt magnificent Tippoo Sultaun, our greateſt friend. You have

have learnt my arrival on the ſhores of the Red Sea, with a numerous and invincible army, wiſhing to deliver you from the yoke of the Engliſh. I take this opportunity to teſtify my deſire for ſome news relating to your political ſituation, by the way of Muſcatti and Morea. I wiſh you would ſend to Suez or to Cairo, an intelligent and confidential perſon with whom I might confer. The Moſt High increaſe your power and deſtroy your enemies."

This letter muſt have been highly gratifying to the Sultaun, who had already, in the end of 1797, diſpatched two ambaſſadors to the French government in the Mauritius, or the Iſle of France, with whom he had already maintained a ſecret correſpondence. They embarked at Mangalore, and arrived in that iſland towards the cloſe of January, 1798. They were received by the government with every circumſtance of diſtinction and reſpect; and, during their continuance on the iſland, were entertained at the public expenſe. They propoſed to levy men to any practicable extent, ſtating their powers to be unlimited, with reſpect to the number to be raiſed in the name of Tippoo Sultaun.

A proclamation was iſſued by the governor-general of the Iſle of France, in February, ſtating that an embaſſy had arrived at the Iſle of France, with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addreſſed not only to the government of that iſland, but to the executive directory of France, propoſing to conclude an offenſive alliance with the French, to ſubſidize and to ſupply whatever troops the French might furniſh to the ſultaun, and to commence, againſt the Britiſh power in India, a war of aggreſſion, for which the ſultaun was declared to be fully prepared, waiting with anxiety the moment when the ſuccour ſhould enable him to ſatisfy his ardent deſire of expelling the Britiſh nation from India. The proclamation concluded by offering encouragement to the ſubjects of France, to enter into the ſervice of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed by the ambaſſador then on the ſpot.

The ambaſſadors from Tippoo, on the ſeventh of March, embarked on board a French frigate, with a force raiſed in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, amounting to about 200 men, incluſive of ſeveral officers, and arrived at Mangalore on the twenty-ſixth of April.

At the ſame time that Tippoo was careful to augment his own European eſtabliſhment, he laboured by all means alſo to increaſe that of the Nizam of the Decan, although in confederacy with the Mahrattas and the Engliſh. A plot was concerted between the ſultaun and certain French officers, for gradually raiſing the European force in the army of that prince, above his controul, and for bringing over to the ſide of the Myſoreans this force, together with as many of the native troops as might be induced, according to the manner of the Aſiatics, to join the party prevailing at the moment. The natural indolence of eaſtern ſovereigns, acting in every thing by delegation, and the mode of ſubſiſting the army by allotments of land, and not by the diſburſement of money from a treaſury under their own inſpection, co-operated to facilitate conſpiracy; and above 10,000 Europeans, French and others, were incorporated, and began to take the lead, in the army

of the Nizam, when this circumſtance was diſcovered to lord Hobart, governor of Madras, by colonel Halcot, an officer commanding the military force in one of the company's eſtabliſhments in the north-weſtern parts of the preſidency of Madras.

About the ſame time that the Britiſh government, in India, were informed of the correſpondence between Tippoo and the French, and the plot carried on in the army of the Nizam; they learned alſo, that an embaſſy had been diſpatched to Zemaun Shah, a very powerful prince of Tartarean origin, and the Mahometan faith, on the northern frontier of India, the ſovereign of Cabul, the ancient Bactria and Candahar, the object of which embaſſy was, to encourage that prince in his long-threatened invaſion of India.

The kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul are both extenſive and populous. They comprize all the countries ſituated between the river Indus and the ſouthern extremities of the Caſpian Sea, and between the eaſtern confines of Perſia, and great Bucharia, or the country of the Uſbeck Tartars, beſides Lahore, and the celebrated province of Caſhimire. Ahmed Shah was the founder of that empire, for ſo it may juſtly be called, and of the illuſtrious family, or dynaſty, of the Abdallahs. Zemaun Shah, the preſent king, emperor, or abdallah, was the lineal deſcendant of Ahmed.

The natives of Candahar have always been reckoned amongſt the moſt hardy men of Aſia. The exact population of Zemaun Shah's dominions has not been aſcertained. But it is an undoubted fact, that he can bring into the field at leaſt 120,000 fighting men. Zemaun Shah, therefore, a Mahometan prince, naturally allied to Tippoo Sultaun, by religious opinions, habits, and that good-will which uſually ſubſiſts between ſovereign powers, divided by the dominions of a common neighbour, or which is the ſame thing in politics, enemy, was a natural and formidable foe to the Britiſh empire in India. A new barrier had, of late years, been added to that of the Mahrattas, by the riſe and progreſs of the Seiks, a nation bound together by a common religious ſyſtem, which preſcribed every thing that was to be done in every eventual caſe, like the ancient Jews, or the lords of the congregation, on the breaking out of the reformation in Scotland. But the internal wars, inceſſantly carried on between the Seik chiefs, might diſable them from making a ſucceſsful reſiſtance to the king of Candahar and Cabul, notwithſtanding their implacable enmity. The cunning and fluctuating politics of the Mahrattas were not to be relied on. That nation, beſides, as well as the Seiks, was torn to pieces by inteſtine commotions.

Zemaun Shah naturally occurred as a powerful ally, and one not difficult to be gained, to ſo inveterate and active an enemy to the Engliſh as Tippoo Sultaun. A ſecret correſpondence between theſe Mahometan princes was accordingly found, after the deſtruction of the latter, in his palace of Seringapatam. This correſpondence commenced before the war between Tippoo and the Engliſh, which terminated in 1792; and the ſame hoſtile and ambitious views marked it to its cloſe. In a paper, dated

March

March, 1796, we find various inſtructions to the ambaſſadors ſent by Tippoo to the king of Candahar, relating to their conduct and deportment in their miſſion: their ſuite, their expenſes, the preſents to be made to the chief officers of that prince, and the ceremonies to be obſerved at their audience, or reception. On theſe particulars Tippoo appears, according to Oriental ideas of the importance of old cuſtoms, to have laid great ſtreſs: "When the miniſter ſhall ſend for you, you will repair to Cabul, and take up your reſidence at the place which he may point out. At your interview with him, you will carry the letter and khelant *(honorary dreſs)* with you, and preſent them to him in trays; you will each preſent a huzzur of five achmedies, and, according to the cuſtom of that government, you will pay the proper compliments, and, if it ſhould be cuſtomary to ſit down, after waiting a little, and receiving the commands of the vizier, you will do ſo; ſhould it, however, be cuſtomary to ſtand up, you will remain ſtanding; then, taking the letter and dreſs from the trays, you will place theſe at ſome diſtance in front of the vizier, and after the reſpects and compliments of the Sircar Khoodadand, in the manner preſcribed among the followers of the faith, you will make many profeſſions of friendſhip; obſerving, that all true believers are brethren; but you will pay at the ſame time due attention to the reſpective ranks of the parties. After having converſed together, you will repreſent that "you are Syuds, the deſcendants of Fatimah;"* that you have repaired to the preſence of his highneſs, and are ready to obey his commands; and that you entertain hopes, through his means, to be honoured with permiſſion to pay your reſpects to his majeſty.

"You will addreſs yourſelves to him in this manner, and having, through the vizier, obtained admiſſion to the preſence of his majeſty, Zemaun Shah, you will place on the trays the letter, the dreſs, jewels, and the ſaddles, and then preſent them in the manner which the vizier may deſire, and agreeably to the cuſtoms and etiquette of the court: you will alſo, according to the eſtabliſhed forms of that court, offer the proper compliments, and ſtand up, with your hands folded together. When you ſhall receive an order to ſit down, you will ſeat yourſelves accordingly, or whatever may be the etiquette of the place, you will be careful to obſerve it.

"Having thus paid your court, through the vizier, in the manner which is proper for ambaſſadors, you will repreſent, that you, having come a diſtant journey from the exalted preſence, have preſented yourſelves before his majeſty; that many affairs of importance have been intruſted to you, which, at his leiſure, you would repreſent to him."

In another paper there are two plans of co-operation between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, which the ambaſſadors of the former were inſtructed to propoſe to the latter. The firſt project was, that his majeſty ſhould remain in his capital, and ſend one of his noblemen, in whom he had confidence, to Delhi, with an army. That this

* Fatimah was the daughter of Mahomet.

perſon, on his arrival there, ſhould make the neceſſary arrangements, and, after depoſing the infirm king, who had reduced the faith to the preſent ſtate of weakneſs, ſelect from among the family, ſome one properly qualified for the government. That this perſon ſhould remain one year, for the purpoſe of ſettling the country, and, taking with him the chiefs of the country, who are Raja-poots, and others, direct his ſtandard towards the Deccan; ſo that the Brachmans, and others on the road, might come forward, and preſent themſelves to him: whilſt Tippoo himſelf, from his quarter, with the aid of God, would raiſe the ſtandard of holy war, and make the infidels bow down under the ſword of the faith. After theſe ſhould have been ſacrificed to the ſword, and no longer exiſt, the remaining infidels would be nothing. Afterwards, the ſettlement of the Deccan might be concluded in any manner that might be naturally agreed on.

The ſecond plan or project, propoſed by Tippoo Sultaun to Zemaun Shah, was,

That if none of his majeſty's noblemen ſhould be ſufficiently in his confidence, or equal to the undertaking, and if his majeſty ſhould be entirely at his eaſe, with reſpect to his country and government, he ſhould proceed in perſon, to Delhi, and, having made the neceſſary arrangements there, eſtabliſh one of his confidental ſervants in the office of the vizier, or miniſter, and return to his own capital. The perſon, who might be ſelected for the office of vizier, ſhould be a man of addreſs and enterprize: that remaining a twelvemonth with his army at Delhi, he might be able to retain, under ſubjection, the chiefs of the neighbouring country. The ſecond year his majeſty ſhould ſend, alſo from his capital, a ſmall army, as a reinforcement: ſo that the vizier, appointed by his majeſty as above-mentioned, might proceed with the chiefs of Hindoſtan towards the Deccan. Should thoſe infidel Brachmans direct their power to that quarter, the hands of the heroes of the faith, in that part of the world, ſhould, by the grace of God, be raiſed for their chaſtiſement. It would be proper to enjoin the vizier acting on his majeſty's part, that, after their extirpation, a place ſhould be fixed for rendezvous, where to meet with the Tippoo Sultaun, that the proper means might be adopted for the ſettlement of the country. The ambaſſadors of Tippoo were inſtructed to make propoſals to Zemaun Shah to the above effect, and to requeſt him to determine on whichſoever of the two plans he might prefer, and this being done, furniſh them with a written engagement accordingly, under his majeſty's hand and ſeal; if his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to give both of them permiſſion, and have the goodneſs to ſend a confidential perſon with them, they were to repair to the preſence of their ſovereign, and having alſo obtained from him an engagement in writing, corresponding to the inſtrument above alluded to, they were to return with the confidental perſon above-mentioned, to the preſence of his majeſty. But that, ſhould his majeſty deſire one of them to remain with him, one of them ſhould continue in attendance accordingly; and the other proceed with his majeſty's confidental ſervant, to the Deccan, and return with

with the writing from thence to the preſence of his majeſty.

A letter was at the ſame time ſent to Zemaun Shah, by the ſultaun himſelf. After invoking the Deity and Mahomet, as uſual, in the correſpondence of perſons of their rank, he thanks God that he had the ſatisfaction to hear that his majeſty, the ornament of the throne, the promoter of religion, and the deſtroyer of heretics and oppreſſors, employed his whole time, and exerted every faculty, in the ſupport of the enlightened religion. The report of his majeſty's piety, he ſaid, had afforded him inexpreſſible ſatisfaction and joy. In return for this, near a hundred thouſand followers of the faith, nay more, aſſembled every Friday (the ſabbath of the Muſſelmen) in the moſques of the capital, and, after the particular forms of prayer, put up particular ſupplications that the Almighty would render his majeſty, the defender of the faith, ſucceſsful and victorious. Your majeſty, Tippoo proceeds, muſt doubtleſs have been informed, that my exalted ambition has for its object a holy war. The fruit of this juſt deſign has been, that in the midſt of this land of heretics, the Almighty protects this tract of Mahomedan dominion like the ark of Noah, and cuts ſhort the extended arm of the abandoned heretic. The report of your majeſty's zeal and piety render me, and all the followers of the faith, moſt anxious to open a perſonal and direct communication of ſentiments with your majeſty; but the obſtacles to this are fully apparent to your majeſty; and therefore upon the principle (as laid down in the law), that it is ſufficient that two perſons ſhould have the honour to ſee the new moon, in order to eſtabliſh its actual appearance, the reſpected Meer Hubbeeb Oolla and Meer Mahomed Rezza, who are among the higheſt in rank in the Khoodadaud Sircar, and are worthy of admiſſion to the preſence, are now ſent as ambaſſadors to your majeſty's Imperial court, with letters, which (according to the ſaying, "a letter is half a meeting,") may be conſidered as an invaluable ſubſtitute for perſonal communication. In order that I may be gratified, not only by obtaining accounts of your majeſty's proſperity, ſucceſs, and glory, but enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing your majeſty, as it were, by ſubſtitution; and that the foundations of friendſhip and attachment, which are productive of benefits, both ſpiritual and temporal, may be ſtrengthened and improved; and alſo, that the perſons above-mentioned may have the honour to repreſent to your majeſty my ſentiments upon ſome important ſubjects, and the circumſtances of the enfeebled condition of the faith in the regions of Hindoſtan, which I have intruſted to their verbal communication. But beſides this, I would propoſe, if it meets with your majeſty's approbation, that two perſons of rank may conſtantly reſide at your majeſty's court, to be the channel of correſpondence, and the means of improving mutual harmony and attachment.

Under the ſacred exhortation, "Beſtow preſents among one another." I beg leave to ſend, by the perſons above-mentioned, a few of the articles of this country, as is due among thoſe who are connected by the ties of religion: I confidently truſt, that your majeſty will gratify me by accepting them, and

honour the ambaſſadors by admitting them to the preſence, and by hearing what has been intruſted to their verbal communication, and that you will diſpatch them back again to this quarter with the utmoſt expedition."

Tippoo alſo at this time wrote letters to the principal miniſters of abdallah, full of compliments, and quotations from the Koran, recommending his cauſe to their good offices, and requeſting that they would obtain admiſſion for his ambaſſadors to the preſence.

To Tippoo's letter Zemaun Shah replied, as follows: "Your letter, replete with ſentiments of friendſhip and regard, expreſſing your ſolicitude for the propagation of the faith, and extirpation of the abandoned irreligious infidels; informing us, that in the moſques, after the concluſion of public worſhip, ſupplications are made at the throne of grace, for the increaſe of our dominion, and the ſucceſs of our triumphant banners; referring us for a farther expoſition of your ſentiments to the verbal explanation of your ambaſſadors Syud Hubbeeb Oolla, and Syud Mahommed Rezza; ſignifying that you had ſent a few preſents by the ambaſſadors, requeſting that two perſons of your Sircar might reſide at our court, and ſtating other particulars of friendſhip, arrived in a moſt auſpicious ſeaſon, and added new ardour to our mutual friendſhip.

"As the object of your well-directed mind is the deſtruction of the infidels, and the extenſion of the faith of the prophet, pleaſe God, we ſhall ſoon march with our conquering army, to wage war with the infidels and polytheiſts, and to free thoſe regions from the contamination of theſe ſhameleſs tribes, with the edge of the ſword; ſo that the inhabitants of thoſe regions may be reſtored to comfort and repoſe: be therefore perfectly ſatisfied in this reſpect.

"With regard to your requeſt, for deputing two perſons to reſide at our court, with a view to ſtrengthen the ties of friendſhip, we have to expreſs our acquieſcence.

"We have ſent a few articles hereunder-mentioned, as a memorial of our regard, by your ambaſſadors, who have explained to us the meſſage with which you had commiſſioned them.

"Continue to gratify us, by communicating to us, by letters, your ſituation and ſentiments."

The Britiſh governor-general, in India, lord Mornington, in a letter of the eighth of November, 1798, pointed out to Tippoo, the "danger that would ariſe, from his connection with the French, to his authority, the tranquillity of his dominions, the proſperity of his government, and the *permanence of his religion*." Although it be evident, that this paſſage was applicable only to the views of the French, yet Tippoo, availing himſelf of even this ſhadow of a pretext, for rouſing the reſentment, and uniting the banners of Iſmaeliſm, againſt the Engliſh, repreſented, that their hoſtile preparations againſt him, as flowing from a hatred to his religion, to the king of Cabul, the grand ſeignior, and other Mahometan chiefs and princes. In a ſecond letter to Zemaun Shah, dated on the thirtieth of January, 1799, he ſtated, "That the Engliſh having received intimation of the arrival of his ambaſſadors at his highneſſes court, and of the firm connection

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between the two courts, had taken umbrage; and, in concert with the polytheiſts and turbulent taken up arms againſt him, and had written that they entertained a deſign to ſubvert the Mahometan religion.

This relation of the correſpondence, between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, is, though not digreſſive from the preſent point, yet ſomewhat diſproportioned to the ſcale of our compreſſed narrative. It may, however, be excuſed, on account of the curious views it exhibits of that refined politeneſs which prevails in the intercourſe of the Aſiatics, amidſt great ignorance and bigotry; and it is of ſome importance, as tending to ſhew how ſtrong a band of union and nerve of action the Mahometan religion may yet become in the hands of enterprize and ambition.

In addition to the conſiderations above-mentioned, it was recollected, by the Britiſh government, that the concluſion of peace on the continent of Europe, by the treaty of Leoben and Campo Formia, and the weak ſtate of our allies in India, particularly of the Nizam, whoſe councils, as well as army, were, at that time, ſubjected to the influence of a powerful French faction, might appear to both Tippoo and France to offer a favourable criſis for the attack of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India.

For theſe reaſons, the governor-general and council of Bengal deemed it indiſpenſably neceſſary to aſſemble the armies on the coaſt of Coromandel: and, on the twentieth of June, 1798, orders were iſſued for that purpoſe. Lord Mornington, in his diſpatches to the court of directors at home, mentions the diſperſed ſtate and certain radical defects in the eſtabliſhment of the Madras-army, which, he percieved, would render the aſſembling of a force, equal to offenſive movements againſt Tippoo, a much more difficult meaſure than he had apprehended.

"Some officers," ſays his lordſhip, "of approved military talents, experience, and integrity, at fort St. George, declared, that your army, in the Carnatic, could not be aſſembled, for offenſive purpoſes, before the commencement of the year 1800; and that a period of ſix months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpoſe of defending the Carnatic againſt any ſudden attack. The difficulty of aſſembling and moving your army, on the coaſt of Coromandel, furniſhed, indeed, an alarming proof of the defenceleſs and perilous ſtate of the Carnatic, in that arduous conjuncture: but, in proportion to the preſſure of that difficulty, the neceſſity of an inſtantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for, whether the army, when aſſembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared an equally indiſpenſable meaſure of precaution to reſume, without delay, the power of meeting that vindictive and reſtleſs prince in the field. I was not, therefore, diſcouraged, either by the ſuggeſtion to which I have referred, or by ſubſequent repreſentations of a ſimilar character and tendency, from inſiſting on the immediate execution of my orders for aſſembling the army; and, adverting to the fatal conſequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardneſs of hoſtile equipments in Myſore, I reſolved to intruſt the

protection of our poſſeſſions on the Coromandel coaſt to no other ſecurity than a complete and early ſtate of preparation for war.

"At Bombay, my orders for aſſembling the army were executed with great promptitude and alacrity, unaccompanied by any ſymptoms of indiſpoſition to thoſe united and zealous efforts which the exigency of the criſis demanded from every branch of your civil and military ſervice." The unavoidable delay, lord Mornington proceeds to relate, which obſtructed the aſſembling of the army in the Carnatic, compelled him to relinquiſh his firſt intention, of ſtriking an immediate blow againſt the power and the reſources of Tippoo Sultaun. He applied himſelf, therefore, to the formation of ſo permanent a ſyſtem of preparation and defence, as, while it tended to reſtore to the government of fort St. George, with all probable diſpatch, the power of repelling any act of aggreſſion on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, might ultimately enable him to demand both a juſt indemnification for the expenſe which the ſultaun's violation of treaty had occaſioned to the government of the Eaſt-India company, and a reaſonable ſecurity againſt the conſequences of his recent alliance with the enemy. With this view, while the army was aſſembling on the coaſt of Coromandel and Malabar, his attention was directed to ſtrengthen and improve the defenſive alliance, concluded between the honourable company and their highneſſes the nizam and paſhwa, under former treaties, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a barrier againſt the ambition and power of Tippoo Sultaun.

Towards the commencement of the month of Auguſt, 1798, the governor-general of Britiſh India learned the preparations making by the French in the Mediterranean. Various circumſtances attending the equipment of that armament convinced him, that at leaſt part of it might be deſtined for an expedition in India, according to the avowal of the French directory. Under theſe impreſſions, he directed the attention of rear-admiral Rainier to the defence of the coaſt of Malabar, which the admiral undertook with the utmoſt readineſs, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the firſt inſtance, to the ſtraits of Malacca. Having, on the eighteenth of October, received authentic information of the invaſion of Egypt, by the French, and of the progreſs of their arms in that country, being ſenſible of the evident connection between the invaſion of that country and of the united deſigns of the French and Tippoo Sultaun againſt the Britiſh power in India, of the neceſſity of either compelling the ſultaun to detach himſelf from the intereſts of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they ſhould be enabled to reach India; and, farther ſtill, that no negociation with Tippoo Sultaun could be ſucceſsful, unleſs accompanied with ſuch a diſpoſition of our force as ſhould alarm him for the ſafety of his capital; and, that no military operation could effect an adequate or ſpeedy reduction of his power unleſs directed immediately to the ſiege of that city. The governor-general, weighing all theſe circumſtances, on the twentieth of October, iſſued peremptory orders, to the government of Madras, for the equipment

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of their battering train, and for advancing it, with all practicable diſpatch, to the moſt eligible ſtation on the frontiers of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam, at the earlieſt poſſible period, if ſuch a movement into Myſore ſhould become neceſſary. To the government of Bombay he iſſued farther orders, for the collection not only of their troops, but of the largeſt poſſible ſupplies on the coaſt of Malabar.

At Bombay, and throughout the preſidency, beſides a voluntary and patriotic contribution to a liberal amount, which was alſo made in the other preſidencies, an armed aſſociation was formed, on a plan laid down by general Stuart, to be employed as might be deemed moſt expedient for the protection of the iſland. The patriotic and active zeal of Jonathan Duncan, eſq. governor of Bombay, on this occaſion, juſtly and warmly commended by lord Mornington, was no more than what was to be expected with confidence, from the whole tenour of his public conduct, in which it was his conſtant aim to combine the intereſts of the company with the well-being of the natives of India, and to improve the revenue of the former, by reſpecting the prejudices, by protecting and encouraging the latter. His invariable regard to the natural claims of the poor Hindoos, and his inflexible preference of the public, to any private intereſt, might perhaps have been condemned, by ſome of the company's ſervants, as too rigorous and ſevere, if, while he devoted himſelf to his public duty, he had been, in the intercourſes of private life, deficient in humanity and goodneſs; or, if any individual could have ſaid of the governor, that he was leſs attentive to his private intereſt than to his own, and leſs indulgent to him than to himſelf. The virtues of the governor had, for their object, whole communities and races of men. The greateſt bleſſing that can poſſibly be conferred on ſociety is a ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice between man and man, and one order or rank of men and another. Mr. Duncan appeared in a light not leſs heroic than amiable; when, inſtead of indulging in any partial relaxation or conceſſion to any individuals among his own countrymen, he ſtood forth the determined and zealous protector of the helpleſs natives that had fallen under our power, by a due execution of the laws: but, in all hard caſes, tempering the rigour of the law, as much as poſſible, by every mitigation of humanity and mercy. As an additional ſecurity to the lives of the people, the judicial proceedings on the coaſt of Malabar, and which were held in the language of the country, were tranſlated into Engliſh and tranſmitted, in that form, to the chief judge of the province: for the execution of which office, commiſſioners were appointed, in May, 1796, who confirmed, mitigated, commuted, or annulled, the ſentence of the native judge, without having, in any caſe, the power to enhance it; or to forward the trial to the governor and council for the final determination of government, according as the particular nature of the caſe might be found to require.

While our government prepared for its own ſecurity, with vigilance, prudence, and vigour, two events happened, which contributed to encourage

courage the hope of a complete triumph over the confederacy between Tippoo and the French, againſt the Britiſh power in India. The diſmiſſion of the French faction from the nizam's army had been happily accompliſhed at Hydrabad, a new ſubſidiary treaty had been ratified with that prince, and a deciſive and glorious victory had been obtained by an Engliſh over a French fleet, on the coaſt of Egypt. The governor-general, therefore, on the eighth of November, ſent a letter to Tippoo Sultaun, in which, after appriſing him that he was acquainted with his intercourſe with the French nation, he mentioned the ſucceſs of his Britannic majeſty's fleet againſt the French in Egypt, the revival of our alliance with the nizam, the deſtruction of the French influence in the Deccan, the declared diſpoſition of the paſhwa to fulfil his defenſive engagement to the utmoſt extent in his power, the preſence of his majeſty's ſquadron on the coaſt of Malabar, re-inforced by ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as had been equipped for the purpoſe; and, finally, the progreſs of the military preparations of the Britiſh on both coaſts. It was hoped that the repreſentation of all theſe particulars would have inclined the ſultaun to a propoſition made to him, by the governor-general, to receive major Doveton, on the part of the allies, for the purpoſe of proceeding to an amicable arrangement of all ſubſiſting differences. With ſuch expectations, lord Mornington proceeded to fort St. George, for the purpoſe of conducting the expected negociation with the ſultaun. On his arrival thither, he received a letter from the ſultaun, in anſwer to his own, of the eight of November, and one of another date to the ſame effect, gloſſing over his intercourſe with the French, (with whom he had actually made a treaty offenſive and defenſive, under the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that it would be ratified by the directory) and evading the propoſition of opening a negociation with the allies. From this letter, fraught with a ſtrange mixture of politeneſs, religious hypocriſy, and barbarian cunning and diſſimulation, it may not be improper, or unentertaining to our readers, to give the following extract:

"I have been made happy by the receipt of your lordſhip's two friendly letters, the contents of which I clearly comprehend. The particulars which your lordſhip has communicated to me, relative to the victory obtained by the Engliſh fleet over that of the French, near the ſhores of Egypt, have given me more pleaſure than can poſſibly be conveyed by writing. Indeed, I poſſeſs the firmeſt hope, that the leaders of the Engliſh and the company Bahauder, who ever adhere to the paths of ſincerity, friendſhip, and good faith, and are the well-wiſhers of mankind, will, at all times, be ſucceſsful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked diſpoſition, faithleſs, and the enemies to mankind, may be ever depreſſed and ruined. Your lordſhip has written to me with the pen of friendſhip,—"that it is impoſſible for me to ſuppoſe your lordſhip to be ignorant of the intercourſe which ſubſiſts between me and the French, whom I know to be the inveterate enemies of the company, and to be now engaged in an unjuſt war with the Britiſh; and that I cannot imagine your lordſhip to be indifferent to

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the tranſactions which have paſſed between me and the enemies of the Engliſh." In this circar, (the gift of God) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themſelves in trading by ſea and land. Their agents purchaſed a two-maſted veſſel, and, having loaded her with rice, departed with a view to trafic. It happened that ſhe went to the Mauritius, from whence forty perſons, French, and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers, and the reſt ſervants, paying the hire of the ſhip, came here in ſearch of employment. Such as choſe to take ſervice were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of the circar; and the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have, perhaps, taken advantage of the departure of the ſhip to put about reports, with a view to ruffle the minds of both circars.

"It is the wiſh of my heart, and my conſtant endeavour, to obſerve and maintain the articles of the agreement of peace and to perpetuate and ſtrengthen the baſis of friendſhip and union with the circar of the company Bahauder, and with the circar's Maha Raja Saheb, Sufe Munt, Paſhwa Bahauder, and his highneſs the Nabob Aſuph Jah Bahauder. And I am reſident at home, at times taking the air, and at other times amuſing myſelf with hunting, at a ſpot which is uſed as a pleaſure-ground.

"In this caſe, the alluſion to war in your friendly letter, and the following paſſage, namely, 'that prudence required that both the company and their allies ſhould adopt certain meaſures of precaution and ſelf-defence,' have given me great ſurprize.

"It was farther written by your friendly pen 'That as your lordſhip is deſirous of communicating to me, on behalf of the company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual ſecurity and welfare of all parties; your lordſhip propoſes to depute to me, for this purpoſe, major Doveton, who formerly waited upon me, and who will explain to me, more fully and particularly, the ſole means which appear to your lordſhip and the allies to be effectual for the ſalutary purpoſe of removing all exiſting miſtruſt and ſuſpicion, and of eſtabliſhing peace and good underſtanding on the moſt durable foundations; and that, therefore, your lordſhip truſts I will let you know at what time and place it will be convenient to me to receive major Doveton.' It has been underſtood, by the bleſſing of the Almighty, at the concluſion of the peace, the treaties and engagements, entered into among the four circars, were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed and confirmed as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age; nor are they, nor will they, ever be liable to interruption. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than theſe can be adopted, for giving ſtability to the foundations of friendſhip and harmony, promoting the ſecurity of ſtates, or the welfare and advantage of all parties."

To this letter from the ſultaun the governor-general returned an anſwer on the ninth of January, in which he renewed the propoſition for opening a negociation, and urged him not to delay his reply beyond the period of one day. The ſultaun remained ſilent: at length, on the fifteenth of February, 1798, he intimated, by letter, to lord Mornington, that, 'being frequently diſpoſed to make excurſions and hunt, he was, accordingly, proceeding upon

upon a hunting excurſion, and deſiring that he would diſpatch major Doveton ſlightly attended. The advanced guard of the army was by this time ordered into the territory of Tippoo. To have delayed this, would have at once thrown the advantage, which the Britiſh then poſſeſſed, into the hands of Tippoo, and have rendered the ſiege of his capital impracticable, during the preſent ſeaſon. Intimation was given to the allies, of an intention to proceed immediately to hoſtilities with Tippoo. The Nizam's army took the field, and took the proper ſteps for forming a junction with that of Madras. This army conſiſted of ſix thouſand native troops, nearly an equal number of the company's troops, ſubſidized by his highneſs, and a great body of cavalry. It then joined that of Madras, under major-general Harris, about twent-four thouſand ſtrong, which entered the Myſore country, on the fifth of March, with orders to proceed immediately to Seringapatam.

Theſe orders were executed with an alacrity in perfect conſonancy with the ſpirit by which they were dictated. No time was allowed for reflection, change of purpoſe, or negociation. A great prize of the graſp of both the company and individuals. It might be loſt through procraſtination and parlies.

In the mean time, the Malabar army, equipped and put in motion, with equal promptitude and judgement, under general Stuart, had, on the firſt of February, marched from Cannanore, and aſcended the Ghauts on the twenty-fifth. His army was divided into four different corps; and theſe moved ſucceſſively into ſuch ſituation as might enable him to form the earlieſt poſſible junction with the principal army. With the ſame view he occupied a poſt at Seedaſeer, near to which there is a high hill, that commands a view of the Myſore, almoſt to the environs of Seringapatam. From the ſummit of this mountain, a party of obſervation, on the morning of the fifth of March, diſcovered an encampment to be forming between Seedaſeer and Seringapatam. Before the evening this encampment aſſumed a very formidable appearance, and covered a great extent of ground. From the hill of obſervation, the whole of the army of this encampment was ſeen to be in motion: but their movements were ſo well concealed by the woodineſs of the country, and the hazineſs of the atmoſphere, that it was impoſſible to aſcertain their object; nor, in fact, was this diſcovered until they had penetrated a conſiderable way into the Jungles, and commenced an attack upon our line, which happened between the hours of nine and ten.

On the ſeventh, the enemy pierced through the Jungles with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that they attacked the rear and the front of our line almoſt at the ſame inſtant. This diſpatch prevented more than three of the Bombay corps being engaged, as the fourth, which was poſted two miles and a half in the rear, was unable to form a junction, from the enemy having cut in between them and Seedaſeer. The communication was effectually obſtructed by a column which, according to the reports of priſoners, conſiſted of upwards of five thouſand men, under the command of Bober Jung.

On the eighth, fortunately before the enemy had accompliſhed their purpoſe, major-general Hartley had time

time to apprize the commander-in-chief of their attack, and remained himſelf to give any aſſiſtance that might be neceſſary. The beſt poſition was aſſumed for repulſing the enemy; and in this alarming ſituation, the corps defended themſelves with ſo much reſolution, that the ſultaun's troops were unable to make any impreſſion. The brigade was on every ſide completely ſurrounded, and had to contend againſt a vaſt diſparity of numbers, beſides other diſcouraging circumſtances.

As ſoon as general Stuart received intelligence of the perilous ſituation of the right brigade, he marched to their aſſiſtance with the flank companies of his majeſty's ſeventy-fifth regiment, and the whole of the ſeventy-ſeventh. He arrived at about half paſt two, at ſome of the diviſions of the enemy, who had penetrated into the rear, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the great road leading to Seedaſeer. The engagement laſted nearly half an hour, when, after a ſmart fire of muſquetry on both ſides, the enemy were completely routed, and fled with precipitation through the Jungles, to regain their column, which ſtill continued the attack in front. On arriving at lieutenant-colonel Montreſor's poſt, the general found his men overcome with fatigue, and their ammunition almoſt exhauſted. At twenty minutes paſt three, the enemy retreated in all directions.

A junction was formed between the Bombay and the main army. Tippoo Sultaun, by the encampment at Periaptam, and by haraſſing the march of general Harris, had uſed all the means in his power for preventing this junction in vain. He deſtroyed the villages, and laid waſte the country, in front of the Engliſh army. But as he did not ſufficiently ſpread the tracts of devaſtation, his purpoſe of defeating our army was defeated, as general Harris, by a ſlight deviation from the common road, reached his deſtination at the time he wiſhed, and without any material interruption: Tippoo having abandoned the open country, and taken refuge in his capital and fortreſs of Seringapatam.

On the ſixteenth, general Stuart, with the Bombay army, croſſed the Cavery, and took up a poſition extending from its northern bank towards the Edgal: while general Floyd, with the left wing and cavalry, moved to the Delawayery, beyond Myſore, to cover a party ſent out the preceding night to collect cattle and ſheep, and to examine the new fort of Myſore. The party returned with conſiderable ſucceſs on the evening of the ſixteenth, and encamped near the line of general Harris. Meaſures were immediately taken by the general for erecting batteries, and preparing for the attacking of Seringapatam. The batteries being finiſhed, they began to batter in breach on the thirtieth of April, and had, on the evening of the third of May, ſo much deſtroyed the walls againſt which they were directed, that the arrangement was made for aſſaulting the place next day, when the breach was reported practicable. The troops intended to be employed were ſtationed in the trenches early on the morning of the fourth, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the aſſault, which general Harris had determined ſhould be made in the heat of the day, as the time beſt calcuted to enſure ſucceſs, for their troops

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would then be leaſt prepared for making oppoſition. At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, croſſed the rocky bed of the Cavery, under an extremely heavy fire, paſſed the glacis and ditch, and aſcended the breaches in the *fauſſe-braye* and rampart of the fort, ſurmounting, in the moſt gallant manner, every obſtacle in their way, and were completely ſucceſsful.

Reſiſtance continued to be made, from the palace of Tippoo, for ſome time after all firing had ceaſed from the works. Two of his ſons were there, who, however, on the aſſurance of ſafety, ſurrendered to the troops ſurrounding them; and guards were placed, for the protection of the family, moſt of whom were in the palace.

It was ſoon after reported, that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen. Several other chiefs were alſo ſlain. Meaſures were immediately adopted, to ſtop the confuſion, at firſt unavoidable, in a crowded city taken by aſſault. The princes were removed to camp. Immediately, ſearch was made for the ſultaun's body, which, after much difficulty, was found, late in the evening, at one of the gates, under a heap of ſlain, and ſoon after placed in the palace. The corpſe was, the next day, recognized by his family, and interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the mauſoleum of his father.

Thus, after a ſhort, but brilliant career, fell the houſe, or dynaſty, of Hyder. It was noble, in proportion to the lowneſs of its origin (for Hyder Naig was at firſt only a private in the Myſorean ſervice), ſplendid in its progreſs, and not inglorious in its fall. It is eminently diſtinguiſhed from all the families, or dynaſties, that have ever appeared, in ſuch quick ſucceſſion, in Hindoſtan, by a more extenſive adoption, cultivation, and application, of European arts and arms, than had been known before in the dominions of any native power in Aſia.

Thoſe who are fond of parallels between illuſtrious characters, may find many points of reſemblance between Tippoo, the ſon of Hyder, and Hannibal, the ſon of Hamilcar; both, at once ſubtle and falſe, yet brave; both, ſtudious of the knowledge of their times; both trained up by their fathers in hoſtility to the firſt power of the age; both exciting the vengeance of all nations againſt that power; and, in this career, taking a wider range than that which uſually bounded the views of even ambitious and conquering princes: Hannibal, extending his intrigues from the Pillars of Hercules to the Red Sea; Tippoo Saib, from the nations to the eaſt of Caucaſus, not only to Conſtantinople, and other ſeats of power on the Mediterranean, but even to Paris. It would ſeem that indignation and reſentment, againſt overbearing power and ambition, is, in the loftieſt minds, the livelieſt paſſion. It was, probably, by ſuch feelings, more than a calm conſideration of the general welfare of the United Provinces, and of Europe, that the great king William III. was animated to ſuch invincible and heroic oppoſition to the ambition of Louis XIV. of France. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that, notwithſtanding all theſe reſemblances, there was no compariſon between the abilities of Tippoo, who was guided more by paſſion than ſound judgement,

judgement, and the renowned Carthaginian.

On the reduction of Seringapatam, and the exciſion of Tippoo, lord Mornington reſolved to make ſuch arrangements as might eſtabliſh the Britiſh influence and authority in the ſubdued country.—Commiſſioners, appointed on the part of the company, and alſo in behalf of the nizam, on the twenty-fourth of June, promulgated a ſcheme of partition and ſettlement. The capital, with its fortreſs, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, with ſome extenſive diſtricts, including Mangalore, and a very conſiderable extent of ſea-coaſt, were allotted to the Engliſh. A conſiderable portion was aſſigned to the nizam. And a ſeparate territory was ſubjected to the ſway of the Mihiſſour Maha-Rajah Kiſhennai Wuddiar, a deſcendant of the ancient rajahs of Myſore, whoſe throne had been ſeized by Hyder-Ali. The elevation of this prince, to the muſnud, took place in due form on the thirtieth of June, a day which the ſuperſtition of the brachmans had ſelected as the moſt auſpicious for that purpoſe. The ſons of Tippoo were taken into the protection, that is, the cuſtody, as well as care of the Engliſh.

But the hoſtile deſigns and movements of Zemaun Shah, againſt our ſettlements in India, would not have been diſcontinued, in conſequence of the fall of Tippoo Sultaun, if they had not been repreſſed by formidable military preparations, which he did not chooſe to encounter. In 1796, he had advanced, with a large army, againſt our ſettlements, as far as Lahore, when he was called back, by a rebellion, headed by his brother, who, in the abſence of Zemaun, graſped at the reins of government.

The ſatisfaction which a native of Britain derives from a review of this proſperous ſtate of our affairs in India, hoſtile combinations and deſigns confounded, territory extended, and revenue increaſed, is not, in the liberal and ingenuous mind, altogether unmixed with a painful recollection of the blood they coſt, though that of an enemy, and of a princely family overthrown and reduced to a ſtate of dependence on their enemies. Conſiderations of political expediencey do not in every breaſt, and at all times, ſuperſede moral ſentiment. But if thoſe conſiderations alone were of weight, ſtill the reſentment, jealouſy, and new hoſtile combinations, which are ſo frequently excited by conqueſts, might, perhaps, be deemed worthy of calculation. As a pleaſing contraſt to advantages gained by force, we ſhall conclude our chapter, on Britiſh India, for 1799, by an account of proſperity ariſing from a plan conceived in a ſpirit of moderation, juſtice, patriotiſm, and, indeed, univerſal philanthropy.

The prince of Wales's iſland, in the entrance of the ſtraits of Malacca, is happily ſituated for the facilitation and convenience of trade with China, and other places to the eaſtward of China. It is of no inconſiderable extent, being thirty miles in length, and, on an average, about ten or twelve in breadth. The climate is mild and ſalubrious; and both climate and ſoil fitted not only for the production of proviſions, but alſo of pepper, nutmegs, and other ſpices. It is within ten days ſailing of Madras: to which place, from Ceylon, a veſſel

veſſel cannot work up againſt the north-eaſt monſoon, in leſs than ſix or ſeven weeks.

The prince of Wales's iſland was acquired, by the government of Bengal, as Pennſylvania was by William Penn,* in regular and voluntary ceſſion from the king of Cudda, in 1785. The importance of this place, in our poſſeſſion, has been illuſtrated, by the protection which it has afforded to the trade carried on by the merchants in all our different preſidencies in India. From the commencement of the preſent war, few ſhips to China, from Bombay, Madras, or Bengal, but have touched at Prince of Wales's iſland, for intelligence; and ſeveral have been chaced in by French privateers, into whoſe hands they muſt inevitably have fallen, if they had not been ſo near a Britiſh port. Malacca affords no protection whatever to trade, as all the merchant-ſhips lie nearly two miles off from the garriſon, and are, conſequently, expoſed to be cut away from their anchors by the enemy's cruizers. On this account, prince of Wales's iſland has, ſince the commencement of the war, been the rendezvous for all the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal ſhips trading to China and the eaſtern iſlands, and alſo for the company's ſhips going from thoſe iſlands to China. It is, unqueſtionably, the beſt harbour in India, for veſſels of every kind, being, at all ſeaſons of the year, ſafe, and eaſy of acceſs. Since this port was firſt eſtabliſhed, a veſſel has never yet been known to drive or drag her anchors. Here, alſo, the whole navy of England could be ſupplied with maſts and ſpars of all ſizes. Admiral Rainier, about two years ago, put three lower maſts, of the wood of this iſland, in the Suffolk, the only ſeventy-four, it is preſumed, in the Britiſh navy, that has lower maſts of a ſingle ſpar; and they have ſtood ſo well, for four monſoons, that all the men of war, in thoſe quarters, come here to take them in. The iſland is alſo ſo favourably ſituated for a naval port, that a ſhip diſabled in action, on any part of the coaſt, during the ſouth-weſt monſoon, can run here with a fair wind, where ſhe can eaſily be refitted; and ſtill the ſame wind will enable her to croſs the bay, and join the fleet or ſquadron, if ſtationed on any part of the coaſt to the north of Ceylon. And for winter-quarters, during the north-eaſt monſoon, when the fleet cannot longer remain on the coaſt, this place holds out many advantages, which give it a decided preference above all others; the climate being extremely favourable to the ſick, and the price of all kinds of proviſions extremely reaſonable. Here the principal part of what is underſtood by the Malay trade, now centres. Since the ſettlement formed on this iſland, the price of opium has riſen, in Bengal, from two hundred and fifty rupees, per cheſt, to ſeven hundred and eight hundred; and at the ſales in November, 1799,

* Admiral Penn, who, in conjunction with Venables, had conquered the iſland of Jamaica, obtained a promiſed grant of Pennſylvania, after the expulſion of the Dutch and Swedes, from Charles II. On the admiral's death, his ſon, the celebrated quaker, after much ſolicitation at court, obtained the performance of it. But, inſtead of immediately taking advantage of his patent, he purchaſed the lands, conveyed in his grant, from the Indians; judging the original property and eldeſt right to be veſted in them.

it ſold as high as eight hundred and ſixty rupees per cheſt. This is accounted for by the advanced prices which merchants can afford to give at this mart. The Malay traders, who were formerly ſupplied with opium from Bencoolen, Batavia, and a few ſhips fitted out from Bengal, come now to this place in their own veſſels, which they navigate with ſpeed and ſafety. At Prince of Wales's iſland, they not only buy their opium and piece-goods at a lower price, but find a ready market for all the different articles of traffic manufactured, or produced by the earth, in their own countries.

The pepper-plantations on this iſland, in the year 1799, produced nine thouſand picoles. And there are now twenty thouſand nutmeg-trees on the iſland, belonging to the company, and to individuals, though by far the greater number to the latter. The plants look as healthy, and are as ſtrong, as any at either Amboyna or Banda. From its poſition, and other natural advantages, it promiſes, in time, to be one of the chief emporiums of India, and to compenſate to Great Britain for any ceſſions that may be made, in that country, for the invaluable bleſſing of peace, to France or Holland. On the whole, the ſettlement on Prince of Wales's iſland is a ſtriking and pleaſing proof, how much the proſperity of a maritime and commercial nation, by other means than thoſe of war, may be happily improved and extended.

CHAP. V.

Determination of the Porte to repel the Invaſion of Egypt.—Letter from the Grand Seignior to Tippoo Sultaun, on that Subject.—Tippoo's Anſwer.—A new Sect of Iſlaumitiſh Socinians.—Account, by Tippoo Sultaun, of the Chriſtian Domination in India.—Complaints againſt the Engliſh.—Confederacy for exterminating the Chriſtian Infidels from India.—Reflections.—Hypocritical Conduct of the French towards the Turks. Reſentment and ſpirited Conduct of the Porte.—Alliance between the Porte and Ruſſia.—Change in the Turkiſh Miniſtry.—Memorial of the Porte to all foreign Miniſters.—Turkiſh Manifeſto, addreſſed to the Britiſh Miniſter at Conſtantinople.—Character of the Turks.—Military Preparations of the Porte. Councils and Views of the Ruſſians.—Character and political Conduct of the Ruſſian Emperor, Paul.—Treaty between Great Britain and Ruſſia.—Ruſſian Declaration of War againſt Spain.—The Emperor of Ruſſia elected, by the diſperſed Knights, Grand Maſter of Malta.—His Munificence to that Order.—New Eſtabliſhment for its Maintenance, at St. Peterſburgh.—A combined Ruſſian and Turkiſh Fleet ſails through the Dardanels into the Mediterranean.—And reduces the Venetian Iſlands on the Weſtern Coaſt of Turkey in Europe.—Humane and liberal Conduct of the Conquerors of theſe to their Priſoners of War.

THE ſympathies and antipathies of religion did not produce the ſame effects on the minds of the grand ſeignior and Turkiſh divan that they operated on that of the kings of Candahar and Cabul.—Theſe, as is uſual with other religioniſts, were modified and counteracted by conſiderations of policy. The dominion of the Oſmalins appeared a nearer and dearer object than the intereſts, common to all Muſſulmen, of the religion of the prophet. The power and proſpects of heretics, infidels, and polytheiſts, the avowed enemies of the Khoo-dadaud-circar,* in India, were leſs alarming than the new republic. The grand ſeignior, inſtead of exciting the Mahometan princes againſt the enemies of Tippoo, endeavoured to unite them in oppoſition to the enemies of all ſovereigns and religion.

The grand ſeignior, in a letter, dated the twenty-third of September, 1798, to Tippoo Sultaun, acquainted him of the invaſion of the venerated land of Egypt, by the devoted French, notwithſtanding the obſervance of long ſubſiſting friendſhip on the part of the Sublime Porte; the ambitious views of that irreligious and turbulent people in Hindoſtan; and the determination of the Porte to employ the

* The dominion of Tippoo.

moſt

moſt vigorous meaſures for the purpoſe of repelling that rebellious race. The grand ſeignior requeſted that Tippoo would communicate to him whatever ſubject of complaint he might have againſt the Engliſh: when, by the aid of God and the grand ſeignior's good offices, thoſe complaints ſhould be removed, to his ſatisfaction, and the grounds of oppoſition and eſtrangement be exchanged for the deſirable objects of harmony and union. To this letter, Tippoo, after the uſual compliments to the grand ſeignior, and profeſſions of reverence and devotion to the common faith of Iſmauliſm, replied, that, as "The French had made themſelves enemies to his highneſs, they had made themſelves ſo to all the followers of the faith. God (ſaid he) is the protector and defender of the land of Hindoſtan; next to him, this ſuppliant, (meaning Tippoo himſelf) at the Almighty throne, does not and will not neglect the ſervice of the people. I am fully confident that your highneſs will be diſpoſed to afford aſſiſtance and ſupport, in all matters, to us labourers. All Hindoſtan is over-run with infidels and polytheiſts, excepting the dominions of Khoo-dadaud-circar, which, like the ark of Noah, are ſafe under the protection and bounteous aid of God. It is my hope, from the ſupreme king of kings, that, as at the appearance of a ſecond Adam, the religion of Iſlaum will obtain excluſive prevalence over the whole country of Hindoſtan, and that all the ſinful heretics will, with the utmoſt eaſe, become the prey of the ſwords of the combatants in the cauſe of religion. Be it known to thoſe who ſtand at the foot of the imperial throne, that the treachery, deceit, and ſupremacy, of the Chriſtians, in the regions of Hindoſtan, are beyond the power of expreſſion." Tippoo proceeds to deduce the hiſtory of the Chriſtian dominion in India, from the time when the French and Engliſh, "each, with one of their deteſted ſhips, and a few Caffres" (infidels), on board, came to the coaſt, to that when the Engliſh had adopted a determined reſolution to ſubdue the whole of Hindoſtan; and, in conjunction with the Nizam Ally Khan and the infidels of Poonah, to ſubvert the Muſſulman religion. The whole energy of his mind, he ſaid, was continually exerted to ſupport the religion of Mahomet. As an inſtance of his zeal, he mentioned a deſign he had formed, of quelling, by an armed force, commanded by one of his approved ſons, certain exceſſive commotions that had been excited, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, by the ſon of Abdool Wahaub. This Abdool was an enterprizing Mahometan ſceptic, who, ſome years ſince, eſtabliſhed a new doctrine, the foundation of which is, the abjuration of the ſignal honours paid to Mahomet. His doctrine, a kind of *Iſlaumiliſh Socinianiſm*, did not extend to a denial of the prophet's miſſion, but it placed him in the condition merely of a meſſenger of the word of God, poſſeſſing, in himſelf, no title to the adoration of mankind. This man obtained very numerous proſelytes, who traverſed with him the countries of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, propagating their tenets by the ſword. The power of the hierarch, Abdool, ſpiritual and temporal, on his death, was transferred to his ſon. Tippoo had written to the ſupreme

miniſter of the ſhereef of Mecca, deſiring to be informed of the ſituation of affairs in that quarter. "For, (ſays he) the holy receptacle is an object of veneration to the followers of truth, and an object of the regard of the all-powerful; and to do ſervices thereunto is productive of bleſſings both in this world and the world to come." Tippoo, in order to conciliate the friendſhip of the Porte towards himſelf, and to rouſe its reſentment againſt the Engliſh, ſtated, in his letter to the grand ſeignior, that, after he had granted peace, at the earneſt and humble ſuit of Engliſh ambaſſadors, in 1784,* they had excited and joined in a hoſtile confederacy againſt the Khoo-dadaud-circar, in conſequence of the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between the circar and the Sublime Porte. The Engliſh, he ſtated, being informed of the miſſion, the friendly reception, and the return of his ambaſſadors from Conſtantinople, "with hearts inflamed and conſcious that they had given his highneſs (the grand ſeignior) proofs of their evil diſpoſition," immediately conceived, that all the tribe of Iſlaum were about to league together for their deſtruction. Confederated with the Nizam and the infidels of Poonah, they waged war againſt the Khoo-dadaud-circar, for four years. At length, near a hundred thouſand followers of the faith had determined to ſlay their wives and families with their own hands, and, ruſhing on the infidels, drink the cup of martyrdom, and plunge the infidels into hell. The counſellors, the lords, and the reſpected ſages of Iſlaumiſm, all agreed, that this attack upon the dominions of the Khoo-dadaud-circar was in conſequence of the deputation of ambaſſadors, with letters to the Sublime Porte; and, therefore, that it was adviſable, by any means, to accommodate matters for the preſent; to communicate to his highneſs all that had occured; and, joined by his highneſs's aid, proceed to exterminate the infidels afterwards. He had approved, he ſaid, the repreſentation of his faithful ſervants, and ſurrendering three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, and half his country, which was all a dead loſs to him, put an end to the conteſt. In concluſion, he prayed that the victorious banners of Iſlaum might be ever prevalent, and every trace of herefy and infidels be wiped away.

A wiſh has often been expreſſed by men of learning, that ſome account of the Punic wars had been left by the Carthaginians as well as by the Romans; or ſome of their official papers, containing ſtatements of the conduct of this great and victorious people. The Romans were at great pains to deſtroy every monument of Carthage. It was more liberal in the Engliſh to preſerve the whole, and even to publiſh many of the papers that were found, after the fall of Tippoo Sultaun, in his palace of Seringapatam. It is probable, that if any of the Carthaginian documents had been preſerved they would have exhibited ſomewhat of the character of thoſe left by Tippoo. The conduct of the Romans would have appeared to be deeply tinctured

* This matter is not greatly miſrepreſented by Tippoo.—See *Memoirs of the War in Aſia.*

with

with artifice, injuſtice, violence, and rapine: but, with much truth, there would have been a mixture of falſehood, and ſemi-barbarian cunning. We ſympathiſe with the ſultaun, when he deſcribes and deplores the ruin of the Mogul empire, "ſhaken to pieces by its own ſervants, wounded by the Engliſh, and, in its laſt ſtage, by the Mahrattas, who ſeized on the few remaining wrecks of its ancient greatneſs and ſplendour;" and are deeply affected at the ſad ſpectacle of "a poor ſightleſs individual, of the royal family of Delhi, whoſe ſervants (under the Rohilla chief, Gholaum Caudir) had put out his eyes, ſeated in his houſe in a ſtate the moſt abject, and the only reſources of his maintenance the fruits of his garden!" But we revolt at the falſehood of the ſultaun, in the midſt of all his religious profeſſions, and deſpiſe his mean and ſilly cunning, when we find him, in his letters to the French, aſcribing the enmity of the Britiſh power to himſelf, to them: in his letters to Zemaun Shah, attributing it to his having deputed ambaſſadors to that prince: and, in his diſpatches to the grand ſeignior, imputing it to his delegation of an embaſſy to the Sublime Porte.

While Tippoo Sultaun attempted to direct the whole ſenſibility and exertions of the Turks againſt the common enemies of Iſmauliſm, on the one hand, the French, on the other, endeavoured, by ſoft words and fair profeſſions, to ſuſpend and ſink their indignation, at the invaſion of Egypt, in the recollection of the ancient and natural alliance between the Porte and France, and in a jealouſy of the Auſtrians, Ruſſians, and Engliſh. Neither the Turkiſh ambaſſador at Paris, nor the reis-effendi at Conſtantinople, were able, by repeated inquiries, to obtain any other information reſpecting the expedition, from Toulon, than that its only object was the conqueſt and the deſtruction of the order of the knights of Malta; an object that muſt be pleaſing, and excite the gratitude of all Muſſulmen. Biſhop Talleyrand, the miniſter, of the French republic, for foreign relations, ſolemnly aſſured the Ottoman ambaſſador, at Paris, that there was no other end in view; and that it was the fixed and unalterable purpoſe of the French government, to preſerve the ancient friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between France and the Sublime Porte, and to cement and ſtrengthen it more and more. But, in the mean time, while the French miniſter was making ſuch proteſtations, in reply to the letters ſent by the French chargé d'affaires at Conſtantinople, Ruffin, as well as by the Ottoman government, that envoy had received letters, of an old date, in which the directory had written to him, that it was, indeed, true that Buonaparte had orders to go to Egypt; but this was only in order to puniſh the beys, to procure certain commercial advantages for France, and to ſtrike a blow againſt England; that it was the intention of the directory to ſend an ambaſſador to the Sublime Porte, for the purpoſe of arranging all thoſe matters, and ſhewing various important advantages that would accrue to the Ottomans from that expedition; and that if the Porte ſhould be ſo raſh as to declare war againſt the French republic, on account of this affair of Egypt, it would be immediately attacked by

the imperial courts, which were its ancient and conſtant enemies.

It is probable that Talleyrand, when he gave the ſolemn aſſurances juſt mentioned, to Aly-Effendi, had, in the multiplicity of buſineſs in which he was engaged, forgotten the contents of his letter to Ruffin. From the diſcordancy between that letter and thoſe aſſurances, it was manifeſt that his deſign was, in his converſation with the Turkiſh ambaſſador, to deceive and amuſe the divan, until certain intelligence ſhould be received of the fate of the expedition. But, after Buonaparte had landed, and made very conſiderable progreſs, though in a very ſhort time, towards the eſtabliſhment of the French colony in Egypt, the French envoy at Conſtantinople, the Spaniſh, and the Dutch, or, as he was called, the Batavian ambaſſador, repreſented, to the Turkiſh government, that the poſſeſſion of that country, by the French, under the authority and accuſtomed tribute to the Porte, would be the very beſt thing that could happen, for the intereſt and preſervation of the Ottoman empire; a partition of whoſe Turkiſh dominions was certainly in the contemplation of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians, as the occupancy of the coaſts of the Arabian Gulph, by the erection of forts, was in that of the Engliſh. The excitement that would be given to commerce, and the improvements that would be extended by the French in Egypt to other parts of the Turkiſh dominions, would ultimately redound to the wealth, power, and glory, of the ſovereign Sublime Porte. Its French ſubjects, at the ſame time that they promoted the internal proſperity of the Ottoman empire, would be a powerful defence againſt both internal revolt and external aggreſſion. In a word, the grand ſeignior ought not to take umbrage at the appearance of the French in Egypt, ſince it was manifeſtly for his good.

The Turkiſh government was neither ſo much paralyſed by internal weakneſs, nor ſo much overawed by a dread of the two imperial courts, as to bear ſuch treatment and language, without expreſſing and giving proofs of their reſentment. To the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the reis-effendi, with equal dignity, propriety, and ſeverity, replied, "I am ſorry to find the king of Spain become the tool of men who murdered his family, and ſhake a ſabre over his own head!" An embargo was laid on the French ſhips at Conſtantinople, and in other Turkiſh ports. The French merchants, as well as conſuls, were impriſoned, and their goods ſequeſtered. The French envoy, Ruffin, with his domeſtics, was ſent as a hoſtage to the Seven Towers, and the arms of the French republic torn down from the French ambaſſador's palace. The Spaniſh ambaſſador received an order to quit Conſtantinople within a few days. The Dutch ambaſſador was ordered away, likewiſe, but, on his repreſenting that, in a few months, there might very probably be a change in his government, he was ſuffered to remain.

On the ſecond day of September, the following memorial was delivered, by the Porte, to all the foreign miniſters:

"The Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the ſtricteſt amity and good underſtanding;

ing; which good underſtanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmoſt ſurprize, therefore, has it ſeen the Turkiſh territories abruptly, and in a moſt extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms. A man of the name of Buonaparte, giving himſelf out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkiſh province of Egypt. It is impoſſible for the Porte to believe that ſuch a proceeding, ſo contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much leſs commanded, by the French executive directory. A conſiderable force, however, has been ſent to Egypt, to ſtop the progreſs of the invaders. Some of the emiſſaries of Buonaparte have pretended to perſuade the people of Egypt, that they have been ſent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happineſs, and render their religion the ſovereign religion on earth: but the people have anſwered, that Mahomet authorizes no injuſtice, and that they can place no faith in ſuch promiſes, from thoſe who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet."

The dignified brevity and ſimplicity, and the plain and manly ſenſe, of this little piece, was generally and juſtly admired. A manifeſto, conceived alſo in the ſimple majeſty of truth, was communicated, on the eleventh of September, 1798, by the Sublime Porte, "To their eſteemed friend, the miniſter-plenipotentiary of the court of Great Britain, at Conſtantinople." In this piece, the duplicity, artifice, treachery, and injuſtice, of the French republic, are contraſted with the plain-dealing, the good faith, and the pacific and juſt diſpoſitions and principles, of the Porte. Though the divan had perſevered in their ſyſtem of neutrality, they were neither unacquainted with their political principles, nor unalarmed at their progreſs. After enumerating the extenſive advantages which the French had reaped from the Sublime Porte's remaining neutral, during the courſe of the war, and that they, on their ſide, ought alſo to have been ſteady in preſerving peace, the manifeſto ſtates, "That thoſe among them, who found the means of aſſuming to themſelves the reins of government, by favour of the revolution, began to deviſe various pretences, and under an illuſive idea of liberty — a liberty ſo called in word, but which, in reality, knows no other laws than the ſubverſion of every eſtabliſhed government — (after the example of France), the aboliſhment of all religions, the deſtruction of every country, the plunder of property, and the diſſolution of all human ſociety — to occupy themſelves in nothing but in miſleading and impoſing upon the ignorant, amongſt the people, pretending to reduce mankind to the ſtate of the brute creation, and render the government permanent in their own hands. Actuated by ſuch principles, they made it their maxim to ſtir up and corrupt, indiſcriminately, the ſubjects of every power, whether diſtant or near, either in peace or war, and to excite them to revolt againſt their natural ſovereigns and government. Whilſt, on one hand, their miniſter at Conſtantinople, purſuant to that ſyſtem of duplicity and deceit which is their cuſtom every where, made profeſſions of friendſhip for the

Ottoman empire, endeavouring to make the Sublime Porte the dupe of their infidious projects, and to forward their object of exciting her againſt other friendly powers; the commanders and generals of their army in Italy, on the other hand, were engaged in the heinous attempt of perverting the ſubjects of his majeſty the grand ſeignior, by ſending agents (perſons notorious for their intriguing practices) into Anatolia, Morea, and the iſlands of the Archipelago; and by ſpreading manifeſtoes, of the moſt inſidious tenour, among which, the one addreſſed by Buonaparte, to the people of Macrio, with ſeveral others, diſtributed by the ſame, are ſufficiently known to the public.

"Upon the Sublime Porte's complaining, to the directory, of this conduct of their commanders and generals, their anſwer was, that all proceedings, on the part of their officers, contrary to friendſhip, were not with the conſent of the directory, and the ſame ſhould be prevented, and their officers warned againſt it, the wiſh of the French government being to ſtrengthen, more and more, the ancient friendſhip ſubſiſting with the Sublime Porte.

"In conſequence of this anſwer, delivered officially on their part, it was expected that the ſaid generals would have left off their ſeditious purſuits. But, nevertheleſs, no change appearing in their conduct, and their perſeverance, in ſuch inſidious practices, being greater than ever, it became obvious, that the anſwers of the directory were only fictitious and deceitful; that the intriguing attempts of their agents could not but be dictated by the inſtructions which were given them, and, conſequently, that any farther complaint would be of no avail whatever.

"Notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, however, the Sublime Porte, in the hopes of the directory altering its ſyſtem of conduct, and laying aſide the ſenſeleſs purſuit of wiſhing to overturn the univerſe; in expectation of ſeeing things in France, from the haraſſed ſituation of that country, at length take a different turn, by the people refuſing to bear any longer thoſe intolerable evils and diſaſters which have been brought upon them from the perſonal views of a few upſtart individuals, ſince the commencement of the revolution; and with a view of preventing ſecret enmity from producing an open rupture; ſhe did not alter her courſe, but preferred keeping ſilence.

"In the beginning of the war with the other powers, the French government had declared, that their intention was not to acquire new territory, but, on the contrary, to reſtore every ſuch conqueſt as might have been made by their arms during the conteſt; contrary to which, they not only have kept poſſeſſion of various extenſive provinces,—ſnatched by them from the belligerent powers; but, not content with this, profiting of the changes which had prevailed among the allied courts, through their intrigues, have put off the maſk intirely, and, developing their ſecret views, without reaſon or juſtice, have fallen upon ſeveral free and independent republics and ſtates, who had held themſelves neutral, like the Sublime Porte, invading their territories, when leaſt provided with the means

of

of defence, and ſubjecting them to their will by open force and hoſtility.

"Thus, no one being left to controul them, they tore the veil of all decorum at once, and, unmindful of the obligations of treaties, and, to convince the world that friendſhip and enmity are the ſame thing, in their eyes, contrary to the right of nations, and in violation of the ties ſubſiſting between the two courts, they came, in a manner altogether unprecedented, like a ſet of pirates, and made a ſudden invaſion in Egypt, the moſt precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte, of which they took forcible poſſeſſion, at a time when they had experienced nothing from this court but demonſtrations of friendſhip."

The manifeſto, having recounted various inſtances of French duplicity and diſſimulation, and, particularly, the poſitive declaration of Talleyrand, in anſwer to the categorical queſtion put to him by Aly-Effendi, that Buonaparte's commiſſion had no other object than the conqueſt of Malta, and the deſtruction of the order of its knights, inferred:

"That the directors of the French government, to ſecond their own ambition and arrogance, had actually loſt all recollection of thoſe laws obſerved and maintained in every regular government; and that no faith, whatever, was to be placed in their words and profeſſions. From the tenour of their arbitrary proceedings, and deſpotic conduct, as too well witneſſed from firſt to laſt, it is clear and evident, that their project is no other but to baniſh every orderly inſtitution from the face of the world; to overſet human ſociety; and, by an alternate play of ſecret intrigue or open hoſtility, as beſt ſuits their end, to derange the conſtitution of every eſtabliſhed independent ſtate, by creating (as they have done in Italy) a number of ſmall republics, of which the French is to be the parent mother; and thus to ſway, and to conduct every thing after their own will, every where.

"Now, Egypt being the portal of the two venerable cities (Mecca and Medina), and the preſent operations, in that quarter, being of a nature affecting all the Mahomedan ſect at large, the Sublime Porte, conſiſtently with her expreſs declarations to the above French chargé d'affaires, and, through her ambaſſador, to the directory at Paris, is compelled, by every law, to reſiſt the ſudden and unprovoked aggreſſion and hoſtilities, committed by the French, as above, and, with a full confidence in the aſſiſtance of the Omnipotent God, to ſet about repelling and deſtroying the enemy, by ſea and land. Thus, to wage war againſt France, is become a precept of religion incumbent on all Muſſulmen.

"In conſequence whereof, the aforeſaid chargé d'affaires, together with the officers of that miſſion, have been ſent to the Seven Towers, to be detained there, as hoſtages, until ſuch time as Aly-Effendi, before named, and thoſe of his retinue, be arrived from Paris: and the conſuls, merchants, and French properties, in Conſtantinople, and in other parts of the Ottoman empire, ſhall alſo be kept in depoſit, and as ſecurity, until the merchants, dependents of the Sublime Porte, with their ſhipping, and properties, as alſo the public ſhips, with their equipage, detained in the

the province of Egypt, (priſoners of war excepted) be ſet at liberty. To repel the perfidy of thoſe uſurpers who have raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion and trouble in France, is a meaſure, in which not the ſafety and tranquillity of the Sublime Porte alone, but alſo that of all the powers in Europe, is concerned: wherefore, the beſt hopes are entertained of the cordial co-operation of all friendly courts, as well as of their diſpoſition to fulfil, by every means in their power, their duties of friendſhip and of aſſiſtance in the preſent cauſe."

Though the native energy of the mind, in Turkey in Europe, be repreſſed by deſpotiſm, it is obſerved to recover, on trying occaſions, not a little of that quickneſs of perception which formerly diſtinguiſhed the natives of that happy region and climate. The Turks, though ſunk in ſloth, are not, by nature, a ſlow or ſtupid race. A review of the conduct of France by this nation, forced to ſpeak out by the irreſiſtible impulſe of truth and facts, and rendered hoſtile to their ancient ally only by inſufferable aggreſſion, deſerves to be recorded among the moſt memorable events and features of the paſſing years. But, neither the rebellion of Paſſowan Oglou, who maintained his independence and power in Boſnia, Servia, and Balgaria, and threatened to carry his arms into Macedonia and Romania, and even to Conſtantinople; the revolutionary ſpirit, excited and foſtered by the French, in the Morea; nor, finally, perhaps, the invaſion of Egypt, would have ſufficed to rouze the Porte to the exertions which the times and the occaſion demanded, if the naval victory of Aboukir had not exhibited a ſtriking and encouraging proof, that the power and fortune of the French republic were not irreſiſtible. It had been conſtantly repreſented by the Engliſh miniſter at the Porte, whoſe public conduct, as well as his polite and friendly attentions to his countrymen abroad, merit much praiſe, that the revolutionary ſpirit of France threatened all monarchical thrones with ſubverſion. The Porte, at laſt, at once alarmed at the invaſion of Egypt, and emboldened by the victory of the Nile, liſtened ſeriouſly to his arguments. He became the principal counſellor and confient of the reis-effendi, or ſecretary of ſtate; and it was very much owing to his influence and addreſs that an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was formed between Ruſſia and the Porte, under the reciprocal guarantee of the emperor of Germany and of Great Britain.

It was found now, that the ſupreme vizier, Izzad Mahomed Baſhaw, had attended to nothing but his own intereſt: ſo that, "In the dark himſelf, with reſpect to the evil deſigns of thoſe ſwiniſh infidels, the French, from not procuring proper intelligence, he did not apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof in good time," he was therefore depoſed from the office of grand vizier, and Joſeph, baſhaw-governor of Euzerum,* appointed in his ſtead: until whoſe arrival at the ſublime gate, Muſtapha Baſhaw,

* This is the ſame Joſeph who had been ambaſſador, for ſome years, from the Porte, at the court of London.

to

to whom the imperial decree,* announcing thoſe changes, was addreſſed, was to act as deputy-vizier, or Raimakam. Military preparations were made, plans of action were formed, and troops were in motion, in both Turkey in Aſia and Turkey in Europe. Of the operations in the former, ſome account has already been given. Before we proceed to take a view of thoſe in the latter, it will be proper to advert to the counſels and movements of the Ruſſians, with which thoſe of the Turks, in the preſent ſtrange convulſion of the world, were, to all appearance, amicably blended.

At the commencement of the war, the late empreſs of Ruſſia, jealous of an union between Auſtria and Pruſſia, and not diſpleaſed to ſee theſe preponderating powers of Germany exhauſt their ſtrength in a conflict with France, acceded, at firſt, to the confederacy of kings, only in name. But ſhe afterwards, on the ſeceſſion of Pruſſia, became, in earneſt, and had determined to ſend a great force to the aid of the allies, as before related. Her ſucceſſor, on the Ruſſian throne, inherited, from his illuſtrious anceſtors, a paſſion for the farther aggrandizement of the empire, and from them too, as well as his own ſituation, a diſpoſition to quaſh popular innovation, and to maintain the common cauſe of ſovereigns. The latter of theſe principles appears to have been that which originally moved Paul I. in 1798, to take an active part with the coalition; though the latter was more and more developed by the progreſs of events, and ſeems even to have abſorbed the original motive of action. He was unhackneyed in the intrigues and duplicity of courts: he avowed and moved ſtraight forward to his object; which was the reſtoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France.† It was in the ſame ſpirit of hoſtility to French innova-

* From this decree, promulgated at the Porte, on the firſt of September, the following, as ſerving to give an idea of the Turks and Turkiſh government, is extracted:—

"Now, it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat thoſe faithleſs brutes, the French, and it being become a poſitive duty for our imperial perſon to deliver the bleſſed territories from their accurſed hands, and to revenge the inſult which they have offered to Muſſulmen, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizier; but the moſt vigorous meaſures muſt be purſued to attack them by ſea and land.

"Wherefore, by a deliberation with the illuſtrious lawyers, miniſters, and chieftains, our ſubjects, you muſt (with a full confidence in God and his prophet) fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the preſence of ſuch wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers, in the reſpective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turning night into day, will apply your utmoſt efforts to take revenge of them.

"You will adopt the moſt vigilant conduct towards defending the other Mahometan provinces and our imperial frontiers, from the plots and malice of the enemy, by the due reinforcement of every port and place with troops and military ſtores.

"You will likewiſe direct your zealous attention towards the due ſupply of daily proviſions to the inhabitants of this our imperial reſidence; and will watch over the affairs of all perſons in general, until the ſupreme vizier do arrive.

"We ſhall obſerve your exertions, and may the omnipotent God ordain his divine favour to attend our undertakings, and render us ſucceſsful in the vindication of our cauſe!"

† See the declaration made by his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias to the members of the German empire, in the ſecond part of this volume.

tions that he laboured, by certain domeſtic regulations relating to dreſs, equipage, and the ceremonial, of ſociety, to preſerve a due gradation of ranks, and the ſupremacy of the court over the whole. Certain reverences were exacted from paſſengers on the ſtreets, not only to the imperial family but the principal officers of ſtate. No one below a certain rank was allowed to put more than a certain number of horſes to his carriage. Ukaſes, or royal edicts, were publiſhed, for wearing cocked hats and directing all perſons to appear in buckles, both in their ſhoes and at their knees, in waiſtcoats with ſlaps, coats without capes, and ſtocks inſtead of neckcloths or handkerchiefs, without any kind of bolſter or ſtuffing. No perſon was to wear boots with tops, or half-boots. For diſobedience to theſe orders ſome perſons were puniſhed with a ſhort impriſonment. Theſe regulations were generally conſidered as trifling and unworthy of a great ſovereign. They wore, indeed, an air of levity and ludicrouſneſs: yet, the attention paid by Peter the Great to the regulation of dreſs has not been condemned as either frivolous or unimportant. Peter was at pains to introduce new faſhions; Paul to preſerve the old. It may be even doubted, whether the policy of Paul was not, in this reſpect, the wiſeſt, as being moſt conſonant with the ſpirit of an abſolute government. If Peter the Great had lived to our day, he would have perceived what, perhaps, he did not, in his ardour to civilize and refine his people, foreſee or think of, that a ſpirit of improvement in the arts and ſciences, and the concomitant ſentiments of the dignity of human nature, and of innnovation in modes and manners of life, is not very conſiſtent with the ſtability of abſolute power; unleſs, indeed, he ſhould have conceived or ventured to execute a deſign of anticipating political fermentation and revolution, by gradual changes and progreſſive improvement in the form of government.

With the ſoul and life of the confederation againſt the French republic, the king of Great Britain, he entered into a cloſe alliance, by a proviſional treaty, done at St. Peterſbugh, on the eighteenth of December, 1798. In the name of the moſt holy and indiviſible trinity, his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, in conſequence of the alliance and friendſhip already ſubſiſting between them, being deſirous to enter into a concert of meaſures, ſuch as might contribute, in the moſt efficacious manner, to oppoſe the ſucceſſes of the French arms, and the extenſion of the principles of anarchy, and to bring about a ſolid peace, together with the re-eſtabliſhment of the balance of Europe, judged it to be worthy of their moſt ſerious conſideration and earneſt ſolicitude to endeavour, if poſſible, to reduce France within its proper limits, as they ſubſiſted before the revolution. With the intention of inducing the king of Pruſſia to take an active part in the war againſt the common enemy, they propoſed to employ all their endeavours to obtain that end. His imperial majeſty was ready to afford him a ſuccour of land-forces, and he deſtined, for that purpoſe, forty-five thouſand men, infantry and cavalry, with the neceſſary artillery.

With

With regard to the direction of this corps, and its combined operations with the Pruſſian troops, the emperor of Ruſſia was to arrange theſe with the king of Pruſſia, and the arrangement to be made was to be communicated to his Britannic majeſty, in order that, by ſuch a concert between the high allies, the military operations againſt the enemy might be made with the greater ſucceſs, and that the object propoſed might be the more eaſily aſcertained. His Britannic majeſty, on his part, engaged to furniſh pecuniary ſuccours: 225,000*l.* ſterling, for the firſt and moſt urgent expenſes; of which 75,000*l.* was to be paid as ſoon as the troops ſhould have paſſed the Ruſſian frontier; and that the other two moieties, of a like ſum each, ſhould be paid at the expiration of two ſucceſſive periods, of three months each, thereafter. He agreed alſo to furniſh to the Ruſſian emperor a ſubſidy of 75,000*l.* per month, to be computed from the day on which the corps of troops, above-mentioned, ſhould paſs the Ruſſian frontiers. This ſubſidy was to be paid at the commencement of each month, and, being deſtined for the appointments and maintenance of the troops, it was to be continued during the ſpace of twelve months, unleſs peace ſhould be made ſooner. Within that ſpace of time, the contracting parties were to come to an underſtanding, whether, in caſe the war ſhould not be terminated, the ſubſidy above-mentioned ſhould be continued. The contracting parties engaged not to make either peace or armiſtice without including each other: but if, through any unforeſeen events, his Britannic majeſty ſhould be under the neceſſity of terminating the war, and thereby of diſcontinuing the ſubſidy, before the expiration of the twelve months above ſtipulated, he engaged, in that caſe, to pay three months advance of the ſubſidy agreed on, reckoning from the day on which the information ſhould be received by the general commanding the Ruſſian troops. In like manner, if any aggreſſion on Ruſſia ſhould take place, by which the emperor ſhould be obliged to recall his army into his own dominions, the ſubſidy ſhould, in ſuch caſe, be paid up only to the day on which the army ſhould re-enter the territory of Ruſſia. This treaty was to be conſidered as proviſional and its execution not to take place until the king of Pruſſia ſhould be determined to turn his forces againſt the common enemy. But, in caſe of his not doing ſo, the contracting parties reſerved to themſelves the right and the power to take, for the good of their affairs, and the ſucceſs of the ſalutary end they *might* have in view, other meaſures analogous to the times and circumſtances, and to agree then on thoſe which, in ſuch a caſe, they ſhould judge to be moſt neceſſary. The emperor of all the Ruſſias, nevertheleſs, in order to give a ſtill more ſtriking proof of his ſincere diſpoſitions, and of his deſire to be, as much as poſſible, uſeful to his allies, promiſed, even during the courſe of the negociation with his Pruſſian majeſty and before its termination, to put the corps of forty-five thouſand men on ſuch a footing that they might be immediately employed wherever, according to a previous concert amongſt the allies, the utility of the common cauſe might require.

The

The zeal of the emperor Paul, in the common cauſe of crowned heads, was alſo manifeſted in a declaration of war againſt Spain, in a manifeſto, dated the fifteenth of July, 1799; in which, as well as in the manifeſto to the German empire, the mind and views of the emperor, at that time, appear to be diſplayed unequivocally and with ſincerity. "Among the ſmall number of European powers (ſaid he) who, in external appearance, ſeemed to be attached to the French monarchy, but who, in reality, are only repreſſed by the dread of thoſe rulers whom God hath abandoned, none has more evidently betrayed that dread, or that puſillanimous ſubmiſſion, than Spain: not, indeed, by affording them, hitherto, any effectual ſuccours or co-operation, but by the actual preparations which ſhe is now making. Fruitleſs have been all our efforts, and they were as forcible as it was poſſible to make, to reconduct that power into the true path of honour and glory, and to unite with us. We declare war againſt the king of Spain; and we conſequently give orders for ſequeſtrating and confiſcating all the Spaniſh merchant-ſhips which are at preſent in our ports; and we likewiſe charge all our commanders, both by ſea and land, to treat as enemies the ſubjects of his Spaniſh majeſty, wherever they may meet with them." His imperial majeſty, in the ſame temper and tone, laid an embargo on the Hamburgh ſhips in the Ruſſian ports; and, in a menacing attitude, attempted to draw off not only that ſmall, yet important, republic, but Sweden, Denmark, and even Pruſſia, from their ſyſtem of neutrality to the ſide of coalition.

While his Ruſſian majeſty exerted his whole authority and influence to rouze a general attack on the French republic, he received into his friendſhip and protection thoſe who had ſuffered from its tyranny and oppreſſion. To Lewis XVIII. as he was called by his adherents and his court, he gave an aſylum in the capital of Courland. He received a number of emigrant French nobles into his military ſervice: and, above all, he extended his protection and munificent patronage to the diſperſed and ejected knights of Malta. The grand bailiff, the grand croſs, and other diſtinguiſhed members of this order, aſſembled at St. Peterſburgh, in October, 1798, elected the emperor grand maſter of their order. His majeſty, who is ſaid to have ſolicited, accepted this dignity, and exerciſed its prerogatives, in conferring, with great pomp and ſolemnity, the order itſelf, as well as its different degrees, titles, and offices, on various perſons of diſtinction. Count Litta, envoy-extraordinary from the pope, and the prince Serra Capriola, envoy from Naples, were honoured with the grand croſs. A new inſtitution, under the name of a grand priory, was eſtabliſhed at Peterſburgh, in favour of the knights of Malta, and endowed with an annual revenue of 216,000 rubles. This was to ſerve as a reſidence and rallying place for all the knights. The motives, aſſigned by his imperial majeſty for this act of munificence, were a regard to the common cauſe of Chriſtianity and Chriſtendom, to which the illuſtrious knights of Malta had been ſo eminently ſubſervient, to preſerve that order, and to enable them to recover the poſ-

ſeſſions

ſeſſions that had been raviſhed from them by injuſtice and violence; and to add a new incitement to the loyalty and bravery of the Ruſſian nobles, by the hope of being admitted, in conſequence of ſignalized merit, into the illuſtrious fraternity of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. But, from this order no perſon of noble deſcent, and otherwiſe properly qualified, according to the rules of the order, of any country in Chriſtendom, was to be interdicted. To the ancient and ſtanding laws of the order, his majeſty added a number of regulations reſpecting his own new foundation.

The ukaſe for this eſtabliſhment was accompanied by a proclamation, declaring that any gentleman, of any Chriſtian country, duly qualified, might be received as a knight of St. John, in the imperial reſidence of St. Peterſburgh, and reſide there in that character, and enjoy the emperor's particular favour and protection.

"We flatter ourſelves (ſays his majeſty) that, having through Divine Providence and hereditary right come to the imperial throne of our anceſtors, we have it in our power to protect, maintain, and even increaſe and extend, the ſplendour of an order ſo ancient and renowned among the orders of chivalry, convinced that, by ſuch a conduct, we ſhall render an important ſervice to the univerſe! The laws and regulations of this order inſpire a love of virtue, form good morals, ſtrengthen the bonds of ſubordination, and preſent a powerful remedy againſt the preſent *mania* for innovation, and the unbridled licentiouſneſs of thinking. In fine, this order is an engine for augmenting the power, ſecurity, and glory, of ſtates."

The emperor, in February, 1799, ſent a note to all the foreign miniſters reſident at Peterſburgh, requeſting them to make known, to their reſpective courts, that he had accepted the title of "Grand maſter of the ſovereign order of St. John of Jeruſalem," of which St. Peterſburgh was henceforth to be the ſeat and chief reſidence. Orders were alſo iſſued to the miniſters of Ruſſia, not to receive any letters, addreſſed to his imperial majeſty, in which the title of "Grand maſter of the ſovereign order of St. John of Jeruſalem" ſhould be omitted.

On this new inſtitution, for the preſervation of an ancient order, though its patron and head was neither unmarried nor a catholic, the aged, infirm, and unfortunate pope, Pius VI. in the monaſtery of Çaſſien, near Florence, beſtowed his approbation, ſanction, and paternal and apoſtolical benediction, on the fifth of November, 1798. This account of the new grand priory at St. Peterſburgh, would have been altogether diſproportionate to the ſcale of this narrative, if ſubſequent events and pretenſions, recently brought forth, had not given them much importance.

The emperor of Ruſſia, with the diſpoſitions, and under the engagements, above mentioned, made war on France by ſea and land. A Ruſſian ſquadron, of twelve ſail of the line, was ſent to co-operate with the Britiſh fleets, in the German Ocean, off the coaſt of Britain; and another, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, 1799, appeared in the canal of Conſtantinople, where it was joined by a Turkiſh ſquadron. The combined fleet, conſiſting of twelve

twelve ſhips of the line and ſixteen frigates, beſides galleys, gun-boats, and tranſports, with twelve thouſand men, ſailed through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean. Their firſt operation was an attack on the newly-created French departments in the Ægean and Adriatic Seas. Cerigo, the ancient Cytherea, an iſland belonging to the Venetians, but ceded to the French by the treaty of Campo-Formio, was taken, after a ſlight reſiſtance, on the twelfth of October. Zante and Cephalonia were abandoned by the French on the nineteenth of that month. And from thence, on the fifth of November, they proceeded to blockade the canal of the iſland of Corfu; in the town and fortreſs of which iſland, the works of which, conſtructed by the celebrated general Schulenberg, had been kept in excellent order by the Venetians, and lately ſtrengthened by the French, there was a conſiderable garriſon, and ample ſtores and proviſions. This place was taken, by the united Turkiſh and Ruſſian forces, on the firſt of March. The town and forts of Corfu, with the artillery, ammunition, ſtores, proviſions, and all other public effects, were given up to the allied troops. The French garriſon were to be conveyed to Toulon, in veſſels furniſhed by the combined ſquadron, and at the expenſe of the ſaid ſquadron, on their word of honour, not to bear arms, for eighteen months, againſt his majeſty the grand ſeignior, his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, or againſt their allies, the king of England, the king of the two Sicilies, and the preſent allies of the two empires. The French general, with the principal officers, and their families, had it in their option, to go either to Toulon or to Ancona. The commanders of the allied ſquadron declared, that every individual, of whatever religion or nation, as well as all the inhabitants of the town and iſland of Corfu, ſhould be reſpected in their perſons and property; that they ſhould not be proſecuted, moleſted, or purſued, on account of the political opinions which they might have held, or for their actions, or for the employments which they might have filled under the French government, up to the date of the capitulation. If any of them choſe to depart with all their property, they might do ſo. The ſick, who could not accompany the garriſon, were to be treated in the ſame manner as the Turks and Ruſſians, at the expenſe of the ſaid powers, and, alſo, when cured, to be ſent to Toulon. The French general was permitted to leave, at Corfu, an officer, with a ſum of ſix thouſand livres, to be expended for the comfort and benefit of his countrymen; and alſo the neceſſary number of officers of health, to prepare drugs, and take care of the ſick. The garriſon, the officers, and thoſe employed in a civil or military capacity, were to receive, as well on ſhore as on board the veſſels, the ſame number of rations that were allowed to them, according to their rank, in conformity to the French laws, until their debarkation at Toulon or Ancona. The ſhips of war and tranſports, which ſhould be employed in conveying the French either to Toulon or Ancona, were not to make any prizes, either in going or returning; and the commiſſary-general engaged, in the name of the French government, to cauſe the ſaid veſſels to be

reſpected

reſpected by the French ſhips and veſſels, and to guarantee their return to Corfu, in like manner as the Turkiſh and Ruſſian admirals reſpectively promiſed, in the name of their courts, to cauſe all the French, compriſed in the preſent capitulation, to be conveyed to the deſtination agreed on. The French general and his ſtaff were to have a Ruſſian guard of honour, until their embarkation. The French garriſon marched out of all the poſts which they had occupied, with all military honours, at the time and place agreed on, the officers, civil and military, retaining their arms: on which the town and fortreſs of Corfu paſſed, of courſe, into the poſſeſſion of the allied forces.

In this capitulation, there was nothing of that Aſiatic barbarity which the friends of the French revolution affected to apprehend, from the acceſſion to the coalition of Turks and Ruſſians. It is not poſſible that any convention could have been made on fairer terms, with greater regard to juſtice, humanity, and the niceſt ſenſe of honour. In peruſing this capitulation, we entertain a momentary wonder, that the horrors of mutual war ſhould at all exiſt between nations capable of thinking and acting ſo generouſly as well as juſtly: undoubtedly, they would much ſeldomer take place, were princes and politicians governed in their councils by ſimilar ſentiments. The wiſdom of the capitulation was equal to its humanity. Its moderation and juſtice ſtood in direct oppoſition and contraſt with the domineering and rapacious paſſions of the republic, which obliged the conquered ſtates to paſs under the yoke and to wear the chains impoſed by the conquerors.

The union of Ruſſia with Turkey increaſed the power of the latter, not only by an acceſſion of force, but much more by re-animating the courage, and infuſing new energy into the Ottoman councils and nation. The appearance of the combined Turkiſh and Ruſſian fleet and land-forces, on the weſtern coaſt of Turkey in Europe, gave force and effect to ſtrict orders, from Conſtantinople, to all the agents of the Turkiſh government in that quarter, to uſe the moſt vigorous means for quaſhing the intrigues of the French, and repreſſing all tendency to rebellion. The baſhaw of Janina, who had ſhewn ſome ſymptoms of diſregard to the firmans of the Porte, on ſundry occaſions, and who had begun, as was believed, to liſten to certain overtures from the French, took a decided and active part on the ſide of that government which it was his duty to ſupport. With the perfidious cunning of a barbarian, he drew the French generals, Roſa and Salcette (though the former, it is ſaid, had taken for a wife one of his daughters), into a conference with ſome of his emiſſaries, who pretended a diſpoſition, on the part of the baſhaw, to go over to the French; during which, they were arreſted, with certain other inferior officers who attended them, and kept in confinement. The French, in the different poſts formerly held by the Venetians, which they occupied on the coaſt of Dalmatia, were either killed, in caſes of the leaſt reſiſtance, or taken priſoners. This was a more important advantage than the reduction of the

iſlands; for, in thoſe poſts, the French had many facilities for diſſeminating their doctrines throughout Epirus, Theſſaly, and Macedonia, and exciting a general inſurrection among the Greeks, for the revival, as they ſaid, of the Greek republic, and for combining with the formidable and fortunate baſhaw of Widdin, Paſſowan Oglou, who had penetrated into Wallachia and Bulgaria, and threatened ſtill farther and rapid progreſs. That chief, being informed of the treaty and junction of the Turks with the Ruſſians, and that, while the power of theſe allies prevailed on the Albanian coaſt, a body of Ruſſian troops had begun to march againſt him towards Moldavia and Wallachia, was alarmed. He had, for ſome time, been held in balance, between the offers of grace from the Porte, and the charms of independent power. He now deemed it prudent, not, indeed, entirely to give up the latter, which ſo few have been inclined or dared to relinquiſh, but to come to a compromiſe with the grand ſeignior. Paſſowan Oglou ceaſed all inroads and hoſtilities againſt any of the Turkiſh provinces, on the condition of his being continued in his government, and an exemption from certain tribute, which he claimed according to a written deed of the Sublime Porte, in conſequence of the diſtinguiſhed merit of his anceſtors. It was the exaction of this tribute, from the lands belonging to Paſſowan Oglou, as well as from others, that was the original cauſe, or, at leaſt, the original pretext, for his taking up arms againſt the ſultaun of Conſtantinople, whom he boldly accuſed, as well as his agents and moſt of his Turkiſh ſubjects, of repeated violations of the laws of Iſmauliſm.

When the iſlands of Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Mauro, were taken by the combined fleet, a part of the French, who had garriſoned them, were ſent priſoners of war to Albania; and other French priſoners were made, at the poſts they held on the coaſt of that province. The fate of thoſe unfortunate men was very different from that of ſuch of their countrymen who fell into the hands of the allies, at Corfu.* The French officers, above mentioned, were ſent by Ali, baſhaw of Janina, to Conſtantinople, where they arrived on the eleventh of January, and were ſent to the priſon of the Seven Towers. From four to five other priſoners, of inferior rank, including ſixteen women, arrived on the twelfth; with ſixty heads, of their unhappy companions, who had periſhed from fatigue, cold, and, perhaps, from the brutal treatment of the Turkiſh ſoldiers. The men were ſent to the Bagnio, the women to the quarters of the French ambaſſador. By this time, another party of French priſoners, to the number of forty-ſix, had alſo arrived at Conſtantinople, and had been alſo lodged in the ſame priſon. They were on their voyage from Alexandria to Corfu, when they fell into the hands of the Engliſh fleet, under

* It is to be obſerved, that, before the conteſt in the Ægean Sea was decided, by the reduction of Corfu, which ſtood a ſiege of three months, no part of the combined naval force could be ſpared, for ſending them to France.

admiral

admiral Nelſon. Being driven, by ſtreſs of weather, into the port of Syphanto, they were taken hold on by the natives of that iſle, and ſent to Conſtantinople. It was in behalf of theſe unfortunate men, that ſir Sidney Smith made that generous and humane interceſſion, which has been already alluded to in our ſecond chapter.

A Turkiſh ſhip of war, of eighty guns, was launched at Conſtantinople, on the fourteenth of January. At this operation, performed with much ceremony, the ſultaun, Selim himſelf, on board a veſſel of one hundred and twenty guns, was preſent. Sir Sidney, after the launching of the new ſhip, with ſome of his officers, was admitted to a direct audience of the ſultaun. After preſenting to his highneſs divers objects of equal curioſity and utility, ſuch as a model of the Royal George, he was honoured with a long and familiar conference on the ſubject of his miſſion to the ſublime Porte. On this occaſion, he repreſented to the grand ſeignior, that the captives from Syphanto had been taken by admiral Nelſon, and the claims which they made, of being conſidered as his priſoners. He interceded in their behalf with all the zeal compatible with the reſpect due to the ſultaun, and implored ſome mitigation of their fate, as a favour done to himſelf and his nation. The ſultaun granted his petition: the forty-ſix French priſoners, under an eſcort of marines from ſir Sidney's own ſhip, the Tigre, were ſent from the Bagnio, a very rigorous priſon, to the old palace of the French ambaſſadors, where they were allowed the ſame rations, for their ſubſiſtence, as the Engliſh ſoldiers, until they ſhould be ſent home to France, on their parole of honour.

The grand ſeignior, it may well be ſuppoſed, was happy in this opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude and reſpect for the Britiſh government and nation. Of theſe he had already given teſtimonies, in the preſents of a rich aigrette of diamonds (called, in Turkiſh, *chelengk*, or a feather of triumph), and a ſuperb peliſſe, to admiral Nelſon; and ſtill more, in the gracious expreſſions by which thoſe marks of eſteem were accompanied. The following note was tranſmitted from the ſeraglio to ſir Sidney Smith, on the ſecond of September:

"The ſublime Porte has already, in a note written ſome days ago, expreſſed its ſatisfaction at the firſt intelligence of the defeat of the French, by an Engliſh ſquadron in the White Sea, on the coaſt of Egypt. As this happy event impoſes on this empire an indiſpenſable duty of acknowledgement, and as the ſervice performed on this occaſion, by our eſteemed friend, admiral Nelſon, is of a nature that demands a public mark of gratitude, his imperial majeſty, the moſt powerful, formidable, and magnificent grand ſeignior, in his imperial name, has deſtined, as a preſent, to the ſaid admiral, an aigrette of diamonds, and a peliſſe with large ſleeves; and alſo two thouſand ſequins, to be diſtributed among the wounded ſeamen. And as the Engliſh miniſter diſplays the moſt uniform zeal, for cementing and ſtrengthening the friendſhip between the two courts, it is hoped that he will not fail to make known this circumſtance to his court, and

to ſolicit the permiſſion, of the moſt auguſt and powerful king of England, for the ſaid admiral to wear the aigrette and peliſſe."

On the part of his Britannic majeſty, a number of common field-pieces were preſented by ſir Sidney Smith. The Engliſh, Ruſſian, and Neapolitan, ambaſſadors were admitted to the moſt important councils of the Turkiſh miniſters: and the moſt perfect unanimity and concord prevailed among all thoſe allies. But the ſatisfaction of the Turks, at this harmonious combination, at the preſent moment, in the intervals of profound reflection on the paſt, and anticipation of what was likely to come, muſt, no doubt, have been painfully interrupted by the conſideration, that Turkey ſtood now in the ſame relation to Ruſſia, that Spain did to France.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Viciſſitudes of Colonization, Commerce, and Arts.—Re-action of the Expedition to Egypt, on the Affairs of Europe.—Internal Policy of France.—Violation of the Freedom of Elections.—Civil Diſſentions.—Finances.—Suppreſſion of Newſpapers.—Execution of the Laws againſt Eccleſiaſtics and Emigrants.—Eſcape and Return of baniſhed Deputies, from Guiana to Europe.—Law for confiſcating the Property of Exiles, in caſe of their avoiding or quitting the Place of their Baniſhment.—Debates in both Councils on this Subject.—Military Commiſſions, Trials, and Executions.—Law for inquiring into all the Attacks that had been made on Perſons and Property, from Motives of Enmity to the Public and its Friends.—Dreadful Effects of this Law.—Plunder, Profuſion, Venality, and Corruption.

ARTS and ſciences, coloniza-tion and commerce, had proceeded from eaſt to weſt, for ſix thouſand years: but they now ſeemed to take an oppoſite courſe, and to give a degree of probability to the theory of monſieur Baillie, concerning their progreſs from weſt to eaſt. It would ſeem, that when civilization and refinement have dwelt for a certain period in one quarter of the globe, they leave it as exhauſted land, in purſuit of freſh ſoil, but return to it again, after it has reſted for a certain time, and recovered its original wildneſs, and capability of new cultivation. It was among the avowed objects of the French expedition to Egypt, to carry back the arts and ſciences to Africa and Aſia, their native countries. Having already noticed the conſequences of that expedition, in the eaſt, and in the European countries neareſt to theſe, Naples,* Turkey, and Ruſſia, we now proceed to give ſome account of its re-action on France, in which it originated. But, in order to do this, it will be neceſſary to take a view of the ſtate of politics and parties in the French nation, from the middle of April, 1798.

When the expedition to Egypt was finally agreed on by the directory, the mind of Buonaparte (not, perhaps, the laſt object of conſideration with the directory) was wholly employed in planning and preparing for the execution of that daring enterprize. Before that period, Buonaparte, who uniformly oppoſed violent meaſures, formed, to a certain extent, a counterpoiſe to the power of the directory.—Though deeply connected with them, he retained, and with ſpirit

* In our laſt volume.

aſſerted, his independence. This was not the caſe with the two councils. The ſubſerviency of theſe to the directory and their agents had conſiderably lowered them in the eſtimation of the public. Many of their tranſactions were obviouſly dictated by the executive power, which, ſince the affair of Fructidor, had become more formidable than ever. The treatment of the councils, at that time, had intimidated them to ſuch a degree, that they did not, in general, dare, at once, to become refractory.

The objects of internal policy and regulation, which occupied the minds of the directory, in 1798, were principally the five following: the annual election of a third of the legiſlature; the finances; the freedom aſſumed by the different publications iſſuing from the preſs; the execution of former and contrivance of new decrees againſt emigrants and eccleſiaſtics; and a reſearch into all the attacks that had been made on perſons and property, public or private, from motives of enmity to the republic and its friends: all of which objects had a connection and reference, more or leſs remote, with the ſtability of their own power and of the government eſtabliſhed by the events of Fructidor.

As theſe were reprobated by numbers, the directory dreaded that a great part of the nation, in the next elections, which were to be held in April, would throw out the candidates, on their ſide, and chooſe their opponents. Various expedients were propoſed in order to obviate what, they aſſerted, would prove a fatal blow to liberty and the republic. No leſs daring an expedient was brought forward than an imitation of what the Engliſh government had done, a little time after the acceſſion of the family of Hanover to the throne. Parliament, perceiving the general diſaffection of the people to this family, and apprehending that a new election would fill the houſe with members ſimilarly diſpoſed, took upon itſelf to prevent the revolution that muſt, in ſuch caſe, infallibly enſue, by voting its exiſtance ſeptennial. This was a manifeſt encroachment upon the rights of the nation; but, having an army to ſupport it, and a powerful party loudly approving it, as neceſſary for the preſervation of tranquillity and the freedom of the conſtitution, it was ſubmitted to, and gradually acquieſced in by thoſe who felt the neceſſity of abiding by the principles of the revolution in 1688.

The caſe, it was maintained, was parallel between England, at that time, and France, at the preſent. Were the multitude to exerciſe its elective rights, during the ferment that now agitated the public, the number and activity of the emiſſaries employed againſt the republic was ſuch, that it was much to be feared that the people would be ſeduced to vote for its enemies: the conſequence of which muſt prove its immediate deſtruction. The prevention of ſo great an evil would, therefore, authorize any meaſure taken againſt it, and ſilence every argument alleged in favour of the ordinary rules of proceeding; as theſe would indiſputably endanger the ſafety of the nation, which was the firſt of all laws.

The propriety of this proceeding was the more inſiſted on, that it had been adopted in a country then the freeſt upon earth, and by a legiſlature,

giſlature, of which the wiſdom ſtood in the higheſt degree of repute in all Europe. But this meaſure was combated by numbers of the warmeſt republicans, as overturning the very foundations of public liberty. The nation, they aſſerted, was full of the moſt determined friends to the conſtitutional freedom now eſtabliſhed, and it was not to be doubted, but they would exert themſelves in its protection againſt all domeſtic machination, the authors of which were well known and would not dare to ſhew themſelves, when once they found that the friends to the conſtitution were in readineſs to oppoſe them. It was owing to their want of celerity in coming forwards that its enemies had been able to gain any advantages. There were ample methods to fruſtrate the attempts of theſe, without recurring to ſuch odious meaſures as were induſtriouſly recommended. The beſt models to be copied from, in aſſembling the people, would be thoſe that took place after the tenth of Auguſt, 1792. Therein not a royaliſt had ventured to ſhew himſelf: here, the conſtituted authorities cleared from treaſonable intruders, and the laws againſt emigrants and recuſant prieſts put in force, none but republicans would appear at elections. The conſtitution having ordained annual renovations of a third of the legiſlature, to omit them would be to violate it in the moſt eſſential point; but it had alſo, for its own preſervation, empowered the legiſlative body to judge of the lawfulneſs of elections. This was not a matter of difficulty: the conditions of admiſſibility, to the primary aſſemblies, were ſo perſpicuous, that they could not be miſtaken; and, while they were duly obſerved, royaliſts could be excluded from them with all facility. Such were the reaſonings of numerous republicans.

Inceſſant and indefatigable were the opponents to the directory, in ſtriving to counteract their endeavours to ſecure a majority in the approaching elections. What principally embarraſſed the ruling party, the third to be replaced conſiſted of the laſt members remaining of the convention that had preceded the preſent legiſlature and framed the exiſting conſtitution. Theſe members were undoubted republicans and firmly attached to the directory, who, notwithſtanding their irregular ſtretches of power, were no leſs warm in that cauſe and had committed thoſe very irregularities to ſupport it.

A committee was, in the mean time, appointed to conſider of the means to prevent the approaching elections from falling into improper hands, and to guard the conſtitution againſt thoſe enemies who were endeavouring, by ſecret practices, to undermine it. Under this denomination were claſſed, it ſeems, ſeveral meetings, held, about this time, at Paris, and in ſome of the cities of principal note in the republic. Theſe became ſo ſuſpicious to the ruling powers that they were every where, on divers pretences, ſhut up. They had aſſumed the name of conſtitutional circles, and ſome of them were compoſed of individuals of the firſt conſideration. The friends to theſe circles condemned their enemies with unqualified aſperity, and repreſented them as men reſolved to engroſs, excluſively, the power of the ſtate, and who ſtigmatized, as foes to the

republic, all thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit implicitly to their meaſures.

In this manner, France was now become a ſcene of civil diſſention, that threatened to involve it in freſh diſorders and to renew the calamities from which it had, with ſuch difficulty, been ſo lately extricated. It cannot be denied, that a ſtrong party exiſted, decidedly averſe to the government and the conſtitution. The diſturbance and confuſion that accompanied the elections, in many places, induced the council of five hundred to requeſt a circumſtantial account of them from the directory. The meſſage, ſent in anſwer, contained a clear and particularized detail of numerous irregularities and violations of the laws and the conſtitution, viſibly aiming at its ſubverſion and to reeſtabliſh the ſyſtem of 1793.

On this ground, it was determined, by the directory and its partizans in the two councils, who conſtituted an incomparable majority, to annul the whole of the elections made in ſeven departments, and to declare thoſe of a conſiderable number of individuals illegal.

This deciſion was violently oppoſed by ſeveral of the moſt conſpicuous members of the legiſlature. That which affected particular individuals was reputed the moſt dangerous, as tending to place the choice of members entirely in the option of the party that predominated in the council. Such a method of proceeding would be clearly deſtructive of the ſovereignty of the people, and transfer it from the conſtituents to the conſtitued, which was inverting the order of things of a ſtate that called itſelf a republic. It was alleged, at the ſame time, that ſeveral of theſe individuals were of irreproachable character, and notedly devoted to the conſtitution.

The general reply to theſe allegations was, that the excluſion, decreed againſt individuals, was founded on irregularities in their election. Irregularities alſo required the annulment of all the elective proceedings in the ſeveral departments, with this difference, however, that the latter were of a more flagicious nature, and the perſons choſen notorious enemies to the conſtitution and obnoxious in many other reſpects. It was, therefore, upon the matureſt conſideration, indiſpenſably neceſſary, for the ſafety of the republic, totally to reject the nomination of ſuch people, and to abrogate whatever had been done in their favour, as being evidently the effect of factious violence.

This reſolution did not paſs without an acrimonious altercation: but the plurality in both councils were, nevertheleſs, convinced that, though it might deviate from the ſtrict letter of the law, yet the ſpirit of the conſtitution would exculpate the directors and the republican party, for having recourſe to it, as the only expedient to prevent the declared adverſaries of the eſtabliſhed order of things from introducing freſh confuſion and diſturbances.

Thus terminated the buſineſs of the eighteenth Floreal, (ſeventh of May) eight months preciſely, after the ſtill more famous one of Fructidor, which it perfectly reſembled in the principle that brought it about, and in the effects that followed it. The public in general, though duly ſenſible that it contradicted the genuine maxims of liberty, did not deny its expedi-

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ency in the actual circumſtances of affairs. The dread of terroriſm, of which the rejected elections menaced a renewal, ſeemed to reconcile every body to the propriety of their rejection. The whole of the buſineſs, indeed, was of ſuch importance, that it had unintermittingly occupied the attention of men ever ſince that of Fructidor.

Meanwhile, ſcarcely a week paſſed without ſome meſſage from the directory, reſpecting the exhauſted ſtate of the finances. Having rid themſelves of the popular party, by the eighteenth of Fructidor, they now laid many evils to the charge of that party, during their aſcendency, for which it was neceſſary for them to provide remedies. But, among all theſe evils, that which demanded the ſpeedieſt remedy was the revenue. For the ſervice of the year, from September, (the commencement of the French year) 1797, to September, 1798, a ſum was voted of ſix millions of livres tournois, or 25,666,660*l.* ſterling. Of this ſum, two hundred and twenty-eight millions were to be cleared by the territorial impoſt; the reſt by an augmentation of taxes on collateral ſucceſſions, farming the poſts and ſuppreſſing the privilege of franking, re-eſtabliſhing the national lottery, erecting turnpikes, a farther duty on ſtamps, a duty on paper, and, above all, by a mobilization of the national debt; by which the real ſtock was reduced to one-third, payable in money, and the other two in bonds to be taken in payment for national lands. The funds allotted for the ſupplies were not all of them near ſo productive as had been expected. New taxes were, therefore, from time to time, propoſed, for making up deficiencies and for meeting new exigencies: ſome of theſe were adopted and others rejected. The grand reſource, on all emergencies, was, not any regular and equal mode of taxation, but confiſcation of the property of individuals, for which, if pretexts could not be found in old laws, new ones were invented.

Of the numerous daily and evening newſpapers, publiſhed in Paris, twelve were ſuppreſſed, not only on account of the matter they contained offenſive to government, but alſo, it may be preſumed, for a terror to others. The preamble to the decree for this ſuppreſſion ſtated, that they caſt reproach and contempt on the inſtitutions and laws of the republic: that they uniformly ſupported a ſyſtematic plan for the diſorganization of the conſtitution; ſome of them, under the livery of royalty, others under that of anarchy. That two of them, whoſe chief deſign, as they profeſſed, was to report the debates and deciſions of the French councils, ſet the laws of the church in oppoſition to thoſe of the ſtate, and religious ceremonies to republican inſtitutions: that they endeavoured to extend the reign of fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition, to pervert the public mind, and to extinguiſh a love of the country: that they abuſed the liberty of religious opinion, in order to preach up religious and political intolerance; and, that, in fine, they tended to ſow the ſeeds of jealouſy and hatred among the citizens of the different departments, by the partial diſcuſſion of local and perſonal intereſts. For theſe reaſons, the directory, with the

the approbation of the two councils, thought that they could not be too careful in checking faction and enlightening the people, with regard to the artifices of royalty, anarchy, and fanaticiſm.

A bookſeller, of the name of Cochin, was arreſted, for having publiſhed, in a preliminary diſcourſe to a new dictionary of the French language, ſome ſentiments that were conſidered as reflections on the revolution.

A number of the deputies, who had been baniſhed, in September, 1797, to Guiana, among whom was general Pichegru, Barthelemy, Willot, Lanue, and Oſſonville, made their eſcape from that peſtiferous region, and arrived in London, and other parts of Europe, in September, 1798. At the time of their baniſhment, a reſolution was propoſed and talked of in the council of five hundred, that if any one ſhould evade or eſcape from the deſtined place of exile, his eſtate, goods, and chattels, ſhould be forfeited to the republic: but it was not then carried into a law. The return of the exiles coinciding, in point of time, with an inſurrection that had burſt forth with great violence in Belgium, this laſt was, by many, aſcribed to the intrigues of prieſts who had eſcaped and returned from baniſhment. A project, as the French ſpeak, or, as we Engliſh would ſay, a bill, was introduced, on the third of November, 1798, by Demoor, one of the deputies from Belgium, to the following effect:

"That the goods of individuals who, having been baniſhed by the laws of the nineteenth and twenty-ſecond of Fructidor, year five, ſhould be found to have quitted the place of their exile, ſhould be confiſcated, for the benefit of the republic: that ſuch individuals ſhould be baniſhed again, to ſuch places as the executive directory ſhould think fit, and condemned to perpetual exile: the goods of ſuch returned exiles, in like mauner to be confiſcated, if, within the ſpace of two months, from the publication of the preſent decree, they ſhould not preſent themſelves before the magiſtrates of Rochefort, to receive orders from them, concerning the particular priſons in which they were to be lodged, until the time when it ſhould be convenient for the executive directory to ſhip them off again, either to their old, or ſome other new quarters by them appointed. The ſucceſſions, or reverſions, of the confiſcated eſtates, to be held and enjoyed by the republic during the natural life of its laſt poſſeſſor, now ejected and in exile; and during the life, alſo, of his next heir and ſucceſſor, until he ſhould reach the ſeventieth year of his age. Out of the ſequeſtered or confiſcated eſtates, certain allowances to be made, for the ſubſiſtence of the wives and children of the exiles, on principles, and in proportions, to be fixed by the legiſlative aſſemblies."

The debate that enſued, on this intereſting ſubject, was diſtinguiſhed by the animated, eloquent, and reſolute, though ſingle, oppoſition of a member, whoſe name deſerves to be recorded, elevated above the frowns of numbers, and the dread of violence, by the conſciouſneſs of inward rectitude, and an indignation againſt injuſtice and inhuman tyranny.

Imme-

Immediately on the reading of the bill, a number of voices demanded that the queſtion ſhould be put to the vote, as, in a caſe ſo urgent, there was neither room for delay nor debate. But Rouchon, the member for Ardeche, inveighed with great and even violent emotion againſt the injuſtice and inhumanity of reviving a propoſal which, when it was made, a year before, had been rejected, as unjuſt and inhuman. "Without inquiring, ſaid he, into the cauſes or origin of that concealed power, which ſecretly directs all our diſcuſſions, I ſhall confine myſelf to the refutation of thoſe frivolous pretexts, on which the bill propoſed is founded, and demonſtrate its impropriety and injuſtice, as it is a ſyſtem of conſtraint, confiſcation, and permanence of operation. In point of conſtraint, there is no one, if he chooſes to be contumacious, who can be conſtrained to come to any place, otherwiſe than by phyſical neceſſity, in order to undergo any puniſhment to which he may be condemned. Would it not be monſtrous and atrocious, to ſay to a man condemned to the guillotine, if you do not come on your own feet to the ſcaffold, you ſhall be either broke on the wheel, or drawn and quartered? Is it fit to imitate thoſe Indian kings, who order their ſubjects to the frontiers, and then give them up to be purſued by ſavage beaſts? I know that the grand ſeignior frequently ſends a ſtring to his baſhaws, but I never heard that he ordered them to come and fetch it, under the denunciation of a ſeverer puniſhment. The meaſure of confiſcation he conſidered as unjuſt, ruinous, and inconſiſtent with all public faith. It was alſo, he obſerved, contrary to the conſtitution. In civilized ſtates, tranſgreſſions of a political nature were never puniſhed by other than temporary puniſhments. The citizens would have every thing to dread, if, in the aſſemblies of their repreſentatives, *revolutionary meaſures were every thing, and the conſtitution nothing*. Read hiſtory, and you will find that there was never any meaſure, for cruelty, equal to what is now propoſed to you, adopted by Nero or Heliogabulus. [Here he was interrupted by a cry of, *to the Abbey with him,* to the Abbey!*] Rouchon continued. — This bill, when duly conſidered in its connection, and the influence which it is calculated to produce on the legiſlative power, is more deſtructive to you than to the tranſported deputies. Yes, I repeat it, this bill ſubverts the very foundations of repreſentative government. In order to the exiſtence of a regular government, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be certain fixed principles, from which there ſhould be no receding every day, on pretence of ſaving the country. It is high time to give over the ridiculous practice of treating the conſtitution like one of thoſe precious pieces of furniture that are ſometimes laid aſide, by notable houſewives, for fear of wearing them out by common uſe. By your proceedings of Fructidor, you removed, to a great diſtance, a number of men, whom you conſidered as *dangerous*: but you cannot diſpoſſeſs them of their property

* One of the principal priſons, where the unfortunate royaliſts were confined, until the maſſacres of September, 1792.

perty, under the idea of their being *criminal:* in as much as they have not undergone any legal trial. It is monſtrous, to make uſe of the words juſtice and humanity, in the ſame breath with confiſcations and proſcriptions, without trial or judgement. This is the ironical laugh of a man who poignards his victim. [Here, again, Rouchon was interrupted by many expreſſions of diſapprobation.] I call on my colleague, Chabert, to anſwer this argument. In no ſtate, ſubjected to laws, is any one held to be a criminal, and out of their protection, without previous and legal trial, and conviction. But the deputies were baniſhed, by the nineteenth of Fructidor, without previous trial and conviction. Therefore, they were either baniſhed, in violation of the conſtitution, or, there was no conſtitution to be violated. I demand the previous queſtion. I have not had time to arrange my ſentiments on the preſent ſubject: but, at the ſight of the bill before you, the hairs of my head ſtand on end! I demand, at leaſt, that, if you do not adopt the previous queſtion, you will ſend a meſſage to the directory, for farther inſtructions. I have yet one farther obſervation to make, and then I have done. The bill is ſo conceived and worded, that it puts the power of making the law into the hands of the directory, who might, according to their pleaſure, baniſh the Bourbons to Spain, for example, and the deputies, to the burning deſarts of Surinam, there to periſh of thirſt and hunger."

This ſmart ſortie, this unexpected ſally of honeſt indignation, excited a general murmur and agitation throughout the whole aſſembly, which rendered the preſent ſitting one of the moſt boiſterous that had taken place for a twelvemonth.—The ſubject was exceedingly intereſting: and, though there was only one member in oppoſition to ſeveral hundreds, he was animated and ſupported by reaſon and moral ſentiment, and long maintained the unequal conteſt with overwhelming numbers and unconquerable prejudices, teazed and tortured into many expreſſions of impatience and blind paſſion and reſentment. For this reaſon, we have judged it probable, that we ſhould do a pleaſure to our readers, to embrace the preſent occaſion to lay before them a ſpecimen of the debates in the French parliament.

Rouchon, throughout the whole of his ſpeech, was interrupted with cries from individuals in different parts of the hall, beſides the general and univerſal burſts, already mentioned, of, *to order, down with him, have done, to the Abbey with him, to Guiana,* and ſo on. He alone, and unſupported by a ſingle countenance or voice, maintained the cauſe of juſtice and humanity, in the midſt of reproaches, menaces, and the conſtant calls of the preſident to order. Sometimes he forced his way, in the debates which followed his firſt ſpeech, into the tribune, and ſpoke from thence; and ſometimes ſtanding up in his place in the hall. In the debates in the French aſſemblies, there is a degree of geſticulation and contortion of countenance, that, to an Engliſhman, and all the northern nations, except, perhaps, the Ruſſians, would certainly appear in the higheſt degree extravagant and ridiculous. Geſture and action are a kind of mute modes of interchang-

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g ſentiments, which the French, their public meetings, have im-ɔved into a kind of language, ry well underſtood to one ano-ɛr, in all its modifications, though t a little various. In this ſpecies language, Rouchon was not a it behind his moſt violent oppo-nts. When his voice was drown-by the conſentient clamours of ndreds, he ſtill expreſſed his ſen-nents by geſtures, looks, and irri-ing ſmiles of contempt, glanced the faces of his bittereſt ad-rſaries. Theſe were, Geniſſieux, ɔulay-Paty, Lecointe-Puiraveaux, habert, Crochon, and Poulaine-randpré.

The following is a ſhort abridge-ɛnt of the greater part of the ɛeches that were made from the bune, in anſwer to that of Rou-on.

Geniſſieux.—I would aſk of Rou-on, when did he ever ſet his face ainſt any of thoſe evils that reatened the country before the ghteenth of Fructidor? Did he ount the tribune, when the infa-ous Dumoulard demanded a trial the hero who had conquered aly? Did any one hear his voice, hen the proſcribed republicans id not where to lay their heads? hey talk of a violation of the con-tution! Are you the defenders the conſtitution, ye abominable ction! ye, who, with the word ɔnſtitution in your mouths, are ɔing about every where to orga-ze tribunals, for murdering the iends of liberty! [Here Rouchon ſtified ſtrong diſſent and diſappro-ation: on which ſeveral of thoſe ear him frowned at him, and ied, *to the Abbey*]. Yes, continued Geniſſieux, at the very time when ie tribunals, ſold to Blankenbourg, acquitted, for example, a woman who had avowed that it was her wiſh to exterminate all the republicans! Aye, cried a great number of the deputies, and which acquitted, alſo, a number of agents in the cauſe of royalty! Geniſſieux, after this exordium, ſaid, that he could refute all the principles on which Rouchon had oppoſed the bill: if, indeed, there were, in that hall, ſuch a number of deputies capable of approving his principles as to make a refutation of them at all neceſſary. [At theſe words, almoſt the whole of the members, riſing as by one accord from their ſeats, cried out, No, no, it is not neceſſary: *Vive la république!*]

Boulay-Paty.—You have heard, to-day, the laſt ſqueak of the infamous faction of Clichy. It is the arrival, in London, of Pichegru, Willot, Barthelemy, and other conſpirators, that had this day ſent to this tribune the ſcum of Clichy.

Lecointe-Puiraveaux inveighed againſt the continued machinations of royaliſm. Thanks and praiſe, cried he, to the genius of the republic! which has forced the conſpirators to throw off the maſk. The friends of the republic will unite cloſely together, and the conſpirators will again hide their heads!

Rouchon, overpowered by an inceſſant cry of *Vive la république!* quitted the hall: on which all the members roſe, and, amidſt an univerſal ſhout of exultation, waved their hats in the air.

The reſolutions moved in the bill were then read over, one by one, and all of them agreed to.

On the fifth of November, the ſame ſubject was recalled to the conſideration of the five hundred,

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by Chabert, who obſerved, that the unexpected ſpeech of Rouchon had prevented the members of the council from reflecting maturely on the bill before them. Half meaſures were out of ſeaſon. It was neceſſary to give the finiſhing blow to the conſpirators: he, therefore, moved, that all thoſe who ſhould withdraw themſelves from the places of their exile, ſhould be treated as emigrants.

This motion was immediately agreed to, and a committee appointed to draw up a new ſet of reſolutions, or, in other words, a new bill conformably to the ſame. Thus the generous efforts of Rouchon, in favour of thoſe unfortunate men, whom the council called conſpirators, had no other effect than to provoke greater ſeverity and cruelty againſt them. The oppoſition of Rouchon awakened, in the legiſlators of Fructidor, an irritation that was vented in expreſſions of animoſity, more and more violent, in proportion as the arguments urged againſt the bill were teazing, and unanſwerable by any other mode than that of numbers united by the ſympathy of common prejudice and paſſion.

Chabert. — The agitation into which you were thrown, at your laſt ſitting, by the diſcourſe of Rouchon, did not permit you to beſtow, on the bill before you, all the perfection of which it is ſuſceptible. Be aſſured that the propoſitions then ſtated were not the effects of mere inconſideration, but the fruits of deep deſign; and the petty councils ſtill held in ſecret, by the agents of royaliſm. Yes, repreſentatives of the French people, a conſpiracy is ſtill on foot againſt liberty! Rouchon propoſes to reviſe the law of the nineteenth of Fructidor. It a wonder he did not propoſe t reviſe the law for the abolitio of royalty! A party of thoſe me who were condemned to exile, en deavours to revive criminal machi nations here: others of them, hav ing fled to England, conſpire wit the foreign enemy. Rouchon talk of forbearance and indulgence— What! is it a time to talk of indul gence, to thoſe men, when th Rhone and the Seine are ſtil tinged with the blood of their un happy victims! Repreſentatives there is not now room for hal meaſures. I demand, that all the laws, that have been enacte againſt emigrants, ſhall be appli cable to thoſe who ſhall have with drawn themſelves from deporta tion.

Rouchon —I demand to be heard in oppoſition to that propoſal.

A very great number of voices: *to order, to order!*

Crochon.—When an audacious orator, from this tribune, undertakes the defence of the conſpirators of the eighteenth of Fructidor; when he dares to preſume the innocence of agents of royalty; when, doing honour to himſelf, by adopting the language of a name dear to the friends of liberty (Condorcet), he maintains that the puniſhments, inflicted on political delinquencies, ought to be only temporary; the royaliſts will, no doubt, ſmile for a moment. But let them know, that, if a treacherous deputy has the impudence—

Rouchon.—You are an aſs!

A great number of voices: *to the Abbey with him, to the Abbey!*

Crochon continued: — When a man has the impudence to make ſtipulations for the intereſts of royalty,

lty, we will make ſtipulations for hoſe of the republic. The royalſts have cauſe to tremble: their ccomplices, too, dread, leſt they hould drive us to the neceſſity of aking extraordinary meaſures. Yes, hoſe men, who were vomited from he legiſlature, perſevere in their conſpirations ſtill! An inſurrecion, as terrible as it is unexpected, tteſts the reſult of their plots. What is the expedient propoſed to ou at ſuch a criſis? To ſend the conſpirators out of the country? No: but that they ſhall be treated as emigrants. What is our legiſlative power good for, if a criminal, condemned to exile, ſhall be ſuffered contumaciouſly to refuſe certificates of his reſidence! I vote for the amendment propoſed by Chabert. [A great number of voices joined in a general conſent and acclamation.]

Rouchon.—I have not demanded a hearing, for the purpoſe of replying to perſonalities. I am wearied of making ſuch replies. I only mean to propoſe a new clauſe to the bill. There is no article in the bill, for fixing the condition and civil ſituation of the wives and children of perſons giving themſelves up to deportation. Many, of thoſe condemned to exile, will voluntarily yield to their fate, rather than to devote their unhappy families to miſery and ruin. I demand, that their generous ſacrifice of health and life ſhall not be loſt to their wives and children, but that, from the moment they ſurrender themſelves priſoners, the ſequeſtrations ſhall be taken off from their eſtates. In the bill before you, it is propoſed, indeed, that ſome relief ſhould be granted to the families of exiles, at the expenſe of the legiſlature: but, before you be generous, you ought to be juſt: and, if you are ſo, you will not withhold from wives what they could claim, nor from innocent and helpleſs children their natural inheritance. With regard to the accuſations brought againſt me, of being a conſpirator, I declare that nothing ſhall prevent me from obeying the dictates of my conſcience. But I will anſwer my accuſers. What do I gain, by ſtanding up for the unfortunate and wretched? While I diſcharge a ſacred duty to others, do I ſtipulate any thing for my own private intereſts? Will my appearances for thoſe unhappy men contribute to the improvement of my own fortune? Will they beſtow on me embaſſies, conſulſhips, or any place under government? No! I demand only liberty, which implies juſtice: and this is the amount of my conſpiracy!

Poulaine-Grandpré anſwered to Rouchon, that, of the two caſes, he had ſuppoſed the one was already provided for by a law already paſſed, and that the other was to be provided for by a ſubſequent law. He therefore propoſed, that the council ſhould paſs from the preſent converſation to the order of the day.

Chat-Zot Latour invoked the juſtice of the council in favour of the wives and children of exiles, and ſeconded the motion that had been made by Rouchon. Several members having demanded that the reſolution, moved by Chabert, ſhould be put to the vote, it was put accordingly and carried, and a committee appointed for digeſting it into a proper form. On the day thereafter, the ſixth of November,

the bill, newly modelled by the reſolution of Chabert, for treating refractory exiles, in every reſpect, as emigrants, paſſed the council of five hundred, and, on the eighth, was ſent up to the council of ancients, where it was taken into conſideration, on the ninth of November.

Maillant was aſtoniſhed that, after a committee had formerly been appointed by the council for reviſing and reconſidering the proceeding of the eighteenth of Fructidor, there ſhould be any objection or heſitation of appointing one for the ſame purpoſe, now, in circumſtances leſs urgent. If the council ſhould not agree to the appointment of a committee, he deſired permiſſion to deliver his ſentiments on the general ſubject.

Dentzel. Speak, ſpeak, we ſhall ſee!

Goupil called to mind, as Maillant had done, that, on the occaſion of the eighteenth of Fructidor, a committee of the whole houſe had been appointed, and a diſcuſſion taken place on the buſineſs of that day: in the courſe of which, two of their colleagues, he ſaid, had made efforts, ineffectual indeed, but which had not leſſened them in the public eſteem. We appoint committees, ſaid he, for examining the proceedings of the ſmalleſt primary aſſemblies, and ſhall we not appoint one for the examination of a reſolution that has coſt a diſcuſſion of five days in the council of five hundred, and ſince there can be no danger from leiſurely deliberation? The diſcuſſion wiſhed for is the more deſirable, that it may produce a ſatisfactory explanation of paſt tranſactions.

Moreau, (one of the members for Yonne). What! do you talk of a committee, at the moment when your country points out the men who are her murderers, and this hall ſtill re-echoes the tranſactions of the abominable aſſaſſins employed by royalty? They come for the purpoſe of ſeconding the deſigns of the perfidious Albion, for the deſtruction of the republic. The debates that have taken place, in the council of five hundred, have rendered all farther diſcuſſion on the preſent reſolution, in this place, unneceſſary. The eyes of Europe are upon us; and the ſafety of *the Great Nation* imperiouſly demands the meaſure before you. I demand that the bill may be paſſed immediately.

Lecoulteux approved the propoſal for referring the bill to a committee. It might produce explanations that might be followed by a more entire acquieſcence and ſubmiſſion to the law propoſed. One article in the bill mentions a future and ulterior deſtination for exiles. If, from any fair conſtruction of theſe words, it ſhould appear, that there were any grounds for hope that they were to be ſent elſewhere than to Guiana, where, it ſeemed, that there was at preſent, dreadful mortality, he doubted not but they would ſubmit to the law.

Gouthier ſaid, that, if Guiana was really fatal to the exiles, it was to be preſumed that the humanity of the directory would change their deſtination.

Dubuiſſon obſerved, that there was no occaſion for an adjournment, as Maillant was ready to ſpeak to the general queſtion.

Maillant oppoſed the bill. The meaſure propoſed was not urged by any neceſſity; for as much as there were

were none of the exiles who, ſince the eighteenth of Fructidor, had claimed either their eſtates or their liberty. That it was a groſs act of injuſtice; as thoſe who had returned from tranſportation were not more culpable than they had been before the eighteenth of Fructidor. Farther, that it was unreaſonable that men ſhould be puniſhed twice for the ſame crime; both by tranſportation and by ſequeſtration of their fortunes. The meaſure propoſed, he obſerved, was impolitic. Repeated ſtrokes of vengeance tended to looſen confidence in governments. Never, even under the revolutionary tyranny, had perſons, eſcaping from priſon, been forced to undergo the puniſhment of death. Both Barrere and Drouet had eſcaped from priſon before receiving judgement. No one ever dreamt of putting their names on the liſt of emigrants, as was propoſed to be done with the returned exiles, who ſhould not preſent themſelves for receiving their deſtined puniſhment. Maillant finally conjured the council to abſtain from the exerciſe of a rigour that was not neceſſary, and that might ſubject them to the imputation of perſecution—which never made proſelytes.

At the demand of Perrin the bill was read a ſecond time and paſſed into a law, with only ſeven or eight diſſentient voices.

The attacks that were made on the proceedings of Fructidor either endeared them more than ever to the French legiſlature, or induced a ſuſpicion that it might be neceſſary to vindicate them from reproach, by outward and permanent marks of approbation. A monument, in remembrance of the happy events of the eighteenth of Fructidor, ann. 5, was erected in the hall of the council of five hundred; and a law was paſſed, for celebrating the anniverſary of that day as a feſtival.

By a decree, paſſed on the eleventh of November, former laws againſt prieſts were enforced; and it was farther enacted, that, if they did not, within a month after the date of the decree, preſent themſelves to the central adminiſtration of the department where they ſojourned, they ſhould be judged and puniſhed as emigrants, if found on the territory of the republic. If they had been baniſhed by the eighteenth of Fructidor, or ſhould be baniſhed by any ſubſequent law, two months were allowed to them for making their appearance. Infirm prieſts and all who had paſſed their ſixtieth year were exempted from deportation, but to be confined together in a habitation to be deſtined, in each department, for the purpoſe, and on no account to be permitted to go at large in their reſpective communes or municipalities. Thoſe who were without the means of ſupport were to be maintained at the expenſe of the republic. Perſons, giving an aſylum, in their houſes, to prieſts returned from deportation, were to be puniſhed by confiſcation of the houſe that had offered the aſylum, if it were the property of the perſon who lent it for that purpoſe; or, if only a tenant, by a pecuniary fine equal to its value. They were, beſides, to undergo not leſs than ſix months and not more than two years impriſonment.

Meanwhile, military commiſſioners, appointed after the revolution of Fructidor, in the different departments, were employed in ar-

reſting, condemning, and executing, lurking prieſts and emigrants, and other perſons convicted, or there is too much reaſon to believe, as was loudly aſſerted, only ſuſpected of the new crime of royaliſm. The commiſſioners for Paris, being accuſed, by the common exaggerations of fame, of great ſeverity, exculpated themſelves by the publication of a liſt of no more than twenty perſons, in all, that had been tried, in the ſpace of ten months; whereof twelve only were condemned to death, five acquitted, one ſent to the directory, one to the central department, and one baniſhed. That even twelve perſons ſhould have ſuffered death, in Paris, for a dutiful attachment to the church and the king, was matter of deep and juſt concern. But what was a more dreadful engine of tyranny and oppreſſion, in the hands of the directory, than even the laws againſt emigrants and eccleſiaſtics, was that which was paſſed for inquiring into all the attacks that had been made againſt perſons and property, public and private, from motives of enmity to the public and its friends. This opened ſo wide a door for the gratification of revenge or avarice, that there was ſcarcely any perſon of note who might not be haraſſed by charges of this kind; which, if they ſhould not be ſubſtantiated or followed by puniſhment, might yet prove extremely vexatious and troubleſome. Exemptions from ſuch ſuits were frequently purchaſed by bribes to the agents of government, in all its various departments. On a ſurvey of the internal government of France, at this time, we are ſtruck, on every ſubject, with a ſpirit of profuſion, plunder, profligacy, venality, and corruption.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Covetouſneſs and Rapacity of the Directors of France, diſplayed in their foreign Tranſactions.—Treaty between the Directory and Portugal.—Not ratified by the Court of Liſbon.—Geneva becomes a Department of France.—Conduct of the French towards different Nations.—Their continued Menaces againſt England.—Calumnies.—And malicious Accuſations.—Theſe refuted, and retorted by the Publication of General Hoche's Inſtructions to Colonel Tate, for carrying on a War, in England, of Plunder and Deſtruction.—Reflections thereon.—Parties in France.—Policy of the Directory.—Boaſtings, and vain-glorious Predictions.—Obſervations on Colonies, and the moſt proper Places for their Eſtabliſhment.—Meſſage from the Directory, to the Council of Five Hundred, relating to the Toulon Expedition.—Apologies for invading Egypt without a previous Declaration of War.—Joy and Exultation at the Landing of the French in Egypt.—And confident Predictions of great Glory, to be from thence derived, to the French Nation.—And Benefits to all the World.—Intelligence received in France of the Naval Victory of Aboukir.—Effects of this on the French Nation.—This Victory vilified by the French.—New Requiſitions of Men and Money.—The Light in which the Directory appeared, throughout France, before the News from Aboukir.—Covetouſneſs and Rapacity of the Directory.—Manner in which they made their Fortune.—The Deſtruction of the French Fleet, at Aboukir, a new Support, and a new Source of Power, to the Directory.—The Manner in which the Government of France received the Declaration of War by the Turks.—A French Ambaſſador ſent to Conſtantinople.—French Anſwer to the Maniſeſto of the Porte.—Refutation of this, by intercepted Letters of Buonaparte's.—Submiſſiveneſs of the French Legiſlative Councils to the Directory, and Indifference about the Conſtitution.—The ſame Requiſitions of Men and Money, that were made in France, enforced in the conquered States.—Inſurrection in Belgium.—Its Rapidity and Extent.—Subdued.

AS the rulers in France, from the directory down to the loweſt municipal officer, every where, and on moſt occaſions, diſplayed a ſpirit of factious combination, a profligate contempt of laws, as well as of material juſtice, profuſion, and plunder, in the management of the internal affairs of the nation, ſo, in their external relations, they were governed by the ſame ſpirit of profligate rapacity, ſtill more than by the arrogance and ambition, common to their nation at all times, of extending the ſway of their principles and modes, as well as arms, over the world.

We have already, in our laſt volume, ſeen their attempts to levy a contribution from the American ſtates. About the ſame time, they attempted to play the ſame game, though not more ſucceſsfully, with Portugal. The Portugueſe miniſtry, intimidated by the uninterrupted ſucceſſes of the French, and dreading an invaſion from Spain, now become their ally, and through which a French army was to march againſt Portugal, had ſent an ambaſſador to Paris, with offers to relinquiſh the coalition. A treaty of peace had, accordingly, been concluded with Portugal, towards the end of 1797, by the directory, on the condition of their receiving a ſum for their own pockets, beſides a large pecuniary contribution for the public ſervice of France. This treaty was to be ratified in two months. But, in that interval, the court of Liſbon, heſitating about this meaſure, and being averſe to forſake England, its ancient and faithful ally, the directory, as ſoon as that ſpace was expired, without the arrival of a ratification, annulled the treaty, and diſmiſſed don d'Aranjo, the Portugueſe ambaſſador. As he delayed his departure, in hope of reviving the negociation, and obtaining more favourable terms, he was arreſted, and impriſoned in the Temple, though it was well known that he had been impoſed upon, and made to believe that the directory was willing to liſten to his propoſals. As he had not plotted againſt the ſtate, this was certainly againſt the laws of nations, and was conſidered, as ſuch, in all Europe. D'Aranjo was duped by a ſharper, who had defrauded him of immenſe ſums, by perſuading him that they had been paid, to certain members of the directory, for the purpoſe of procuring more favourable terms of peace for his government.

The ſame deſigns that the directory laboured to accompliſh in America and Portugal, in the end of 1797 and the beginning of 1798, they purſued, throughout the whole of this laſt-mentioned year, in Germany; as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, in the next chapter. There were no earthly bounds to their rapacity and ambition. If a ſmall or weak ſtate lay contiguous to France, they ſnapped it up, and either incorporated it with the French republic, always taking care to avail themſelves, in their perſonal or private capacities, of the acceſſions that were made by ſuch incorporations to the reſources of the republic; or, if ſuch a ſtate did not lie conveniently for being incorporated, as one or more departments of France, they drew it into the vortex of the republic by aſſimilation, and, as they called it, affiliation. If a ſtate, kingdom, or empire, was placed beyond their immediate controul, by political power, or remoteneſs of ſituation, they attempted to ſpring revolutionary mines, by various intrigues, and proper lodgements of the combuſtibles of liberty and equality.

To the ſmall ſtate of Geneva, that had long enjoyed its political independence, by the precarious tenure of ſuffrance on the part of its powerful neighbours, aſſurances had been given, by the agents of the French republic, and alſo by the convention, that no attempt ſhould be made againſt it: and the arbitrary diſpoſitions, announced by the executive government, in the ſummer of 1796, had been checked by

by a ſpirit apparently more generous and equitable in the legiſlative authorities. But, the project, though ſeemingly abandoned, was deferred only to a more favourable conjuncture; and ſuch a conjuncture was preſented, in the invaſion of Switzerland. The intercourſe which had taken place between France and Geneva, from the date of the conqueſt of Savoy, had given a conſiderable aſcendancy to French principles of government. Though the maſs of the Geneveſe remained attached to the ideas of territorial independence, a conſiderable number of them began to look with indifference on the form by which they held their liberties, whether as part of the ſovereign people of Geneva, or as a portion of the ſovereign and more powerful people of the French republic. The agents of the French government had ſoftered this fraternizing ſpirit, and made conſiderable progreſs in proſelytiſm, by repreſenting the benefits which would accrue from a more intimate alliance between the two nations. "Geneva, relieved from a cumbrous and ſtormy independence, would become, as the capital of a province or department, the moſt flouriſhing place of the frontiers. Its inhabitants would find more eaſy outlets for the produce of their induſtry. As a portion of a powerful ſtate, their city would have nothing to fear, hereafter, from the ambition of neighbouring ſtates; nor be placed under the diſagreeable neceſſity of aſking aſſiſtance from encroaching allies. They would loſe nothing of their former liberty, but, on the contrary, enjoy a greater portion of it, in peace and tranquillity. From the moment of their union with France, the various parties, which often diſtracted their little ſtate, would ceaſe. And, as Geneva had of late been the theatre of contending paſſions, of diſcord, hatred, and perſecution, ſo it would ſtill continue to be, till the acrid but chimerical independence, for which it contended,* ſhould be diluted in the wide-ſpreading ocean of French freedom."

Whatever influence theſe repreſentations might have had, the partiſans of its territorial independence were not leſs animated in rejecting the proffered fraternity. They aſſerted, that "The intereſts of both republics, as well as the morality of both nations, were in uniform oppoſition to this meaſure. The republican ſimplicity and ſeverity, manifeſted by the Geneveſe, for ages, ought to be reſpected, by a nation which had conſecrated the great principle of the ſovereignty of the people. Geneva, in a ſtate of independence, was an open and never-failing ſource, to France, of both wealth and knowledge. Every claſs, whether merchants, manufacturers, artiſts, or men of letters, had at all times made the French nation the depoſitory of their information and their commerce. On the other hand, Geneva, becoming a frontier town, fortified and garriſoned, ſubjected to requiſitions, and beſieged two or three times

* The preſent emperor of Ruſſia, Paul, paſſed ſome time in Geneva, in the turbulent year of 1789, in his way to Turin, where he ſtaid for ſix months. Being aſked, by the Engliſh miniſter, at the court of his Sardinian majeſty, what he thought of the preſent diſputes in Geneva, Paul, then archduke of Ruſſia, replied, that "They ſuggeſted the idea of a ſtorm in a bottle."

in a century, would loſe its induſtry and commerce. The wars in which France might be engaged, would ſhut up exportation, probably on all ſides: whilſt, as a neutral ſtate, the paſſages to it were every where open. Geneva, independent, was a monument of glory to the *great nation*, from the reſpect it ſhewed to property, and the protection it gave to weakneſs. If France perſiſted to preſs the acquiſition, no reſiſtance would be made: but walls and beggars would be the only fruits of the conqueſt."

The partiſans for the incorporation, however, formed a vaſt majority. Out of three thouſand one hundred and ninety-ſeven voters, two thouſand two hundred and four gave their ſuffrages for the union: and Geneva was accordingly declared, by the ſupreme council, to be incorporated with the French republic, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, 1798. The treaty of union, on the ſeventeenth of May, was ratified by the French government. The principal articles of the treaty were theſe: The Geneveſe, whether in France or other countries, were declared Frenchmen born: thoſe who were abſent, might, at any future period, return to France, and enjoy all the rights annexed to the quality of French citizens, agreeably to the conſtitution, with the exception of only thoſe perſons who had committed hoſtilities, by their pens, againſt the French republic. To ſuch of the Geneveſe as were unwilling to remain French citizens, permiſſion of reſidence was granted for three years, for the ſettlement of their affairs. The inhabitants of Geneva were exempted from all real and perſonal requiſition, during the preſent war, and till the general peace, and diſpenſed from the lodging of troops, in caſe of cantonment, or paſſage, except for a thouſand men, in the public barracks. The public eſtates were to remain the property of the Geneveſe, except the town-houſe, the library, the archives, and two large buildings for the lodging of troops, all which were declared inalienable. Thoſe eſtates were to be diſpoſed of as the Geneveſe ſhould think proper: but, in return, they were to be reſponſible for all debts contracted by the republic. The arſenals, artillery, and military ſtores, were to be given up to the Geneveſe, in homage to the French republic. Eſtates belonging to companies, or corporations, were left to the diſpoſal of their reſpective members. All public and private acts, of every kind, anterior to the union, were to remain in full force, according to the laws of Geneva. And the export of merchandize then at Geneva, except ſuch as was Engliſh, was to have free circulation in France, without being ſubject to new duties. Tribunals, civil, criminal, and commercial, were to be eſtabliſhed. One other article of the treaty, between the Geneveſe republic and that of France, it may be worth while to mention, as it ſhews the opinion entertained by the French of that noted claſs of men, the Geneveſe lawyers, to whoſe interference, in public affairs, the petty broils of Geneva had been, on ſundry occaſions, chiefly aſcribed. The vaſt number of public notaries, for ſo ſmall a ſtate, or, as they were called, advocates, by the gradual deaths of the incumbents, was to be reduced to eight. On the other hand, the republic of

Geneva

Geneva renounced all its alliances with foreign powers, and melted down all its particular privileges and public rights into the mass of the French nation. The city of Geneva was soon after formed into the capital of a department, under the classical name (affected on this, as on all other occasions), of the department of the Lake of Lemanus. Sufficient territory was taken, from the adjoining cantons, to give Lake Lemanus its share of respectability, with respect to magnitude, amongst the other departments of the republic.

Felix Desportes, the commissioner of the French government, after the treaty of union was voted by the patriots, placed within the walls of Geneva, at the express demand of the Genevese, an armed force, of about twelve hundred men, under the command of general Gerrard, which, he wrote to the directory, "was sufficient to repress the fury of the brigands, who threatened to destroy the friends of the French. It is upon the promise of my keeping among them the conquerors of the Rhine (says Desportes), that the friends of France have mounted the tricoloured flag. I will not speak to you, citizens directors, of the enthusiasm with which our brave defenders were received by their new fellow-citizens: all their wants were anticipated: there was a general emulation to afford them every species of accommodation: — nothing was heard, on any side, but songs, which sounded the praises of the French heroes: every heart seemed to be united in the bonds of fraternity! So flattering a reception, so real an attachment, should prove to you, citizens directors, how much the twig of Geneva figures in the faſces of the great republic."

The states that received the French with open arms, or made but feeble resistance, they treated at first with a great shew of complaisance and cordiality; though rapine, in all, sooner or later, betrayed the wolf in sheep's clothing! Towards the British nation, that had resisted equally their cajolery, their menaces, and their arms, their language and deportment was barbarous, outrageous, and vindictive. Though the expedition of England had for the present, they said, been suspended, it was not finally abandoned. The facility with which a small body of French had effected a landing, and made no small progress, in the north of Ireland, and who would have been effectually supported, but for the unforeseen and uncontroulable accidents of winds and waves, was a convincing proof that a descent on the British coasts was neither impracticable nor difficult. They inveighed, throughout France, and by means of their consuls, commissaries, and other agents in foreign countries, against the domineering spirit and avarice of the English, who had begun to assume a dictatorial tone, since the times of Cromwell, when a republic had raised their spirits from a tone of submission to a haughty boldness, and had long been driving at universal and exclusive commerce. There was nothing, in the real character or fortune of the English nation, that gave them a title to hold their heads so high among the nations. For the interests of humanity, they must and would be pulled down: and this was a glory reserved for the *great French nation*. The British nation they not

only repreſented as a ſelfiſh, ſordid, and pitiful race of ſhopkeepers, who knew no other glory or gain than that of money, but as ſavage monſters, of the moſt brutiſh inhumanity. The directory, on ſome vague reports from Nantes and other ſea-ports, ſent repeated meſſages to the councils, in the courſe of May and June, reſpecting the deplorable and dreadful ſituation of twenty-two thouſand French citizens, priſoners in the dungeons of England, pining under cloſe and rigorous confinement, under the malign influence of corrupt and peſtilential air, without clothing, and only with ſuch an allowance of food as might conceal, from common obſervation, the intention of the Engliſh miniſtry to cut them off, gradually, by every privation. They demanded a ſupply, for the relief of their unfortunate countrymen.

The falſehood and malice of thoſe complaints was expoſed to the eyes of all Europe, by an official inquiry, on the part of the Britiſh government and legiſlature, which proved, to the ſatisfaction of all parties concerned, that thoſe priſoners had invariably experienced all the kindneſs and indulgence of which their condition was ſuſceptible. It was demonſtrated, on the other hand, by the moſt unobjectionable evidence, that the treatment of the Engliſh priſoners in France had been, in many inſtances, unfeeling and ſevere in the laſt degree. But nothing could afford a ſtronger argument, of the atrocious diſpoſitions and intentions of the French government towards the Engliſh nation, than the inſtructions of general Hoche to colonel Tate, which were very properly publiſhed about this time, the ſpring of 1798, in order to undeceive thoſe weak-minded perſons in England, whoſe abſurd and ſilly enthuſiaſm, in favour of the French republicans, had led them to approve and extol all their meaſures, even thoſe that aimed at a ſubjugation of this country. When Tate was diſpatched to England, at the head of a body of fifteen hundred deſperadoes, his orders were literally to wage a war of plunder and deſtruction, little differing from the barbarous and bloody incurſions of the Tartars, in former days, into Poland. He was inſtructed not to remain long, after his debarkation, on the coaſt, but, having ſet fire, in the dead of the night, to Briſtol, with the dock and ſhipping, to advance rapidly into Cheſhire, and either to deſtroy Cheſter or Liverpool, or, at leaſt, to cut off all communication between theſe cities and the adjacent country. At theſe places he was to be joined by two or three more French columns. The object of the expedition was three-fold: firſt, to excite, if poſſible, a general inſurrection throughout the country; ſecondly, to interrupt, haraſs, and annoy, commerce; and, thirdly, to prepare the way and facilitate a deſcent on the coaſts of England, by dividing and diſtracting the attention of the Engliſh government. The people were to be excited to revolt by a proper diſtribution of money and of liquor; by declamations againſt government, as the authors of all public calamity; and by inviting the populace to a participation in the wealth of the affluent; to poor people a natural object of envy. To the populace, colonel Tate was directed to give up, as their ſhare, hamlets, farm-houſes,

wood,

wood, cattle, and grain. Predatory excurſions were to be made, in different parties, and theſe widely diſperſed, in detachments of two or three hundred men each. Colonel Tate was directed to avail himſelf of every circumſtance that might render the French cauſe popular among the loweſt and moſt numerous claſs of the people, by ſparing and even protecting the poor, the old and infirm, widows and orphans, and laying the whole burden of the war, as much as poſſible, only on the "opulent and great, the grand authors of all miſery."

The people of England, general Hoche obſerved, however depraved their morals, even in the moments of inſurrection, ſtill retained a degree of reſpect for the laws, and for men in offices of civil magiſtracy. It would, therefore, be prudent, as much as poſſible, to ſpare the property of judges, juſtices of the peace, and other civil officers, and even of all the country gentlemen. Contributions were to be levied chiefly from peers of parliament, and other perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and fortune; the rich clergy, generally odious, on account of tythes, non-reſidence, and inattention to their duty; the officers of the navy and army, and, above all, the principal officers of the militia. It would be good policy to draw together artiſans, manufacturers, and labourers out of employment, idle vagabonds, and even condemned criminals; not to be incorporated into the French legions, but to be formed into ſeveral diſtinct companies, commanded by French officers. And, in order that the people of the country might be kept in the dark, with regard to the force of the French and their party, thoſe companies were to be kept totally ſeparate from one another, and as ignorant of all military details as circumſtances would admit. It was theſe new companies that would prove the grand organ of inſurrection. For the purpoſe of deſtroying the internal commerce of the country, it would be expedient to burn all ſhips and boats on rivers and canals; to ſet fire to dockyards, magazines of coals or firewood, rope-yards, and all manufactories; to throw down bridges, demoliſh canals, and break up roads; which would alſo be eſſentially neceſſary for the ſecurity of the army. By theſe means, a great number of handicraftſmen would be thrown out of work, and conſequently be led to adopt any project that might furniſh them with the means of ſubſiſtence, and making booty, beſides, without the fatigue of working. Militia corps were to be diſarmed, and their arms given to inſurgents. Arſenals and harbours were to be deſtroyed, the mails ſtopped, and deſertion from the Engliſh regiments encouraged. In order to ſtrike as general a panic as poſſible, the legion, after the appointment of a place of rendezvous, which was to take place every five or ſix days, was to be divided into different columns. The inhabitants were to be forced to ſerve as guides; and ſuch as ſhould refuſe their ſervice, inſtantly to be ſhot. In this kind of ſervice magiſtrates, or perſons belonging to them, were to be employed in preference to others, that ſuch magiſtrates might not be left to avenge, or puniſh others. All informations againſt thoſe who ſhould join the legion, to be puniſhed with death. All informations given to the Engliſh

gliſh of the approach of an enemy, by the ſound of bells, or otherwiſe, to be given up, without mercy, to fire and ſword. All engagements with regular troops was, as much as poſſible, to be avoided. The French were to fall on the Engliſh only when they could come upon them in ſeparate parties, ſurprize their quarters, or cut off their outpoſts. Nothing could be oppoſed to the columns of the French legion, but moving columns of the enemy. If theſe columns ſhould be but weak, the columns of the French, united in one body, might paſs them. If ſtrong, the French might diſperſe, and commit all manner of hoſtilities in a hundred different places at the ſame time. The great towns thrown into conſternation by theſe proceedings would call in the troops, compoſing the Engliſh columns, for their protection, againſt the diſperſed parties of the French: who would thus be left maſters of the open country, and have it in their power to cut off both the inhabitants of thoſe towns, and their protectors. The French legion were to carry nothing along with them but arms, ammunition, and bread: they would every where find clothes, linen, and ſhoes. "The inhabitants," ſays general Hoche, "will ſupply all your wants, and the beſt houſes in the country will be your magazines." If the French army ſhould be obliged to quit its poſt, either by the exhauſted ſtate of the country, or by the approach of a ſtrong force ſent againſt them, they were to ſet off for another with all poſſible expedition, by forced marches, and theſe performed chiefly in the night. During the day, they were to reſt in woods and mountains. If, in the courſe of their march, they ſhould be obliged to halt, in order to procure proviſions, they were to make choice of ſome ſtrong poſition, from whence they might ſend out detachments, for the purpoſe of procuring neceſſaries, to the neareſt villages. If it ſhould become neceſſary for them to force their way through the enemies line, they ſhould not receive, but make an attack, and that always in the night. About eleven o'clock, or at midnight, they ſhould detach two or three patroles of four or ſix men each, with orders to ſet fire to a dozen of houſes in their rear, in different places. The enemy thinking they had taken to flight, would, in all probability, purſue them. In this caſe, they would have it in their power, either to avoid them, or to lay an ambuſcade, or to attack the rear of one of the enemy's columns; which, in the obſcurity of the night, and the confuſion of a ſudden onſet, they might eaſily cut off. If the enemy ſhould run to ſtop the fire, the French would have the ſame advantages: they might either avoid them, or, what would be better, fall on them, and put a number to the ſword. If the Engliſh ſhould, in ſuch a caſe, reſt on their arms, and only ſend out patroles for reconnoitring them, the French were directed to ſeize them, and cut their throats, without drawing a trigger. If they ſhould find any poſition in the country, on the Iriſh channel, untenable, they were to haſten acroſs the midland region, into the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland, where they would be joined by parties of French. In this event colonel Tate was directed to ſend an officer, in diſguiſe, to general Hoche, in Ireland: which might be done, either by a fiſhing

boat, from the coaſt of Wales, or by the way of Scotland. The inſtructions from general Hoche to colonel Tate, are a curious ſpecimen of that combination of revolutionary principles with ſtratagems of war, by which the French government, but particularly by the former, confidently hoped to ſubdue the world.

The directory, it may be preſumed, were not untouched by the predominant paſſion of the French nation: but what is at leaſt equally certain, they ſeized the genius of their countrymen, and availed themſelves of every circumſtance, for the purpoſe of diverting their inquiries and ardent imaginations, from their own conduct, which could ſo ill bear too cloſe inveſtigation, and abſorbed all cenſorious obſervation in the general paſſion for military glory. There was a party, and that not the leaſt numerous, in France, conſiſting of people wearied and ſick of revolution and war, and that breathed evidently after the return of order and peace. But there is no nation, of any extent, in which public affairs are conducted, in general, by a plurality of voices, and leaſt of all in times of tumult and change, when the moſt active and daring boldly aſſuming the reins of government, give the law to the unreſiſting multitude, and make them the inſtruments of their authority. The rulers of France drawing half the nation into the vortex of their power, by employments, hopes, and fears, perpetuated the ſyſtem of domineering, at once, over their own nation, and their neighbours, by feeding the flame of revolution with the hope of plunder. The guillotine was laid aſide: but confiſcations were continued at home and abroad; the laſt of power and ſpoliation trampling on the rights of individuals, and thoſe of nations. The directory, elated with the accompliſhment of their deſigns on Savoy, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, conceived others of ſtill greater magnitude, and made little doubt but exploits and conqueſts would be atchieved before the cloſe of 1798, by the fleets and armies of France, which would exceed thoſe of the foregoing years, and place it in a ſituation to exact an unreſiſting ſubmiſſion to all the conditions which it ſhould think proper to preſcribe. If the attempts that had been made on the coaſts of the Britiſh iſles, had, through the perfidy, as the French ſaid, of the ocean, failed of ſucceſs, the ground had been reconnoitred, and theſe precurſory expeditions would, by and by, be followed by others, on a different ſcale. Meanwhile the French ſhips and ſoldiers were not idle. On the whole, the genius of the modern Rome was gaining an aſcendency, by rapid advances over that of the modern Carthage, tottering now on the brink of ruin, and which would ſoon receive a deep wound in one of her moſt vital parts.

On the twelfth of April, 1798, when the men of letters and ſcience, that were to accompany Buonaparte in the expedition from Toulon, took their leave of the directory, the elder Eſchaſſeraux, chairman of the committee that had been appointed to conſider and make a report on a ſcheme, projected by citizen Wadſtrom, for eſtabliſhments in Sierra Leone and Boulama, on the coaſt of Africa, read a diſcourſe on that project, and co-

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lonization in general, Egypt was ſo clearly pointed out as a conqueſt worthy of the ſublimeſt views of the republic, that there were few but conſidered that country as the object of the Toulon expedition. No doubt but ſettlements at the two places above-mentioned, though ſubjected to many diſadvantages and expoſed to many dangers, might be of uſe to the French republic, in ſome reſpects. But, it was by a general view and combination of all poſſible advantages, that the founder of a colony ought to be directed; and it was chiefly by the circumſtance of its local ſituation that the French ſhould be guided in its deliberations on the ſubject, whether and how far it might co-operate for its eſtabliſhment and ſupport. The orator, having pointed out the principal circumſtances, by which a ſtate ſhould be determined in the choice of a ſite for a colony, proceeded to deſcribe the unrivalled prerogatives of the grand iſthmus of Egypt,*—without, however, admitting any other right to take excluſive poſſeſſion of any country, for colonization, or to aſſume any other predominancy than what was the natural reſult of ſuperior genius and induſtry, to the promotion of which, the French nation, whether as ſpeculators for themſelves or the public, ought to bend all their efforts; and, following the progreſſive courſe of opportunities, means, and national power, to ſeize and proclaim the moment when it would be proper for the French republic to lay the foundations of a new colony. This diſcourſe exhibits a very juſt ſpecimen of the ridiculous and, it would ſeem, unneceſſary impudence with which the French philoſophers, pretending ſtill to do homage to natural law and the rights of nations, lay claim to a right of dictating to other nations in conſequence of ſuperior abilities. It is, indeed, a mockery of all morality.

When the news arrived of the reduction of Malta, the directory, conſidering Egypt as already in their graſp, began, more directly, to avow, in their moſt confidential circles, the truth, to the communication of which to the public the diſcourſe of Eſchaſſeraux was a prelude, at the ſame time that Talleyrand was amuſing the Turkiſh ambaſſador, as before obſerved, with declarations, that the expedition of Buonaparte had no other object than that iſland. In the newſpapers, in their pay, there were daily obſervations on the importance of Malta, conſidered, in itſelf, as the means of preſerving the republic from the probable deſigns of its enemies, and as a ſtepping-ſtone for farther conqueſts. "The Malteſe (they ſtated) now to be conſidered as French, ſerve on board our fleets, and betake themſelves to the trade of pirates, and do infinite miſchief to the Engliſh commerce in the Levant. The communication with our iſlands, heretofore thoſe of Venice, will be aſſured. If Malta had fallen into the hands of the Ruſſians, the Engliſh, or the Auſtrians, all of whom wiſhed eagerly to have it, the advantages of thoſe iſles

* The memorial and petition of Wadſtrom was referred, by the council of five hundred, to the directory, in whoſe province it lay to receive information on ſuch matters.

might have been nearly loſt to us. In Malta we may eſtabliſh immenſe arſenals, and the low price of labour will enable us to carry on the buſineſs of ſhip-building there, at a much eaſier rate than at Toulon. In fine, *Malta is the Cape of Good Hope* of the Mediterranean."

At length, intelligence was received, that the French army had landed in Egypt, and were in poſſeſſion of Alexandria, Roſetta, and Grand Cairo. A meſſage was ſent from the directory to the council of five hundred, on the fourteenth of September, communicating this intelligence, with a brief account of the moſt important particulars, prefaced by a ſtatement of the reaſons that had induced the directory to ſend an expedition to Egypt, a country belonging to their ally, the grand ſeignior, and that without a declaration of war. The ſpirit and purport of the ſtatements, now ſet forth in vindication of their conduct, was to the ſame effect with the apologies already made by their agent to the Turkiſh government. The Porte had been unable to reduce the rebellious beys, who tyrannized over the French in Egypt, to ſubmiſſion to its government. Its remonſtrances, and even menaces, in favour of the French, had been wholly in vain. The French were actually held by the beys as priſoners and ſlaves, in Egypt. It was time for the French to do juſtice to themſelves, and avenge, at once, their own cauſe and that of the Porte. The grand ſeignior had no cauſe to be offended. The landing and ſucceſs of Buonaparte, in Egypt, was not a matter of regret to the Sublime Porte but of ſelf-congratulation. As to the point of the expedition being ſet on foot without a previous declaration of war; to whom ſhould ſuch a declaration have been made? To the Ottoman Porte? The republic was very far from harbouring any deſign to attack that ancient ally of France, or imputing to that power an oppreſſion of which it was the victim. Should the declaration have been made to the beys? It was impoſſible that their authority ſhould be at all recognized. States proceed directly to puniſh robbers, without any previous declaration of war againſt them. But farther, in this attack on the beys was it not, in reality, England that was aimed at? The Porte would now, through the hands of the triumphant French, reap thoſe immenſe advantages of which they had ſo long been deprived. Now, at length, for the good of the whole world, Egypt would become the richeſt in all the natural productions of any in the univerſe, the centre of an immenſe commerce, and, above all, it was the moſt formidable poſt that could have been taken for humbling the odious power and uſurped commerce of the Engliſh, in the Eaſt Indies.

The directory, in this meſſage, did not heſitate to indulge a degree of boaſting and exultation. This memorable event had been long thought of, and, indeed, foreſeen by the ſmall circle of men to whom ideas that combine utility with glory are familiar. The world, however, in general, continued to conſider the poſſeſſion and colonization of Egypt, by the French, as a chimerical project. The realization of the ſtupendous prodigy was reſerved, for the preſent æra and for the French republic. Theſe ſentiments and obſervations of the directory

rectory were not deemed, by their countrymen, to exceed the bounds of modeſty. They cordially ſympathized with them in their fulleſt extent; and, while they aſcribed this, as every thing proſperous and great, to the towering genius of the French people, they did not withhold their hearty approbation and applauſe from government any more than from their fleets and armies.

While the joy, at the ſucceſs of the grand Toulon expedition, was freſh and at its fulleſt height, a general and continued rumour of the great naval victory obtained by the Engliſh, at Aboukir, pervaded the whole coaſt of the Mediterranean, and ſpred, like lightning, into every part of Europe. It was not long before the certainty of this report was confirmed by official diſpatches, French as well as Engliſh. The ruin of their fleet and the dangerous poſition of their beſt generals and troops made a lively impreſſion on the French government and nation, and threw them, for a moment, into profound conſternation. But apprehenſion and diſmay were ſoon ſucceeded by rage and a thouſand varied expreſſions of revenge, and even affected contempt of the diſaſter that had befallen them. This momentary check they conſidered as a certain prelude to victories and triumphs, greater than ever: ſo that, in fact, it was a real advantage.

In the council of five hundred, on the nineteenth of September, Briot introduced a ſpeech on the preſent ſtate of the nation, in the following manner: "While our baſe and cowardly enemies affect an immoderate joy at a momentary check, and endeavour, by means of perfidious negociation, to produce a change in our reſolutions, and the trumpet is juſt going to ſound the ſignal for combat, the legiſlature muſt not remain cold and indifferent, nor permit the glory of the republic, in the eyes of foreign nations, to remain problematical. Hiſtory will be aſtoniſhed at the moderation and magnanimity of the republic, which, in the midſt of victories, holds out to its vanquiſhed enemies the olive-branch of peace. In contraſt with theſe dignified features, ſhe will hold up the perfidiouſneſs of our enemies in negociation and their baſeneſs in action. Vanquiſhed nations! we will follow the example of that imperial people which dragged, in triumph, the princes whom they had overthrown in battle." After not a little more in this ſtrain, the orator proceeded. "A fortunate chance has favoured the enemy; and this reverſe has given ſadneſs to the ſouls of ſome republicans! Does the Engliſh flag, then, fly at Charleroi and Condé? Are the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of Toulon? But they are powerful at ſea—very well—we, being the maſters of the continent, will ſhut them out from every harbour. Some talk of reverſes. Weak and fooliſh people! learn to know republicans. The ground on which Hannibal was encamped ſold, at Rome, for more than that around it. Behold the Engliſh, trembling on the *coaſt of Coromandel,* and ready to throw themſelves into the gulph of Bengal at the approach of the hero that carries liberty to the people whom they hold in bondage." Briot concluded his diſcourſe by moving for a committee to draw up the legiſlative meaſures that it would

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be proper to lay before the directory, in caſe, which was very probable, it ſhould announce, by a meſſage to the council, the neceſſity of recommencing the war. This motion was ſupported by ſeveral voices, but rejected, on the ground, that it related to a matter of exterior relations, which belonged excluſively to the directory. This ſally of Briot's, however, beſpoke the temper of the moment.

A meſſage was ſent by the directory to the council of five hundred on the twenty-third of September. The directors prefaced their meſſage with many obſervations on the bravery of the French, the good faith and pacific diſpoſitions of the French government, and the golden intrigues of England. The French nation, they proceeded, was weary of the diplomatic artifices and delays of the old monarchical ſchool. The French nation had offered peace; but they expected that the powers would declare, expreſſly, whether peace was accepted. While they heſitated, it was for the republic to place itſelf in a proper attitude for terminating their indeciſion, and to obtain, by force, what it had attempted, in vain, by means of perſuaſion. The object of the meſſage was to fix the attention of the council on the urgent neceſſities of the French armies at ſea and land. Europe muſt be taught that the French republic was able to ſtand the preſent criſis, and that even without new impoſitions on the nation. The reſult of all that they ſaid was a demand of a new levy of two hundred thouſand men and a hundred and twenty-five millions of livres, in addition to the ſum already voted for the ſervice of the year commencing in the end of September laſt. For the additional ſum, demanded by the public ſervice, there would be no occaſion for new contributions. The ſame reſources that had brought about the revolution muſt conſolidate it. On a motion that two hundred thouſand French ſhould be drawn immediately, and put into a condition for action, from all the five claſſes of the conſcript citizens, Jourdan, one of the members for Haute Vienne, propoſed, for the greater expedition, that the whole of the conſcripts, of the firſt claſs, ſhould be called on at once to come forth for the public ſervice. This propoſition of Jourdan's was agreed to.

In the mean time, great eloquence continued to be diſplayed in vilifying the victory of Aboukir, in rouzing the French nation to arms, and exciting, particularly, hatred and revenge againſt the Engliſh. In an advertiſement, publiſhed before that victory, in newſpapers and hand-bills, of the approaching feaſt, announcing the anniverſary of the republic, the twenty-ſecond of September, it had been given out, that, among other exhibitions, there was to be a repreſentation of the Engliſh fleet in flames. The conſtructions that had been raiſed for that triumphant ſpectacle, when the day of the feaſt arrived, were called a fortified harbour; and the burning of the Engliſh fleet was, for the preſent, ſuſpended. But the preſident of the directory, Trailhard, in an oration, pronounced in the Campus-Martius, announced other decorations for the feaſt of the republic. "The ſhouts of victory re-echoed from the banks of the Tiber to the Danube: the ghoſts of Brutus, Barnveldt,

veldt, and William Tell, awakened, by these shouts, from their graves, and joining, as associates, in the glorious pursuits of the republic; and pictures, statues, and other works of art, to be brought to Paris from the conquered nations. Let the friends of slavery count, with satisfaction, the few moments, when victory seemed to have forsaken our standards, as if the sublimest courage might not be betrayed by fortune; as if prosperity, without a mixture of adversity, were the destiny of any nation. Our enemies themselves, with more penetration and solidity of judgement, will see nothing in their transient gleam of success, obtained by superiority of numbers and paid for by their best blood: our enemies, I say, will see nothing in their success but a melancholy presage of great disaster."

The following article appeared in the directorial, or, as we would say, ministerial paper, Le Directeur, on the twenty-fifth of September: "The valour of the English, which so many poor creatures take delight to celebrate, consists in nothing else than overpowering their enemies by superiority of numbers. Nelson, reinforced by every traitor, after adding to his squadron, squadrons still more numerous, attacked the French on board their ships, lying at anchor, in an open road. The Briton, emboldened by a stupid superiority, could be no other than successful. But the vanquished fought like the three hundred Spartans, and Nelson was little more than Xerxes, overwhelming a handful of soldiers by the weight of his army. In point of glory and renown — on which side was the hero? To burn ships is a kind of puny trick, which bespeaks weakness. It is but a hypocritical victory. Compare such ridiculous victories with the formidable bravery of those fifteen hundred brave men who lately gained so many palms and laurels. See Ireland, arranged, in the day of battle, on the side of the republic, for the purpose of opening to our battalions, all the roads to London, and hurling punishment to the Bey of Albion over the dead bodies of his warriors of shops and counting-houses". In the same paper, a few days after, we find the following interrogations: "Can the victory of Nelson prevent or even retard the happy consequences of the expedition, committed to the unfortunate Brueys? If it was the object of that expedition to annoy and cut off one of the principal sources of the prosperity of England, will not the cannon of the *tower* of London, which will announce, with so much fracas, that victory, be the forerunner and death-bell of ruin to English commerce in India? Is not Nelson the Xerxes, who, with his numerous army, defeated the three hundred Spartans and burnt Athens? But Themistocles flourished and Xerxes was destroyed. If Brueys, like Leonidas, preferred death to a dishonourable capitulation, have we not another Themistocles to avenge the blood of so many heroes? And does not Nelson himself owe his immortality to the glory of the vanquished rather than to his own actions?" These gasconnades are even exceeded by the following paragraph, which appeared, at the same time with those just quoted from other French papers, in the Clef du Cabinet. "Has Nelson thrown

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any impediment in the way of the grand expedition, under Buonaparte? This is the queſtion that will be put by every thinking Engliſhman. All that the Engliſh admiral has done is to deſtroy *ſome* ſhips, at the expenſe of a *great many* of his own: and if the oppoſition party, in the Britiſh parliament, retain any degree of energy, the admiral will not eaſily juſtify his conduct."

Before intelligence was received of the battle of Aboukir, the rapacity and profuſion of the directory and their agents had come to ſuch a height, that it was execrated by the whole nation. The immenſe fortunes that had been accumulated by the members of the directory, and others, drew univerſal attention. That of Reubel exceeded thoſe of all other dilapidators. Neither Merlin nor Barras, though they had amaſſed immenſe fortunes, was ſo rich as Reubel. He was generally accounted the richeſt ſubject in Europe. His fortune had already amounted to three millions of livres, annual revenue, and it was ſtill increaſing, through a hydropical increaſe of avarice and cupidity. It may be worth while to give a very general ſketch of the manner in which Reubel made his fortune, as this will ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to illuſtrate the point, preſently in hand, which is to deſcribe the internal ſtate of France. He laid the foundation of his fortune by the plunder he made when he acted as one of the French commiſſaries, at Mayence. Merlin, of Thionville, was the other. During the progreſſive depreciation of the aſſignats, he purchaſed the greater part of the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, in Alſace. Theſe were to be paid for, in different inſtalments, with the paper-money of the republic. Part of theſe lands he ſold and part he retained, compriſing ſome of the fineſt dominions in Alſace. Reubel became a leading member of the committee, in the time of the convention, and the ſtill farther depreciation of aſſignats, mandats, and reſcriptions, was adopted as a meaſure of ſafety to the republic. But, beſides this mode of acquiring wealth, by fulfilling his bargains, for national lands, through the means of depreciated paper currency, from the time when he became a director, there was not a job or contract in which Reubel, as well as Ramel, the miniſter of finance, had not a participation, or, to make uſe of a more appropriate, though vulgar term, a *feeling*: and, at laſt, the contributions impoſed on the new republics, the plunder of Switzerland, chiefly managed by his two nephews, Forfait and Rapinat, and remittances from Sauthonax, in order to ſecure impunity for his malverſations and crimes in St. Domingo, crammed with gold, as the French ſaid, this new Midas. The fortune of Reubel gave ſo much offence to his colleagues in the directory, that they teazed him, from time to time, with repreſentations of the probable conſequences. This was well enough known. The particular friends of the other directors ſaid, that they teazed Midas, as he was commonly called, only for their amuſement; but others affirmed, and it was generally believed, that they did ſo for the purpoſe of laying him under contribution; to which, it was alſo believed, by ſome, he ſubmitted, from a fear of public accuſation. It is however, more

probable that Reubel deemed himself tolerably well secured from his colleagues by the means of retaliation. It was computed that not less than at least half the revenue, voted for the service of last year, had been dilapidated.

Be this as it may, the corruptions of the French government, at this time, had given such general scandal to the nation, that the remains of what was called, from the place of their meeting, the Clichian faction, in conjunction with the jacobins, Lucian Buonaparte and Duplantier had determined to call the Mitoyen and directorial party, and all who had amassed great wealth, to give an account of their fortunes and dilapidations, when the news from Aboukir raised an universal cry of revenge and war, or, in the language of the French writers, made all the French jabobins. Thus, the loss of France, at Aboukir, was a new support and a new source of power to the directory.

We have already seen the manner in which the directory, particularly the renegade bishop Talleyrand, the minister for foreign relations, endeavourred to amuse and soothe the Turks, before the actual invasion, by the French, of Egypt. Their apologies became now more necessary than ever; as that invasion left no farther room for equivocation and deception; and as the destruction of the French fleet must inevitably prove a strong incentive to the Porte to take a decided and active part with the enemies of the republic. The declaration of war against France, by the Ottoman Porte, though couched in terms of the most undisguised indignation, reproach, and abhorrence, was far from provoking similar expressions of similar sentiments towards the Porte, on the part of the French government. That government, so haughty and insolent to other states, which maltreated, drove away, and confined their ambassadors, treated the Turkish ambassador, at Paris, with all possible marks of respect. The directory affected surprize at the mistakes and errors into which the divan had fallen, respecting the views of France and their own interests. In conversation and in different publications from the press, they expatiated on the true interests and policy of the Porte, and how much they were concerned for the protection of the grand seignior's power, authority, and pecuniary resources. Affecting to treat the umbrage that had been taken by the Porte, its expressions of hostility, and new alliances, as a transitory caprice, they dispatched another ambassador, Descoures, to Constantinople, with assurances of the constant and unchangeable attachment of the French to the grand seignior and the interests and stability of the Ottoman empire. In the same strain, and about the same time, they dispatched *Lacombe St. Michel*, as their ambassador to the court of Naples, whither he arrived on the third of October, 1798, with the strongest assurances of the loyalty of the French republic. He spoke much to the king of the Sicilies of the pacific and friendly attitude of the republic, of the hand which presented the olive-branch, and of the mutual advantages of beneficent policy. He became bound to his majesty, that he might always reckon on the sincere and constant dispositions of the republic towards the king and

kingdom

kingdom of Naples. It ſuited the policy of the French, at that moment, to make pacific profeſſions to all the world beſides the Engliſh.

The French directory, after they found all the arts they had practiſed, in order to cajole and keep the Turks quiet, to no purpoſe, by way of anſwer to the manifeſto of the Porte, in a newſpaper, called the Moniteur, which was underſtood to be as much under their direction as any of our papers are under that of our government, and a kind of illegitimate gazette, publiſhed, towards the end of November, 1798, among others, the following remarks. After affecting to call in queſtion the authenticity of the Turkiſh manifeſto, they adverted to that paſſage which charged the French, under the command of Buonaparte, with falling on Egypt, the moſt valuable province of the Ottoman empire, like ſo many corſairs. How far, they aſked, could that country be conſidered as valuable to the grand ſeignior? A country of which the chiefs were independent; and where his baſhaw, an officer merely nominal and honorary, was either ſuffered to remain, in a ſtate of inſignificancy and contempt, or remanded to the Porte, at the pleaſure of the beys. But, if they could be ſuppoſed to be unacquainted with the conduct of the beys towards the Porte, could they be ignorant of their deportment, for many years, towards France? In violation of the rights of nations, they had plundered and oppreſſed all Frenchmen in Egypt, whether ſojourners or domiciliated in the country: and the French merchants had applied to the Porte for its protection, in conformity with repeated treaties of commerce, in vain. Thoſe ſolemn treaties the beys had ſacrificed to private engagements made with England, to haraſs, oppreſs, and annihilate the commerce of France with Egypt. Ought their open hoſtilities to be tolerated any longer, with impunity? The directory would be guilty of a flagrant breach of their ſolemn engagement, to exerciſe a vigilant care for the protection of private property, as well as public rights and intereſts, if they did not repel ſuch barefaced aggreſſion and make juſt reprizals? It was not from Conſtantinople that the blow given to the beys ſhould be re-echoed, but from London; in as much as in ſtriking at the Mammalukes the French government had aimed a blow againſt England, with which they had made common cauſe, as appeared from a letter which (they affirmed) had been ſent by them to admiral Nelſon, before the battle of Aboukir: in which letter they had ſtated, to the admiral, that he had only to deſtroy the French fleet, and that they themſelves would take care to cut the French troops in pieces when they ſhould come on ſhore.

But it was aſked by the enemies of the directory, what right had they, in order to inflict puniſhment on the beys, however merited, to ſet their foot on a territory belonging to the grand ſeignior, and ſuddenly to invade it without his knowledge? undoubtedly, the blow ſtruck by the expedition had fallen unexpectedly; not, however, on the Porte, but on the Engliſh, againſt whom it was directed. They appealed both to the written declarations and the actions of Buonaparte, who

always avowed and conducted himself as the friend and ally of the Ottoman Porte. In this character it was that he had set at liberty three hundred Turkish prisoners, taken at Malta; that he had undertaken to pay to the Turkish government the usual tribute; and that the bashaw of Cairo had been continued in both his office and its emolument. The directory had often made application to the Sublime Porte for the chastisement of the beys who overwhelmed the French commerce with their exactions. But the only redress that they had been able to obtain was a declaration from the Porte, that the beys were a covetous and capricious race, wholly regardless of the principles of justice; and that the Sublime Porte, so far from authorizing the outrages they had committed against its ancient and good allies, the French, had deprived the beys of the protection of the Turkish laws and government. What was the import? what to be inferred from that sentence of outlawry? the putting of the beys out of the protection of the Turkish laws and government. Plainly this, that the Sublime Porte considered the beys as rebels against their authority; and that, in withdrawing their protection, they had given the rebels to the vengeance of the French, and devolved on these the charge of punishing them.—The directory or the writers of their counter-manifesto proceed, at great length, to shew, that the divan was previously acquainted with the descent on Egypt and its objects—the punishment of the beys and of England. They make no mention of the conversation between bishop Talleyrand and the Turkish ambassador, Ali-Effendi, but insist much on the letters, of a date prior to those that had been transmitted by the effendi to the directory, and which Ruffin had laid before the divan, after his departure from Constantinople to Paris. The official communication, of the attack on the beys, by Kuffin, had served the Porte as a pretext for the declaration of war. But when was that declaration made? Not till the British cabinet, perceiving itself to be wounded through the sides of the beys, whom it had incited to take up arms against the French, had found means of instilling false suspicions and alarms, and making the Porte apprehend for itself, what was to be dreaded only by England. This they had done through the medium of that secret council, of twelve members of the Turkish government, who were in the pay of the British minister and whose influence swayed the divan, to the disgrace and ruin of the Ottoman empire. Against this influence, the directory predicted, there would, ere long, be a general revolt of all the Ottomans who were the real friends of his sublime highness, the sultan, and the Ottoman empire.

At first, the directory farther remarked, on the Turkish manifesto, there was no direct complaint against the French government: it was Buonaparte alone, not the directory, that was charged with the invasion of Egypt. This measured charge, this cautious and perfidious reserve, proved that the divan, subservient as it was to the views of England, yet hesitated to break through the secret understanding that had been agreed on between the Turkish government and the directory,

directory of the French republic. But this hesitation and reserve, this temporizing policy, was observed only so long as the issue of the expedition to Egypt remained doubtful: it was not till the battle of Aboukir had given confidence to the Sublime Porte, that they changed, with fortune, abandoned, like fortune, the French cause, and launched forth their manifesto:—a manifesto that must remain as a monument of the underhand and perfidious dealings of the Ottoman Porte with their ancient friends; and who, in breaking with their natural and necessary allies, had rendered themselves the slaves of the English and abandoned themselves to their mercy. It is a long time, the manifesto, in the Moniteur, proceeded to represent, since the Czars cast a wishful eye on Constantinople. It was one of the vast projects of Peter the Great to make this the capital of his immense dominions and to exterminate the Turks from Europe. This, too, was one of the designs, most ardently pursued by the ambitious Catharine. Has the hour, destined by fate for its accomplishment, at length come? Already has Paul set his troops in motion towards Moldavia and Wallachia; already is his fleet under the walls of the seraglio. He has come out, so to speak, to reconnoitre the ground: he will soon seize his prey, and reign on the Bosphorus: he will annihilate a government so weak and senseless as to have called to its aid its natural enemy. The sultan, stripped of his crown, will pass from the throne to the scaffold: the ancient empire of the crescent will become no more than a province of Russia. Such will be the inevitable result of the treachery of the Porte to France; and thus, with its own hands, it will have dug the grave of it own greatness.

A complete refutation of the false allegations of the French directory, contained in this and their other papers, as well as in their conversation with the Turkish ambassador, and their messages to the Porte, had any been necessary, would have been afforded even to the most credulous and stupid, by the intercepted letters of Buonaparte, which were published, under the authority of the British government, early in December; by which letters, the real designs of the directory, in Egypt, and the determination of Buonaparte to hold it, in the name of the French republic, if possible, in despite of both the Porte and its allies, were clear and incontrovertible. It may be noticed, as a proof, how completely the councils were at the beck of the directory, and how indifferent to the conservation of the constitution, or irresolute and dastardly in its defence, that not an individual in either ever mentioned a word of the violation of their fundamental laws, on the part of the directory, in making war against a sovereign and independent power, and that an ancient and constant ally, who had given no cause, nor even pretext, for taking offence, without the approbation and consent of the two other branches of the legislature. This apathy, or timid submission of the whole of the councils to the executive government, was a flagrant proof, that laws and forms are nothing without that living energy and virtue which is necessary to give them effect, and that the French nation was utterly incapa-

 ble,

ble, not to ſay unworthy, of republican government.

The ſame requiſition, for the new levy of men that was made in France, was enforced in the conquered ſtates. Liegeois, Swiſs, Savoyards, and Belgians, if they did not readily obey the ſummons, were dragged, by force, into the French battalions. It was but ten years ſince the Belgians had revolted againſt their own ſovereign, the emperor, Joſeph II. on account of ſome innovations, and chiefly thoſe reſpecting monaſteries and certain religious obſervances, by no means eſſential to the principles and forms of the Catholic religion. They now ſaw their churches pillaged, their prieſts baniſhed, impriſoned, and, ſometimes, put to death; and this at a time when their temporal ſufferings certainly required all the conſolations of religion. Confiſcations, contributions, and taxes, had yet left the honeſt and reſpectable Flemiſh peaſants, however much diſcouraged by repeated and continued attacks on their induſtry, to conſole one another by mutual ſympathy and affection in the boſom of their families. But this comfort was now raviſhed from them by the military conſcription and requiſitions. Huſbands were torn from wives, children from parents, and lovers from the objects of a virtuous attachment. There is a time when tyranny cannot any longer add to its oppreſſions, and the cup of miſery overflows. The Flemiſh nation, driven to deſpair, did not witneſs the young men dragged from their own fire ſides, to ſwell the armies of their oppreſſors, without reſiſtance. The parties of French, ſent to preſs the youth into their regiments, were, in ſome places, reſiſted by parents, brothers, neighbours, and even by the weaker ſex. The firſt movements of this kind, ſo natural and affecting, diffuſed their influence over the Low Countries with the ſpeed of lightning. A diſpoſition, to throw off the deteſted yoke of France, had lately appeared in the Netherlands, which ſubjected the inhabitants, as uſual in ſuch caſes, ſtill more to the vigilant ſeverity of the French government. The Engliſh, four thouſand ſtrong, had made a deſcent, in May, 1798, at Oſtend, in order to deſtroy the ſluices, but had been repulſed by a very inferior number: fifteen hundred of them were taken priſoners, among whom were five hundred and five officers. The Engliſh, at their landing, were welcomed by cries of invitation. The news of their landing was quickly ſpread over the whole country, where a very general diſpoſition to give them intelligence and encourage them appeared among the inhabitants. A law was paſſed, for ſending ſuch as ſhould, in future, be guilty of any ſpeech or action, tending to the encouragement of the enemy, to courts martial, to be tried and puniſhed, according to the military code, as ſpies and recruiters for hoſtile powers. Thus, the French were as ready to extinguiſh, as the Belgians to catch the firſt ſparks of inſurrection.

The place, where the exploſion burſt forth, was the beautiful diſtrict of Waës, ſituated between the Scheldt and the canal between Bruſſels and Antwerp. From thence, in the end of October, it quickly ſpread to the lordſhip of Malines, the territory of Louvain, as far as Trilemont,

Trilemont, and the environs of Bruſſels. Antwerp and Bruſſels too, both full of perſons indignant at the yoke of France, and the whole of the department in which they were ſituated, were declared to be in a ſtate of ſiege. In a few days, the flame of revolt was communicated from north to ſouth Brabant, as far as the frontiers of Namur, part of Flanders, the Ardennes, and the borders of Liege: and, in another direction, to Dieſt, the Flemiſh Campine, and Bois-le-Duc, as far as Eyndhoven. Their principal places of rendezvous were Bornheim, on the Scheldt, Turnhout, Herenthall, and, above all, Dieſt. The inſurgents, who took poſſeſſion of this laſt place, a very well choſen poſition, amounted to ſix thouſand men, divided into three columns of two thouſand each. The firſt of theſe was commanded by an Auſtrian corporal, of the name of Corbiels; the ſecond by the ſon of an opulent brazier, of Dieſt, called Woots; the third by a French emigrant, formerly a lieutenant-colonel.

On the firſt appearance of this inſurrection, general Beguinot, commandant of Bruſſels, haſtened, with what troops he could collect in the neighbourhood, to Malines, engaged, and, for a moment, diſperſed, the inſurgents; who collected again in great numbers, a ſecond time, made themſelves maſters of Malines, and, a ſecond time, loſt it: but, ſtill the inſurrection prevailed more and more, and extended itſelf even to the banks of the Moſelle. The French troops, cantoned in the Netherlands, were reinforced by the garriſons of Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Luxemburg: French troops were alſo ſent, afterwards, from the Lower Rhine and brigades of light artillery, and whatever troops could be ſent from French Hainault and Flanders. Proclamations were publiſhed by the French general, Bonnard, offering pardon to all the inſurgents, in the five infected departments, but threatening the laſt ſeverities to all who ſhould perſiſt in rebellion. A great number of perſons were arreſted and impriſoned; thouſands taken in action and put to death.

But the advantages gained, from day to day, by the French, were dearly purchaſed. Though the Belgians were united by no other ſyſtem than a common ſympathy, and had no concerted plan of operations, they were recruited and fortified by the daily acceſſion of numbers of their countrymen, and animated with the reſolution of deſpair. The motto on their ſtandards was "*It is better to die here than elſewhere.*" After innumerable engagements, in which courage ſupplied the place of diſcipline and experience, and many defeats, or rather diſperſions, they fell again on the French, when they did not expect them.

In the mean time, during theſe conflicts with the French troops, they did not ſpare either the civil officers of the French government nor ſuch magiſtrates of towns, though their own countrymen, as had been moſt conſpicuous for their attachment to the French cauſe. Commiſſioners and civil adminiſtrators were killed, wounded, or forced to ſeek ſafety by flight. The ſmall military parties, diſperſed in different places, for the purpoſe of enforcing requiſitions of money and men, were ſubjected to a like fate. The trees

of liberty were every where cut down, and the tri-coloured flags torn in pieces and committed to the flames.

The generals of the French army and the directorial agents, who fled to the army for protection, did not fail to make the ſevereſt retaliation. A number of villages were given up to fire and ſword. The inſurgents, overpowered in the caſtle of Duſſel, near Malines, around which they had caſt a trench, were maſſacred, after they had ſurrendered, without mercy. A number of executioners followed in the train of the French columns; ſcaffolds were erected; and the blood of the unhappy Belgians flowed profuſely.

The brave and honeſt Belgians, equally obedient to juſtice and indignant at injuſtice and oppreſſion, wearied and worn out, without magazines, artillery, and places of retreat, encloſed between Holland and France, and left to their fate by Europe, were, in January, 1799, obliged to yield to their mighty conquerors.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Congreſs of Raſtadt.—Deſcription of Germany.—Germanic Conſtitution.—The Germans, in all Ages, characterized by a Love of Liberty.—States of the Empire.—Three Colleges.—Viciſſitudes in the Conſtitution.—Election of the Emperor.—Geographical Diviſion of the Empire into Circles.—Diviſion of the Empire, founded on Differences of Religion.—Diet of the Empire.—Advices of the Diet.—Decrees of Ratification.—Concluſum.—Influence of the Emperor on the Proceedings of the Diet.—And of the King of Pruſſia.—Deputations of the Empire.—Ordinary and Extraordinary.—Members of the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire aſſembled at Raſtadt.—Their Powers and Functions.—Negociation between the Parties concerned, at Raſtadt, carried on without the Intervention of foreign Powers.—Secret Articles in the Treaties of Baſle and Campo-Formio.—Violation of the latter, on the Part of the French, complained of by the Imperial Miniſter.—Baſis propoſed for a Pacification, by the French Plenipotentiaries.—Counter Propoſitions, by the Deputation of the Empire.—Continuation of Hoſtilities by the French.—Diſputes concerning the Origin and Commencement of the War.—The Baſis propoſed by the French Plenipotentiaries agreed on by the ſecret Articles of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.—Secularizations propoſed.—The Deputation agree to the Ceſſion of half the Territory demanded by the French.—Who perſiſt in their firſt Propoſitions.—Debates in the Diet of the Empire.—The Ceſſion of the left Bank of the Rhine agreed to, by the Deputation, on certain Conditions.—Private Views of the individual States of the Empire.—The Syſtem of Secularization agreed to.—Farther Pretenſions of the French.—Objections to theſe.—Jealouſies and ſecret Views of both the negociating Parties.—Rapacity and Venality of the French Directory.—Intereſting and inſidious Intervention of the French Plenipotentiaries, in Favour of certain Imperial Cities.—Relaxed and enfeebled State of the Germanic Conſtitution.—The German States arranged reſpectively around Pruſſia and Auſtria.—Freſh Pretenſions of the French reſiſted by both theſe Powers.—Conceſſions of the French.—And of the Deputation of the Empire.—A Majority of the Deputation agrees to the French Propoſitions.—Proteſt in the Diet againſt their Vote.—Effect produced on the Negociations at Raſtadt, by the Approach of the Ruſſians to Germany.—Concluſum of the Diet, on the Subject of the French Propoſitions, ratified by the Imperial Commiſſary.—Requiſitions of the Deputation of the Empire, for the Relief of the right Bank of the Rhine.—Declaration of the French Plenipotentiaries againſt the Admiſſion of Ruſſian Troops into the Territory of the Empire.—Referred to the general Diet of the Empire of Ratiſbon.—Entrance and Progreſſion of the Ruſſians into Germany.—Surrender of the Fortreſs of Ehrenbritſtein.—The French Army croſſes the Rhine.—And penetrates into Suabia.—French Proclamation.—

And

And Addreſs of General Jourdan to his Army, on their Entrance into Germany.—Taken into Conſideration by the Deputation of the Empire.—Which recommends to the general Diet the Adoption of Means for a ſpeedy Peace.—The Zeal of the Deputies for Peace, checked by the Imperial Commiſſary.—Preludes of War.

BY an article in the treaty of Campo-Formio, it was agreed and fixed, that a congreſs ſhould be held at Raſtadt, compoſed ſolely of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and of the French republic, for the purpoſe of concluding a negociation between thoſe powers. This congreſs was accordingly opened on the twelfth of December, 1797. That our readers may the more eaſily enter into the nature of this aſſembly, and the character of its deliberations, it may not be improper to recall to their mind, very briefly, an idea of the Germanic conſtitution, and of ſome of the principal viciſſitudes it has undergone, in the lapſe of time, from its origin to the preſent day, when it totters on the verge of diſſolution, if not, in fact, already diſſolved.

Germany is computed to comprize a ſurface of twelve thouſand ſquare geographical miles, and to contain a population of twenty-eight, or thirty millions of inhabitants. It is bounded on the north, by the river Eider, and the Baltic ſea; on the eaſt, by Pruſſia, Poland, Sileſia, and Hungary; on the ſouth, by the Adriatic ſea, Italy, and Switzerland; and, on the weſt, by France, the Northern ocean, and the Seven United Provinces, at preſent ſtyled the Batavian republic. Germany has not only the advantage of three ſeas, but alſo for internal navigation, a great number of rivers, of which the principal are the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Weſer. In conſequence of its extent, and the number, induſtry, and wealth of its inhabitants, it would be a very powerful and formidable ſtate, and a happy counterpoiſe and barrier againſt the ambition of France, if the different territories of which it is compoſed, were united under one head, with ſufficient authority to conſtitute them one united and compacted government. But, the three hundred ſtates into which it is divided, poſſeſſing, for the moſt part, royal prerogatives, even to the extent of making peace or war, are influenced only by their own individual intereſts. They abandon the community of which they are members, at the moment of its danger, to all the attacks of adverſe fortune. Though they acknowledge one chief, they are independant of each other, and not attached by any particular or private tie to the common intereſt: beſides this, the powers which they have gradually aſſumed, are increaſed at every new election of an emperor. For this reaſon, it is an undecided point among German doctors of laws, whether the conſtitution of their country, be monarchical or ariſtocratical. This indeciſion renders it a matter of doubt with ſome, whether there be, in reality, any preciſe and determinate conſtitution of Germany at all. The moſt probable opinion on this

ſubject

ſubject is, that the Germanic conſtitution is an extremely limited monarchy.—With the exception of the ſhort and ſtormy period between 1742 and 1745, the imperial dignity has, for many ages, been veſted in the houſe of Auſtria. This dignity was not hereditary in that family, but conferred, on ſucceſſive vacancies of the throne, by way of election.

At the period when the German empire became an elective kingdom, (for it was not ſo from the beginning), all the *magnates*, or moſt powerful chiefs, had a ſhare in the election. But this privilege paſſed inſenſibly into the hands of the principal eccleſiaſtical and ſecular princes, who were called electors. It was neceſſary, about the time of the reformation, and ſince, that the candidate for the imperial crown ſhould be of the Roman catholic religion. Hence the capacity of filling the imperial throne is reduced to a very few houſes of high diſtinction: thoſe of Auſtria, the Palatinate, and Saxony. But, as the imperial election has been almoſt uniformly carried, for many ages, by the former of theſe, whoſe immenſe hereditary dominions has given birth to an apprehenſion, leſt it ſhould employ its vaſt power for the purpoſe of its own aggrandizement, rather than that of maintaining the rights of the ſtates of the empire, the electors have judged it proper, at every new election, ſince that of Charles V. in 1519, to ſtipulate for the maintenance of their own prerogatives and thoſe of their co-eſtates, by an inſtrument, called the *Imperial Capitulation*. It is a pretty general opinion, that the limitation of the imperial power, had its origin in an original compact with the electors. But this was not the caſe. When Germany was ſeparated from France, to which it had become ſubject, to form an empire by itſelf, the chief of the nation was in poſſeſſion of full and abſolute ſovereignty. Dukes, margraves, counts palatines, and landgraves, were no more than ſimple officers of the crown, acting in the name and by the authority of the monarch. But, as it was common to beſtow on ſons the places that had been held by their fathers, and to confer the great offices of ſtate on families who had large poſſeſſions in the territories over which they were appointed to preſide, it came to paſs, in troubleſome times, when the monarch could not exerciſe a ſtrict vigilance over them, that they kept their places by a hereditary title, and the officers of the crown became ſovereign princes, their power increaſed, in proportion as the hands were ſlackened, which united them to the empire, more and more, till at length a deal was put to their authority, by the peace of Weſtphalia. It is farther to be obſerved, that neither the kings of France, nor thoſe of Germany, their ſucceſſors, were ever abſolute, ſo long as the tribes of Germany were but ſmall. The chief conſulted the opinion of every free man, without exception. An inherent love of liberty, it is recorded both by Tacitus and Julius Cæſar, was characteriſtic of the ancient Germans. When the empire became too extenſive for the public deliberations of all free men in a body, the king aſſembled the dukes, margraves, counts palatine, ſimple counts, and landgraves to conſult together, and with him, on the affairs of the nation. Thoſe

lords

lords were not indeed, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the repreſentatives of the people: ſtill, however, they might be conſidered as ſuch: they were always great landed proprietors, who have the cleareſt and moſt unqueſtionable intereſt in the welfare of the people; and, beſides this, it was in conſtant uſage, with the grandees, before preſenting themſelves at court, to convene the free men of their reſpective diſtricts, in order to receive information of facts, and charge themſelves with the repreſentation of their grievances: a cuſtom which alſo prevailed, it will readily be recollected, with the ſtates-general of France. Thus the *magnates* of Germany became ſtates of the empire.

After Chriſtianity made its way into the heart of Germany, a great number of archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots appeared on the ſame level, and in the ſame rank, with the lay chiefs, who, by and by, admitted them into their number in the public convents, not only in conſequence of their reſpected ſtations and valuable poſſeſſions, but becauſe the clergy alone, in thoſe days, were verſant in either letters, or the beſt modes of tranſacting public buſineſs. Thus the ſtates of the empire were divided into two orders; the eccleſiaſtic and the ſecular. Among the former, were ranked archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots of royal foundations: the abbots of other monaſteries did not enjoy the ſame privileges. To the order of prelates were joined, the grand-maſter of the teutonic order, and the grand-prior of the order of St. John, of Jeruſalem. The ſecular order was compoſed of dukes, counts palatine, landgraves, margraves, ſimple counts, and independent proprietors of landed eſtates: that is, ſuch proprietors as did not hold them as fiefs of the crown. For a long time there were no other ſtates of the empire. Theſe two orders held their deliberations in common with the chief of the empire, under the ſimple deſignation of *two benches*; the eccleſiaſtical bench, and the ſecular bench. In the lapſe of ages there aroſe a third claſs of national repreſentatives. In the reign of Henry, the falconer, a great number of towns were built, both on the frontiers, and in the interior of Germany. Part of theſe held of dukes and princes, and part immediately of the emperor. The latter were called imperial cities, and their magiſtrates were appointed by the emperor, for the purpoſe of exerciſing, in his name, the rights of ſovereignty, and drawing certain revenues for the imperial treaſury. They derived proſperity from commerce; which enabled them to purchaſe the rights of ſovereigns from the emperor, to form for themſelves republican conſtitutions, and to acquire conſiderable domains; ſometimes by money, ſometimes by main force. Occupied, almoſt wholly, in induſtry and commerce, they gave themſelves but little concern about the affairs of the empire. The particular wars in which they were ſometimes engaged, and to which they were always expoſed, rendered it difficult to eſtabliſh a general peace, without ſome participation, on their part, in its formation; and their attachment to the emperor, from whom they derived their political privileges, pointed them out as a natural ſupport to the imperial power, againſt the encroachments of the other ſtates. Their wealth too, preſented the ampleſt

ampleſt reſource, whenever there was a neceſſity of impoſing public contributions. They were, therefore, invited to appear in the diets of the empire, by repreſentatives, choſen by themſelves, out of their own number. But as their intereſts did not always co-incide with thoſe of the princes, prelates, and counts, they withdrew from theſe orders, formed a ſeparate college of their own, and communicated the reſult of their deliberations to the other two ſtates, in whoſe aſſemblies they preſented themſelves only on the moſt ſolemn occaſions.

During a period of conſiderable length, it was the policy of the more powerful among the princes, to retain, by all means, the prelates and counts, as a part of their own body, that they might not lean too much towards the ſide of the emperor. But it was not long before new and particular intereſts occaſioned a ſeparation in this college. The chief among the princes ſecular, and eccleſiaſtic, by degrees, aſſumed the privilege of electing the emperor. At firſt, they met together for concerting whom they ſhould propoſe, and recommend to the other princes aſſembled in the diet of the empire, who generally gave their voices in favour of the candidate ſo propoſed, and always, if the chief princes were unanimous in their recommendation. But it was not till the fifteenth century, that the chief princes aſſumed a formal, abſolute, and excluſive right of election. During this period, the ſtates of the empire came to be divided into three colleges, the *Electoral College*, the *College of Princes*, and the *College of the Free or Imperial Cities*. The members of the eccleſiaſtical college were originally ſeven; three eccleſiaſtic, and four ſecular. The former owed their dignity to the antiquity of their epiſcopal ſees, and, to the office of arch-chancellors, which they performed at the imperial court, and which gave them the management of all ſuch public affairs as were tranſacted, by means of letters, or writing. The elector of Mentz, was arch-chancellor for Germany; the elector of Treves, for the Gauls, or kingdom of Lorraine, when it became a part of the empire; and the elector of Cologne, for the kingdom of Lombardy, when that country too became ſubject to the ſovereign power of the German empire. Subſequent changes in France, and in Italy, did not deprive the two latter princes of their electoral dignity and privileges. The ſecular princes of the electoral college were the ſovereign princes of Bohemia, the palatinate of Saxony, and Brandenburg, who, in like manner, owed their electoral dignity to the great officers of ſtate, which they held at the imperial court. The elector palatine having accepted the crown of Bohemia, in 1618, was overcome by the emperor Ferdinand II. put to the bar of the empire, ſtripped of his hereditary territories, and the electoral dignity conferred by the emperor on his ally, the duke of Bavaria. This dignity was conferred to the duke, by the peace of Weſtphalia: but, by the ſame treaty, an eighth electorſhip was created, in favour of the prince palatine, who was nominated arch-treaſurer of the empire, on the ground, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that every elector ſhould hold ſome great office of ſtate under the imperial crown. As the two houſes of the palatinate and

Bavaria

Bavaria were both of them branches of the ſame ſtem, and as it was foreſeen that, in the courſe of time, the once might probably fall into the other, by hereditary ſucceſſion, it was ſtipulated, that the electorſhip laſt created ſhould, from that time, be diſcontinued. On the re-union of the two branches of the palatine family, in 1777, the number of electors would have been, accordingly, reduced to the primitive number of ſeven, if at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the electoral dignity had not been conferred, by the emperor, on the ducal houſe of Brunſwick Lunenburg, or Hanover. The college of princes is compoſed of a hundred voices, or votes: of which ſome are parted, or ſhared among different perſons, and, in ſome inſtances, even whole bodies. For example, the whole of the prelates have but two votes, the whole of the counts only four. Hence a diviſion of the voices into *viriles* and *curiales;* the former thoſe of individuals, the latter thoſe of whole claſſes or bodies.

The imperial and free cities, which form the third college of the ſtates of the empire, are all of them conſtituted on republican plans of government; being mixtures of democracies and ariſtocracies, or rather ariſtocracies more or leſs moderate. The city of Nuremberg alone is wholly ariſtocratical. Of the free cities of Germany, there are only four, which, at the preſent day, retain their ancient proſperity and conſideration. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and the three Hanſeatic towns of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburgh. Neremberg, Ulm, Augſburg, and others, have fallen from their ancient ſplendour. The number of the imperial cities, by the ceſſion of Alſace to the French, and, in one or two caſes, the encroachments of powerful princes, has been reduced from ſixty-two, to about fifty. They are divided into two benches, that of the Rhine, and that of Swabia.

Beſides the political diviſion of the ſtates of the empire into three colleges, it was divided, geographically, into ten circles, or regions, ſhaped into a kind of particular counties, by the hand of nature; before Belgium, or the circle of Burgundy, was ceded to France, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, ſoon to be ratified by another pacification. The members of theſe circles, meet from time to time, to deliberate on their common intereſts. In former times, when the German ſtates and princes were actuated, more than at preſent, by public ſpirit and a love of their country, aſſemblies of the circles were frequent, and of great importance. In proportion as particular intereſts and views prevailed over thoſe of the community, the meetings of the circles have become irregular, ill attended, broken up haſtily by pitful diſputes about precedency, where the members were numerous, or diſcouraged and overborne by ſome preponderating power, when few. Every circle has its director, or preſident, charged with the general police and maintenance of the public tranquillity, as well as with the execution, of all imperial decrees within their circles. In the aſſemblies of the circles, there is no difference between voices *viriles*, and voices *curiales*. The vote of the ſmalleſt count, or prelate, is equivalent to that of the greateſt princes, even electors not excepted. And

all queſtions are diſpoſed of by a plurality of voices. There is yet another diviſion of the empire, beſides the political and geographical diviſions juſt mentioned, and that is, a diviſion founded on difference of religion. In the college of the princes, as well as that of electors, the Catholics are the moſt numerous: though of the princes, all thoſe of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious houſes are proteſtants, with the exception of Auſtria, Bavaria, and the Palatine. In the college of imperial cities, the proteſtants preponderate. However, although the Catholics prevail in the other two colleges, it was provided and ſettled, by the peace of Weſtphalia, that the preponderating number and voices of the Catholics, ſhould not be of any prejudice to the Proteſtants, in any queſtion wherein the Proteſtants ſhould agree to make common cauſe, and at the imperial diet, form themſelves into a ſeparate and diſtinct body. In which caſe nothing remained but modes of conciliation. If theſe failed, the matter in queſtion remained undecided.

It has already been obſerved, that the emperor, in moſt caſes, was reſtrained from exerciſing the imperial authority without the conſent of the ſtates. In order to obtain this, the emperors, in former times, were wont to aſſemble, from time to time, to the ſtates of the empire in perſon. When all matters were agreed on, the reſult of their deliberations was reduced to the form of a law, under the name of a receſs of the empire, and the diet was broken up. As the emperors and princes were preſent in the diets, in perſon, there proceedings were carried on with expedition. From the date of 1663, when the diet, or aſſembly, of the ſtates of the empire became permanent, neither the emperor, nor the different members of the ſtates, appear there in perſon. Every thing is tranſacted by deputies, who are not, however, empowered to conclude any buſineſs of importance, without tranſmitting it, and receiving the inſtructions of their conſtituents.

The repreſentative of the emperor, in the diet, has the title of the principal commiſſary, becauſe it would be beneath the dignity of the chief of the empire to ſend a deputy to the ſtates.

It is the prerogative of the emperor to call meetings of the diet for any particular purpoſe, and to lay before them the ſubjects of deliberation. A propoſition, or motion, is made in the diet, either by the imperial or principal commiſſary, in which caſe the decree for making it, is called a decree of commiſſion: or, in his abſence, directly by a meſſage from the imperial court; in which caſe, it is called an *aulic decree*. But although the regular initiative of legiſlation belong to the emperor, it is, nevertheleſs, competent for the ſtates too to propoſe any queſtion or ſubject of diſcuſſion: of which an inſtance was exhibited a few years ago, by the elector of Mayence, in a motion relative to peace with France. But in whatever manner a propoſition is made, it muſt be communicated to the whole empire.

Each of the three colleges meets ſeparately, and deliberates on the propoſitions ſubmitted to their conſideration and deciſion, by the preſident or director: who reduces to writing, the ſenſe of what is determined by the majority; and lays it before

fore the college at the next meeting, for their confirmation. In the electoral college, in general more concordant than the others, the draught of what is underſtood to have been agreed on, is not often attended with any difficulties: but it is very commonly otherwiſe in the college of princes; in which the ſketch or project drawn up by the director, is often rejected, and another propoſed to the college in its ſtead. Thus it follows, from this mode of conducting the deliberations of the ſtates, that there are three different decrees, or reſolutions, on all matters that come before them: which three decrees it, of courſe, becomes neceſſary to reduce to one. For this end, the directors of the two firſt colleges proceed, without delay, to a conference. If it happens that the reſolutions agreed to by their reſpective colleges be fundamentally the ſame, or conceived in the ſame ſpirit, it is not commonly difficult for the two colleges to come to a common reſult or *concluſum*. But if they cannot be brought, by any means, to one accord, the queſtion is dropped, and there is an end of the buſineſs: unleſs indeed, as ſometimes happens in caſes of great urgency, they agree to refer the matter to the arbitration of the emperor; for he has no right to interfere, without ſuch a reference. After the *concluſum* of the two firſt colleges, a ſimilar procedure takes place between theſe two colleges, united in the ſame deſign, on the one part, and the college of imperial cities, on the other. The conſent of this college is followed by a general decree of the diet: which, however, has not the force of a law, without the ratification of the emperor. The general decrees, in ſome meaſure, qualified or characterized by the title they bear, of *Advices of the Diet*, repreſented by the directors to the imperial and principal commiſſary, who tranſmits it to his court. Theſe advices the emperor may reject, though not without coming to an explanation on their ſubjects. The conſent of the emperor, duly declared, is called a *Decree of Ratification*. An *Advice of the Diet*, and a *Decree of Ratification*, form together a *concluſum* of the empire.

From this ſketch of the Germanic conſtitution, it is evident, that the tranſactions of the diet cannot be carried on otherwiſe than very ſlowly; and that it is impoſſible they ſhould be kept ſecret. A very great influence on the aſſembly is poſſeſſed by the emperor, who ſeldom fails to turn it to his own advantage. He is, himſelf, a member of the electoral college, as king of Bohemia; and the three eccleſiaſtical electors are uſually of his party. In the college of princes, too, he can commonly reckon on the eccleſiaſtical princes, as well as on the ſecular princes of the new houſes, and ſtill more on the prelates and counts. As for the college of free cities, it is but very rarely that they dare reſiſt the will of the chief of the empire. It is only the houſe of Brandenburg, and the greater part of the princes of the old families, that can form, to a certain degree, a counter-balance to the power of the emperor. But of theſe great houſes, means have generally been found to draw over one or other to the imperial party. One thing is certain, that if the courts of Berlin and Vienna are of one mind, as was unfortunately the caſe,

caſe, at the commencement of the preſent war with France, all reſiſtance from any other quarter would be vain. On the other, a reſolute and ſteady oppoſition, on the part of the Pruſſian monarch, in the preſent ſituation of the empire, would ſuffice to fruſtrate, in the diet of the empire, any project of the emperor's.

The buſineſs brought before the diet is ſometimes tranſacted by the ſtates, in a body, and ſometimes, as in caſes where diſpatch is neceſſary, and others, by committees appointed to deliberate and decide in the name of the empire. Theſe committees, which may be conſidered as committees, on a ſmall ſcale, are called *Deputations of the Empire*. Of theſe there are two kinds: ordinary, or extraordinary; ſuch as thoſe appointed to deliberate and decide on queſtions relating to peace or war: and it is in this kind of deputations alone that we are intereſted. The members of an extraordinary deputation are choſen by a plurality of voices in the different colleges, and their election is confirmed by the emperor. At the head of ſuch a deputation is the ambaſſador plenipotentiary of the emperor: in the choice of whom his imperial majeſty is not reſtrained by any limitation whatever either of law or cuſtom.

Although a deputation of the empire, as has already been obſerved, be a diet on a ſmall ſcale, in deputations extraordinary there is no diviſion of the members into ſeparate colleges. They form but one body. Their preſident is the elector of Mayence, and the vote of a delegate from one of the cities, is equivalent to that of an electoral plenipotentiary. There was formerly a world of diſputes about the ceremonial, according to which the ſub-delegates from the diets were, on ſuch occaſions, to take their ſeats or places. In order to avoid ſuch an inconveniency at the congreſs of Raſtadt, it was ſettled, that all the deputies ſhould be placed on equal ſeats, and that there ſhould not be, as uſual, in the midſt of the hall, any table. The inconveniencies neceſſarily ariſing from this arrangement, it ſeems, were judged leſs than thoſe to be apprehended from the ideas of dignity or degradation that would ariſe in the breaſts of the ſub-delegates, from their poſitions, in relation to that utenſil. With regard to the manner or form in which the deliberations, in the extraordinary deputations of the empire are conducted, it is preciſely the ſame with that which takes place in the diet. The imperial plenipotentiary opens the ſeſſion with due ſolemnity, and propoſes the various points that are to be made the ſubjects of diſcuſſion. Every thing that is proper for them to know, is communicated from time to time through the miniſtration of the elector of Mayence: who collects the votes, and pronounces the decrees; which decrees, when they are of a nature that requires the imperial ſanction, are either ratified or rejected by the emperor.

In extraordinary deputations of the empire, the ſub-delegates are furniſhed, by the emperor and diet, with powers and inſtructions which they cannot tranſgreſs. The members of the extraordinary deputation, at Raſtadt, were appointed ſo early as 1795, on the firſt overtures for peace. And although there was afterwards a great change of cir-

cumſtances, there was none in the powers of the deputation. Of thoſe powers the principal were theſe: The deputies were empowered and inſtructed to make peace with France, on the baſis of the integrity of the empire. Their deliberations were to be carried on not by any delegations or committees, but in a body. The reſult of theſe was to be preſented to the imperial plenipotentiary, who, if he approved, was to lay them before the French miniſters. The anſwers of theſe miniſters were to paſs through the hands of the ſame plenipotentiary, and to be communicated by him to the deputation. Although it did not ſeem neceſſary, that there ſhould be a renewal or verification of the powers with which the deputies were inveſted, for the purpoſe of negociation, yet, this was thought proper, on the whole, and going to be made: but the French plenipotentiaries demanded, that the deputies ſhould be furniſhed with unlimited powers; a requiſition with which the diet thought it fit to comply.

Beſides the miniſters of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, there appeared, at Raſtadt, a great number of envoys from particular powers, and *immediate members*, (as they were called), *of the empire*.* It was conſidered, that particular intereſts are not always carefully attended to by general deputations. The imperial capitulation, at the election of Leopold, in 1790, guaranteed to the ſtates, the right of ſending to a general congreſs their particular envoys, who ſhould take care of their particular intereſts, and be authorized to treat in the name of their conſtituents. It was not underſtood that they ſhould have any right either of pleading or voting. They were only to preſent, in writing, to the deputation of the empire, their remonſtrances and their demands, and come to as good an underſtanding, and ſettlement of all matters of importance, as ſhould be found poſſible, in the way of friendly repreſentation. They were not to be admitted to ſit in the hall of the deputation, but by the expreſs invitation of the deputies; and, in order that they might have an opportunity of being informed, *viva voce*, of any thing the deputies might chooſe to communicate. Though they ranked after the deputies of the empire, yet theſe could not enter into any diſcuſſion, in which the courts of the former were intereſted, without previous conferences with them on the ſubject. The number of deputies from the diet, and from individual ſtates and princes, amounted to one hundred and ſeventy-three, and, together with their clerks or ſecretaries, and other attendants, under different denominations, exceeded ſix hundred. For, not only was the German empire threatened with a great loſs of territory, but with the ſubverſion of its ancient conſtitution.

* There is a great number of *immediate members of the empire*, who enjoy the greater part of the rights of ſovereigns, but who have no ſeat or voice at the diet of the empire. Of this claſs, the principal are the *immediate nobleſſe*, which is divided into three circles; thoſe of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine. Each of theſe circles is ſubdivided into cantons, of which cantons, each has its own directory, choſen by the whole of the members. It conſiſts of a preſident, or head-man, ſeveral counſellors, and a chancellor, or ſyndic.

At

At the congreſſes for pacification with the German empire, we often find ambaſſadors from other powers, whether in the character of mediators, or as being intereſted in the preſervation of the Germanic conſtitution. Beſides the miniſters of Pruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, all of them ſtates of the empire, envoys were ſent to the congreſs, at Raſtadt, from the Helvetian, Batavian, Ciſalpine, and Ligurian republics, and alſo from the pope; though it does not appear, and could not well have been expected, that theſe five envoys ſhould have taken any ſhare in the negociations. There is not a doubt but a greater number of foreign miniſters would have attended the congreſs of Raſtadt, if it had not been expreſſly ſtipulated in the treaty of Campo-Formio, that a pacification between the German empire and French republic, ſhould be conducted without the intervention of any other power.

The unlimited powers granted to the deputation of the empire tended, in a very conſiderable degree, to expedite the buſineſs of the congreſs; yet ſtill the variety of intereſts and influence that pervaded the deputation of the empire, left but little hopes that this aſſembly would bring matters to any ſpeedy or certain concluſion. The German empire, already disjointed and diſtracted, was rendered more and more looſe and unſteady by paſſing events. The councils of France, too, were fluctuating, for ſimilar reaſons. The congreſs at Raſtadt was a barometer that indicated the riſing or falling power, or proſpects of different parties concerned. The deputies of the empire were obliged to ſhape their conduct by that of the emperor and king of Pruſſia. The French plenipotentiaries, though, on the whole, riſing in their demands on every conceſſion on the part of the empire, were yet ſometimes forced to relax in their pretenſions, and to aſſume the appearance of greater moderation, by the courſe of great events, foreign and domeſtic. The negociation was a game of rackets, which was broken up by the approach and entrance of a Ruſſian army into Germany. It would ſerve no purpoſe of either entertainment or inſtruction to record all the propoſitions and counter propoſitions, and capricious turns of ſuch proceedings. Yet a few of theſe may be thought worthy of being related.

The miniſter plenipotentiary, on the part of his imperial majeſty, chief of the empire, was the count Metternich: thoſe appointed, at firſt, on the part of the French republic, were, the citizens Buonaparte, Trailhard, and Bonnier. Buonaparte was called from negociation to arms; Trailhard, in the progreſs of the negociation, was elected into the directory: and ſucceeded, in the embaſſy to congreſs, by the citizens Robert Jott and Jean Debrie.

By ſecret articles, ſubjoined to the treaty of Campo Formio, Mentz and Ehrenbritſtein had been given up to the French: and other arrangements had been made, by the treaty of Baſle, in 1795, at the expenſe of the empire, for the purpoſe of certain amicable arrangements between the French republic, on the one part, and the king of Pruſſia, the duke of Wurtemburg, the margrave of Baden, and one or two German powers more on the other. Mentz was, accordingly,

ingly, notwithſtanding the treaty of Campo Formio, ſummoned by the French general, Hatry, to ſurrender, with the menace, that he would ſubject the territory of that electorate to all the calamities of war, if that city did not open its gates to him. The menace was afterwards put in execution and the gates opened; and, for the fortreſs of Ehrenbritſtein, it was cloſely beſieged. The count de Metternich publicly complained of theſe violations of the treaty, in a note addreſſed to the citizens Trailhard and Bonnier, dated at Raſtadt, the twenty-fourth of December, 1797. "He had learnt," he ſaid, "from all quarters, that the French troops, without any provocation whatever, had paſſed the lines marked out by the armiſtice, that they had ſummoned the fortreſs of Ehrenbritſtein to ſurrender, had paſſed the Rhine as well as the Nidda, near Openheim, and that they had formed lines of circumvallation round Mentz." On the ſubject of grievances, the count proceeded to mention another, which was, "The political organization that the French would, by force of arms, compel a people to accept, who were accuſtomed to a conſtitution which formed their happineſs. Such an enterprize," he obſerved, "was in direct and avowed oppoſition to the ſpirit of the French conſtitution, and which could reſult only from a definitive treaty of peace, that ſhould eſtabliſh ſuch a people under the dominion of France. Beſides, this attempt was made during an armiſtice, religiouſly obſerved by the ſtates of the empire, and at the moment of a negociation, whoſe object was to enſure, by a ſolid and durable peace, the return of that ancient confidence and friendſhip which, for the intereſt of ſuffering humanity, ſhould be reſtored between the two nation." To theſe complaints no reply was made, nor does it appear that any was inſiſted on. The plenipotentiaries, after not a little diſcuſſion on the ſubjects of deſignations, titles, and a paſſport, for a French citizen, named Bocher, entered ſeriouſly on the buſineſs for which the congreſs was called, on the ſeventeenth of January, 1799. Citizen Trailhard, having ſtated, as an incontrovertible fact, that a war had been provoked by the German empire, proceeded to repreſent, that his government had an inconteſtible right to an indemnification for all the ſacrifices which it had made; and that, in compliance with its principles of loyalty and juſtice, whoſe object was to terminate the calamities of war, and to eſtabliſh peace on the moſt ſolid foundation, he propoſed, for the firſt baſis, "That the courſe of the Rhine ſhould be acknowledged as a boundary. To this propoſition, the count Metternich, in a note of the twenty-ſeventh of January, replied, "That, by the new frontier propoſed, Germany would be diſmembered, independently of the circle of Burgandy, of the moſt conſiderable parts of the three circles of the Rhine; and that, by ſuch a diſpoſition, ſeveral ſtates, the exiſting nobility, and other members of the empire, would loſe either the whole, or, at leaſt, a great part of their poſſeſſions. The ceſſion, to France, of the provinces beyond the Rhine, would ſhake, to the very foundations, the Germanic conſtitution, and diſable the empire from ſupporting its poli-

tical

tical exiſtence, and maintaining the relations which it hitherto preſerved with the other ſtates of Europe. By the preliminaries, ſettled at Leoben, on the eighteenth of April, 1797, an aſſurance was given, that the empire ſhould preſerve its integrity: and this aſſurance was alſo confirmed afterwards, by the definitive treaty of Campo Formio. The emperor and empire, it was ſtated by the imperial plenipotentiary, confidently expected, from the juſtice and generoſity of the French government, that it would be diſpoſed to ſubſtitute, inſtead of the propoſition already made, a baſis of negociation more accordant to that which was ſtipulated, in favour of the empire, by the preliminaries of Leoben. Some propoſitions," he farther obſerved, "were indiſpenſably neceſſary to be made, concerning the wretched ſtate of thoſe parts of Germany, at that moment occupied by the French troops. The propoſitions, to be made on this head, would be favourably received, ſince they reſted on conventions ſettled with the French nation, were in ſtrict conformity to the law of nations and the natural conſequence of negociations, now entered on, for the purpoſe of arranging a definitive treaty. They were reſolved into the following heads:

I. That, in conſequence of the preliminaries of peace, ſigned at Leoben, the armiſtice ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved till a definitive treaty ſhould be concluded.

II. That the French troops ſhould remove, altogether, from the right bank of the Rhine; and, reſpecting the left bank, that they ſhould retire beyond the lines ſettled by the armiſtice.

III. That all hoſtilities, and conſequently all contributions and requiſitions, of every denomination, ſhould ceaſe, from that moment, and without any future renewal.

IV. That all ſale or alienation of the poſſeſſions, ſituated as well on the German territory as out of it, belonging to the ſtates of the empire, and other members of it, ſhould be diſcontinued: that a ſtop ſhould be put to the deſtruction of foreſts, the ſale of woods, as well as the ſuppreſſion of eccleſiaſtical and pious foundations: and, that thoſe faithful ſubjects, who had manifeſted a zeal for their maſters, and particularly thoſe who, being ſtill in the civil or military ſervice of the princes and lords, had, without any juſt reaſon, been claſſed as emigrants, and had their properties ſequeſtered or ſold, ſhould be free from all future perſecution: that thoſe ſervants or ſubjects, who had inhabited, to the preſent moment, the countries, ſome time ſince, or more recently, occupied by the French troops, ſhould not be diſturbed by the arreſt of their perſons, or ſequeſtration of their goods; and that they ſhould be permitted, on the contrary, to remove with their effects and to follow their maſters: and that, in thoſe parts of Germany, where there were any French troops, none of the penal conſequences of emigrations ſhould be exerciſed againſt thoſe who had withdrawn from the theatre of war and the countries that were occupied by the armies.

V. That, in all the different places, whether occupied or not by the French troops, a ſtop ſhould be put to all thoſe new doctrines and revolutionary diſpoſitions, whoſe object was to ſeduce ſubjects from

the conſtitution which was ſuited to them, and to aſſociate them with the republican ſyſtem.

VI. Finally, to prevent the total ruin of the countries occupied by the French troops, that the number of theſe ſhould be proportioned to the means and reſources of thoſe countries.

This anſwer from the deputation of the empire, to the propoſition, that the Rhine ſhould be eſtabliſhed as a limit of the French republic, the miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic tranſmitted to their government. At the ſame time, they ſtill inſiſted, that the indemnity required by the republic was equitable. The boundary of the Rhine was eſſential to its ſafety, and the tranquillity of the empire was ſtill more immediately intereſted in forming thoſe limits.

Meanwhile, the French not only declined to retire beyond the limits ſettled by the armiſtice, but proceeded to inveſt Manheim and to other acts of aggreſſion. The imperial plenipotentiary did not fail to make loud complaints of ſuch conduct, as well as of various flagrant attempts to excite, throughout the territories of the empire, a ſpirit of inſurrection. In theſe attempts, the plenipotentiaries, on the part of the republic, diſavowed all concern or participation, and ſaid, that the executive directory had taken very ſtrong meaſures to diſcover and puniſh their authors and accomplices. As to the conſtant acts of aggreſſion they were ſilent. Diſputes were alſo continued concerning the origin and commencement of the war. Count Metternich conſidered it as an incontrovertible fact, that the empire did not attack France, and that it engaged in the war from no other cauſe than that it was attacked itſelf. According to the Germanic conſtitution, the empire could not engage in a war without a reſolution of the diet to that effect, ratified by its chief. The reſolution of the diet, on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1793, expreſſly declared, "That, ſince France made war on the empire, by acts of hoſtility, without any formal declaration; ſince ſhe had attacked and diſpoſſed, by means of her armies, the countries belonging and ſtates of the empire, this war, undertaken by France, and declared by acts of hoſtility alone, muſt be conſidered as a war common to all the empire." The French plenipotentiaries replied, "That the open and ſcandalous protection, given, notwithſtanding the moſt ardent remonſtrances, to the emigrants, who were brought back to threaten the French frontiers, was the firſt act of hoſtility againſt France, which not only wiſhed for peace but muſt be acknowledged to have been deeply intereſted in maintaining it. The continued refuſal, to diſperſe the aſſembling of theſe implacable enemies, compelled France to take ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for her ſecurity: but, ſo far from endeavouring to ſuſpend them, by giving reaſonable ſatisfaction, the empire proceeded to declare itſelf in a ſtate of war. Theſe facts were of ſuch public notoriety, that they could not be conteſted." But ſuch diſcuſſions were equally endleſs and unimportant. It was not by appeals to any principles of juſtice, or to any thing that had paſſed, that the points in queſtion were to be ſettled, but by the preſent ſituation of affairs and future proſpects.

That

That the Rhine ſhould form the boundary between the French and German empires had been aſſented to, in the ſecret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, was no ſecret. The whole of Bavaria, beyond the Inn, was to be the compenſation for this ceſſion. Bavaria was to receive, in return, a part of Suabia and certain ſtates in Franconia. No doubt was entertained of the good underſtanding that exiſted, on this point, between France, Pruſſia, and Auſtria. That the ſyſtem of ſecularization, which was to make up the reſpective loſſes, had been previouſly agreed on among theſe three reſpective powers: but the deputation of the empire were not prepared to make, at once, ſo great ſacrifices. The French plenipotentiaries repreſented, that the ceſſions, on the left bank of the Rhine, were of no great conſequence, as an addition of territory to ſuch a republic as France, while the boundary of the Rhine was eſtabliſhed by nature, and would equally conduce to the tranquillity of both empires. The deputation of the empire, on the contrary, ſtated, that, by giving up the left ſide of the Rhine, and the indemnities propoſed, thirty-one ſecular and thirteen eccleſiaſtical ſtates of the empire would be ſubjected to loſſes, which amounted to upwards of eleven hundred ſquare-miles; the population of which was upwards of three millions of inhabitants. France had drawn from this country, ſince the beginning of the war, in requiſitions and contributions, more than eighty millions. For fertility and ſituation, it was one of the firſt provinces of Europe. The French plenipotentiaries, not, probably, diſcouraged by this laſt argument, perſiſted in their firſt propoſitions, from which, they declared, they would never depart. France, they ſaid, demanded the left ſide of the Rhine, not ſo much for the purpoſe of aggrandizement as for that of ſecuring to the republic a determinate and ſecure frontier. The deputation was ſtill indiſpoſed to make ſo large a ſacrifice. But, on the third of March, 1798, the deputation, in a note of the third of March, agreed to a ceſſion of half the territory demanded; and this they did in conſideration that the French government, according to the declaration of its miniſters plenipotentiary, had no view of aggrandizement, and that its principal object was to procure natural and determined limits for both France and the empire. As a line of demarcation, of this kind, they propoſed the Rhine and Moſelle, leaving to the French government the choice between the countries of the empire, ſituated beyond the Rhine, on the right bank of the Moſelle; or thoſe on the ſame ſide of the Rhine on the left. But, in conſenting to ſuch an important ceſſion, they declared, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to make every poſſible proviſion to alleviate the condition of thoſe ſtates of the empire, of the nobles, and other members of the Germanic body, who, by ſuch a diſpoſition, would ſuſtain very conſiderable loſſes. Nothing, in the way of negociation, on equal terms, could have been more reaſonable than this propoſition, which, in the ſtyle of common buſineſs, was a fair diviſion of the difference. But the French plenipotentiaries peremptorily declared, that the boundary of the Rhine was a baſis of negociation from which the re-

public would never depart. The imperious demands of France, as might naturally be expected, gave riſe to very animated debates in the diet of the empire. The duke of Bavaria not only refuſed to agree to the ceſſion propoſed, but went ſo far as to propoſe, to the other ſtates, to invite the empire, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and England, to oppoſe it by main force. But the deſtiny of the empire was in the hands of Pruſſia and Auſtria. After multiplied ſittings, long debates, and the interchange of preparatory notes, the deputation of the empire, on the thirteenth of March, finally conſented to the ceſſion of the whole left ſide of the Rhine; but on the conditions that the French troops ſhould immediately withdraw from the right bank of the Rhine, and that all military engagements and requiſitions ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the French republic ſhould immediately withdraw all its troops from the right ſide, and, confining itſelf to the countries of Germany, which ſhould be ceded to it, on the left bank of the Rhine, ſhould not form any farther pretenſions, on the empire, of any kind; that indemnities ſhould be fixed for the ſtates which had ſuſtained any loſs on the left bank of the Rhine; that all perſecution, of whatever kind, in the countries to be ceded, ſhould ceaſe, and individuals be ſafe and ſecure in their perſons and properties. The French plenipotentiaries agreed, that the ceſſion of all poſts, on the right bank of the Rhine, ſhould be the firſt conſequence of a final pacification. They alſo agreed to the principle of indemnities, which, they ſaid, were to be found in a ſecularization of the eccleſiaſtical eſtates; which principle was alſo adopted by the deputation of the empire. But in the diſcuſſions which enſued, on the application of this general principle, there was a great interference and oppoſition of intereſts; and it was evident, that each ſtate thought only of its own aggrandizement, and of throwing the ſum of damages and loſſes on thoſe who were the leaſt capable of defending their own intereſts. The ſtates of the firſt rank did not diſſemble that theſe loſſes were to fall on the ſecondary ſtates; and theſe, again, ſhifted them off on thoſe of inferior order. The Auſtrian miniſters propoſed the great ſecularizations; the eccleſiaſtical electors demanded to be indemnified by thoſe of the prince biſhops; the prince biſhops required the ſuppreſſion of abbeys, monaſteries, and the inferior prelacies. Many, in order to lighten the ſtroke with which they were threatened, and which they had not the power to avert, began to form a fund for their future ſupport, by putting to ſale not only their moveables and other portable objects, but alſo conſiderable portions of their landed property: ſo that, in caſe of the ſecularizations expected, the new poſſeſſors ſhould have the leſs benefit, unleſs a law ſhould be paſſed for invalidating ſuch dilapidations.

It was decided, by the deputation, that they ſhould begin with the total ſecularization of the abbeys and private prelacies. If theſe ſhould not be ſufficient to cover the balance of the loſſes, a part of the poſſeſſions of the prince biſhops ſhould be taken to their account. Auſtria and Pruſſia declared, that, in order to avoid too great a number of ſecularizations,

tions, they would content themſelves with moderate indemnities.

Theſe two points, the ceſſion of the left ſide of the Rhine, and the principle of ſecularization being agreed on, the deputation of the empire requeſted to be informed of the total amount of the loſſes to be indemnified, and what other pretenſions the French had to ſtate. The principal of theſe, ſpecified in a note, delivered by the French miniſters, on the 3d of May, were, that the navigation of the Rhine ſhould be common to both nations; the ſuppreſſion of the right of tolls; the equalization of cuſtom-duties on both ſides the river; that all the iſlands in the Rhine ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of the republic; that the navigation of the rivers, which empty themſelves into the Rhine, and alſo that the navigation of the great rivers of Germany, particularly the Danube, ſhould, in like manner, be free to both nations; to retain poſſeſſion of the fort of Kehl, and, to a certain extent, the territory adjacent; to demoliſh the fortreſs of Ehrenbritſtein, which was ſtill held in cloſe blockade; and Caſſel, as forming a part of the fortifications of Mentz, already given up to the republic, to remain likewiſe in its poſſeſſion. The amount of theſe and other propoſitions was, in fact, to open a free entrance for the French troops into Germany, in caſe of war, and the extenſion of the principles and intrigues of the republic, in times of peace, by the command of the whole internal navigation of Germany and Hungary, from the Rhine, even to the Euxine and Baltic. But theſe, inordinate as they were, did not define and limit the full extent of the demands of the republic, which ſtill roſe on every conceſſion. The French plenipotentiaries, July 19th, ſaid, "The firſt object of the negociation, was the ceſſion of the countries ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine. Then followed the mode of indemnity, by the means of ſecularization. But the determination of theſe queſtions did not preclude the conſideration of others. There were other propoſitions which they had to make, which were nothing more than the natural effect of the progreſſion of ideas; a ſucceſſive diſplay of a regular plan, which they had already announced. Of theſe propoſitions the principal were, an immediate abolition of the tolls, and ſtaple duties, and alſo of the corporation of boatmen, who were in the poſſeſſion of certain privileges, inconſiſtent with the perfect freedom of navigation; and that in the treaty of peace a ſpecial clauſe might be inſerted, by which a ſtipulation ſhould be made for the ceſſion of Frickthal, and that all the rights which the German empire might claim on that territory, ſhould be relinquiſhed to the French republic. On the note containing theſe ſentiments and propoſals, the deputation of the empire obſerved, that the negociation would never attain a fixed point, if the conditions of peace, already agreed on, ſhould be continually interrupted by new propoſitions.

It was impoſſible that two parties could confide in each other, who had agreed to the ſecret articles of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and who meaſured their rights only by their power. The public articles of that treaty were continually violated by the French. The augmentation of troops was complained of on both ſides. The emperor watched,

ed, with jealouſy, the motions of the French, and the French thoſe of the emperor. The negociation was continued, particularly on the part of the former, more from the view of gaining time, and acting according to circumſtances expected, or merely contingent, than from any ſincere hope or deſire of pacification. The plans purſued in Italy and Switzerland prove, that the genius of the republic was ſtill bent on war and conqueſt: which were not only ſuited to the temper of ſo great a part of the nation, but which ſeemed indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſecurity of the adminiſtration and the ſtability of government. But, beſides this general or national intereſt, that all things ſhould be left or thrown, as much as poſſible, into uncertainty and confuſion. The directory, and their agents, were indiſputably influenced, in their conduct at Raſtadt, by a regard to their own private and perſonal intereſts. So profound was the corruption of the rulers of France, at this time, that they did not heſitate to offer their protection to different parties, to ſale, at Raſtadt, as in other places. From the time that the principle of indemnities and ſecularizations was agreed on, they had the moſt abundant means of practiſing on the hopes and fears, the cupidity, jealouſy, and reſentment of ſtates and princes. A kind of lottery was eſtabliſhed of principalities, biſhoprics, abbacies, and various other acquiſitions and exemptions, in which the prizes were diſpoſed of, chiefly by the favour of the French directory. A principle of the moſt flagrant injuſtice and rapacity pervaded all ranks and degrees from France, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, down to the ſmalleſt imperial city, or other member of the empire.

While the French plenipotentiaries paid ſo little regard, on the whole, to the rights of the empire, they affected a particular concern for the intereſts of the free imperial cities of Bremen, Hamburgh, and Franckfort. They demanded, that theſe cities might preſerve their political exiſtence, and be confirmed and maintained in the plenitude of their conſtitutional independence. The deputation of the empire, with regard to this point, acknowledged, "that the preſervation of theſe, as well as of all the other commercial cities, was highly intereſting to the commerce of the whole empire. All theſe free and independent cities, they obſerved, formed the third ſtate of the empire, and on that account, as well as from their rightful conſtitution, were under the protection of the laws. The deputation of the empire conſidered it as an eſſential duty to attend to the maintenance of the imperial ſtates, and the Germanic conſtitution, and to comprehend, in the wiſh expreſſed by the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, all the ſtates and members of the empire in general." The intervention of the French, in behalf of thoſe towns, was not only unneceſſary and impertinent, but in the higheſt degree violent and imperious. It correſponded to the ſecret efforts of the plenipotentiaries to ſow the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſcord among the different ſtates and members of the empire: particularly to a rumour they were at pains to circulate, that the flouriſhing cities of Bremen, Franckfort, and Hamburgh, were coveted by certain potentates, from whoſe

whoſe graſp it was, by the powerful mediation of France alone, that they could be protected. Whether the reports, which were ſpread at the time, of money being ſent to Paris, for the *private pocket* of the directory, by all of thoſe towns, were well founded or no, it is certain that a formal embaſſy was ſent to the French government, by the ſenate of Bremen, to ſolicit their influence for obtaining the ſuppreſſion of the ancient toll of Elsflet on the Weſer, as being a very great interruption to its commerce with Bremen. That toll formed a very conſiderable part of the revenues belonging to the courts of Oldenburgh, who, in return, had for ages kept up certain embankments which were neceſſary for the navigation of the river. The generality of the deputies in the diet of the empire appeared to be perfectly indifferent to the juſt rights of Oldenburgh: but they were ſtrenuouſly defended by the Auſtrian, Hanoverian, and Saxon miniſters. And the deputation, in a note of the eighteenth of October, declared, "that as the toll at Elsflet, which had been guaranteed to the counts, now dukes of Oldenburgh, by the tenth article of the treaty of Munſter, was collected in a port of Germany, which had not been taken poſſeſſion of in the courſe of the war; and, as the deputation of the empire, did not poſſeſs the power of determining upon this object, it muſt be left to the French government to conclude, with the ducal houſe of Holſtein Oldenburgh, ſuch an arrangement as might, in fact, be beneficial to commerce." In another note, dated the twenty-firſt of November, the deputation farther declared, in reply to the continued demands of the French plenipotentiaries, "That they were not qualified to enter into any engagement on that ſubject, inaſmuch as the legation of Holſtein Oldenburgh had offered to the diet, very ſerious repreſentations againſt any ſuppreſſion or reſtriction of the ſaid toll; declaring, at the ſame time, in very poſitive terms, that it was not in the power of the duke himſelf to cede an object of ſuch importance, without the conſent of thoſe who had a hereditary right, which was equal to his, to the duchy of Holſtein Oldenburgh; particularly the crowns of Ruſſia, of Sweden, and of Denmark. The Daniſh legation had formally acceded to this declaration, which had ſince been ſtrongly ſupported by that of Pruſſia." The French plenipotentiaries replied, "That there could not be a doubt but the loſſes, reſulting from a ceſſion of the toll at Elsflet, would be indemniſied in the ſame manner as all thoſe which the actual pacification ſhould occaſion." But the deputation inſiſted, that as the miniſters of Holſtein Oldenburgh, of Denmark, and of Pruſſia, had repeated, in writing, to the deputation of the empire, their determination to oppoſe any ſuppreſſion of the tolls of Elsflet, it would be altogether ſuperfluous to enlarge farther on this object. This was deemed ſtrong and inexpugnable ground. There was no other than this, or ſuch as this, that could be ſafely reſted on: no ſecurity or protection in the Germanic conſtitution. All the German ſtates and princes therefore, at this time, that had not entered into colluſions and ſecret agreements with the French republic, was arranged around either the emperor, or king of Pruſſia, who

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began now to be conſidered and, afterwards, aſſumed the character of protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany. From the moment it was ſeen that the courts of Vienna and Berlin could not draw together, and to the ſame point, every ſtate of the empire followed their example and their fortunes.

At the opening of the congreſs, the aſcendency of France bore down all oppoſition: Pruſſia had eſpouſed its intereſts; and Auſtria, influenced by private views and engagements, had ſometimes huſhed into ſilence thoſe remonſtrants againſt the claims of France, whoſe rights of ſovereignty were to be made the ſacrifice of peace. But the freſh pretenſions of the French, which have been already mentioned, after the ceſſion of the left ſide of the Rhine and the admiſſion of the principle of ſecularization, appeared ſo extravagant to both theſe great powers, that they determined to oppoſe them: a reſolution, in which they were confirmed, or, rather, perhaps, to which they were excited, by that coalition againſt France, which quickly followed the naval victory of the Engliſh at Aboukir. The imperial miniſter, who had, at firſt, ſupported the pretenſions of the French to the left bank of the Rhine, on the principle repeatedly ſtated, was the firſt that raiſed a ſtandard of oppoſition to their new requiſitions, and afterwards determined reſiſtance; though the intereſts of Pruſſia were in oppoſition to thoſe of the emperor; though the king had declared that he would obſerve the moſt exact neutrality, his miniſters thought themſelves equally obliged to proteſt againſt the new pretenſions of the French plenipotentiaries.

The tide was now turned and the tone of the oppoſite parties reverſed. The French made one conceſſion after another; the deputies of the empire ſtood firm; and thoſe of the leading powers manifeſted a diſpoſition rather to riſe in their demands than fall. The deputation acquieſced, however, in the principal baſes that had been propoſed for pacification. They ceded, to the French republic, the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. They acknowledged the Thalwagg, or middle and navigable ſtream of the Rhine, as the boundary of the empire. They admitted the diſtribution that had been propoſed of the iſlands; the free navigation of that river; the maintenance of the towing paths; the re-eſtabliſhment of commercial bridges, and the conſtruction of new ones, provided their neceſſity ſhould be acknowledged; and that the conſent of the emperor and empire ſhould be obtained for erecting them. The deputation renounced all the rights of the empire to the Auſtrian Low Countries and to Savoy, as well as to conſiderable fiefs of the empire in the Ciſalpine republic. It reſolved that the fortifications of Ehrenbritſtein, ſituated on the right bank of the Rhine, ſhould be demoliſhed. For the ſecurity of Mentz it conſented to give up the iſland of St. Pierre, though ſituate on the right ſide of the Thalwagg. It did not reſiſt the propoſition, that the empire ſhould not conſtruct new fortifications at Kehl and Caſſel, within a diſtance of three thouſand toiſes. And, laſtly, the deputation of the empire charged itſelf with the particular debts, as well as thoſe contracted

contracted for supporting the war of the empire, of the states on the left bank of the Rhine, which were to be indemnified on the right bank. But, the French plenipotentiaries, though, among other cessions, they agreed that the laws respecting emigrants should not be applicable either to the countries now ceded to France, or to Mentz, insisted still, that they should remain in full force, with respect to the countries which had been already united, and which now formed French departments, and refused to withdraw the troops to the left side, till a pacification had taken place. They insisted, likewise, on the cession of the Frickthal, the toll on the Wezer, and the acquisition of the isle of Buderich, opposite Wesel: the continued possession of which isle, for the safety of that town, had been resolutely claimed by the ministers of Prussia; and they declared, in a note of the sixth of December, that if, within seven days, the deputation of the empire should not have given and transmitted to them a categorical and satisfactory answer, relative to all the points still in contestation, their powers would cease. A majority of the deputation agreed, without any farther conditions, to the French propositions. But the ministers of Austria, Saxony, and Hanover, contending against all farther cession, and particularly with regard to the four points of the emigrants, the toll on the Wezer, the isle of Buderich, and the Frickthal, declared that they would never relax from the resolutions they had formed. The two last, seeing that the majority of the deputies gave way, protested against their vote and left the chamber. The count of Lehrbach, the Austrian plenipotentiary, remained, but entered the same protest, and declared, that the contingent of Austria was ready to march, in order to protect the empire from farther aggression. This declaration was a pretty certain proof how the negociation would terminate. The approach of the Russians had overturned all that had been effected towards peace, in the Austrian councils and those of the other states that adhered to Austria. On the other hand, the same circumstance produced an opposite effect on the cabinet of Berlin, jealous of an alliance between the two empires. It was in consequence, probably, of this disposition in Prussia, that the deputation of the empire, on the tenth of December, were compelled, in consequence of the categorical answer demanded to the French ultimatum, to submit their opinions, and declared that they acceded to all the articles proposed by the French ministers. But, in making this declaration, they expressed their hopes that such points, as yet wanted more mature examination and farther investigation, would be left for definitive regulation till the formation of the articles of peace. The Prussian ministers, at the same time, addressed a note to the deputation, stating, that the king, their master, unwilling to throw any farther obstacles in the way of peace, by new opposition in the critical state in which the empire then stood, and expose it to new dangers, acceded to the vote of deputation; reserving to themselves the power of recommending, likewise, the interests of Prussia, at the conclusion of the peace. The conclusum, remitted to the imperial commissary,

miſſary, was ſanctioned; though with expreſſions of much diſſatisfaction at the impetuoſity which they had forced into the negociation. It ſays, "The decree of the imperial commiſſion, to the deputation of the empire, has ſufficient motives to determine it to make ſtill farther conceſſions, in the preſent circumſtances, the commiſſioner of his majeſty, the emperor, will not oppoſe its painful proceeding, ſince it believes that theſe will be the means of obtaining peace. But this determination will be entirely miſunderſtood, if it ſhould be ſuppoſed to proceed, from any other motives than a deſire to avoid any diviſion with the deputation of the empire."

As all the eſſential parts of the firſt baſis of the negociation were now definitively ſettled and concluded, nothing remained but to apply the acknowleged principle of indemnity by the means of ſecularization, which formed an integral and indiviſible part of the future treaty, that the reſpective negociators were to conclude. But as this object required mature deliberation, before it came under diſcuſſion, the French plenipotentiaries declared that they would, in a ſhort time, preſent their propoſitions on this head to the deputation; which, in the mean time, continued its deliberations on other points, and decreed, on the thirty-firſt of December, that a note ſhould be preſented to the French miniſters, requiring them to realize the promiſe which they had given of leſſening the weight of military contributions on the left ſide of the Rhine, of raiſing the ſiege of Ehrenbritſtein according to agreement, and that the French republic would take the neceſſary meaſures to protect the countries on the right bank, which were ſtill occupied, from the arbitrary and vexatious impoſitions of French commiſſaries. Theſe requiſitions, relative to the actual ſtate of things on the right bank of the Rhine, were almoſt immediately anſwered, by a note from the French plenipotentiaries, ſtating, that if the diet of the empire conſented to admit Ruſſian troops into the territory of the empire (above noticed) or if it did not exert all its power to oppoſe their entrance, it would be conſidered as a violation of the neutrality, on the part of the empire, the negociation at Raſtadt would be diſſolved, and the republic and the empire would be exactly in the ſame poſition, with reſpect to each other, as they were previous to the ſignature of the preliminaries of Leoben, and the concluſion of the armiſtice. To this note the miniſter plenipotentiary of the head of the empire, anſwered, that the French government, inſtead of giving a ſatisfactory anſwer, conformably to the law of nations, to the urgent demands of the empire, relative to the actual poſture of affairs on the right bank of the Rhine, had entered on a new and very different ſubject. This object, which was not within the department of the deputation of the empire, count Metternich acquainted the plenipotentiaries, had been ſent, agreeably to the conſtitution, to be determined by the empire, united under its head, and that the republic muſt wait the reſult of ſuch a determination. That the diet had reſolved to take the inſtructions of its conſtituents, and that it had notified to the deputation of the empire, that no overture, or requiſition, had been yet made to the diet to grant a

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paſſage to the troops of Ruſſia. It was not to be expected that the imperial miniſter's anſwer to the remonſtrance againſt the march of the Ruſſians into Germany ſhould be ſatisfactory to the French negociators: to whom it was quite apparent, that the head of the empire was as unwilling as the diet at Ratiſbon was unable to bring the point in queſtion to a ſpeedy and friendly concluſion.

The Ruſſian troops, commanded by the renowned general Suarrow, in number ſixty thouſand, and marching in four diviſions, of fifteen thouſand each, having halted for ſome time at Olmutz, and Biltz, in Moravia, arrived at Brunn about the middle of December. The infantry were arranged in the Pruſſian uniform, and in fine condition. The Coſſacks were accoutred in the Turkiſh ſtyle. They wore long beards, and coats of all colours. Beſides the Turkiſh lance and ſabre, they had piſtols and carabines ſlung to their girdles. The arrival of ſo decided and formidable an enemy, to the French republic, was a pleaſing and animating ſight to the court of Vienna, the Auſtrians, and all the partizans of Auſtria. The emperor and empreſs, the palatine of Hungary, the duke of Saxe Teſchen, prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg, prince Eſterhazy, the Ruſſian ambaſſador count Razamouſky, and other perſons of high diſtinction, attended by the firſt regiment of imperial horſe-guards, were preſent at a review, which was welcoming the Ruſſians, on the twenty-ſeventh of December; and admired the quick evolutions and rapid movements of the infantry, and the dexterity and eaſe with which the Coſſacks managed their little, but hardy and ſpirited horſes. The open countenance ſhewn to the Ruſſians, by the imperial court, was conſidered as a declaration of war againſt the French republic.

The fortreſs of Ehrenbritſtein, held in cloſe blockade by the French, who made no ſcruple of breaking a ſtipulation in the armiſtice, for the admiſſion of a regular ſupply of proviſions, ſo long defended by its natural ſtrength, the conſtancy of the garriſon, and the military ſkill of its commander, colonel Faber, at length ſurrendered, January, 1799. The French found, in Ebrenbritſtein, an immenſe quantity of ſtores, conſiſting of 192 pieces of artillery, about 100,000 balls, bombs, and grenades; a million of cartridges; about 450,000 weight of powder; 5,000 muſkets, and other articles in equal profuſion. Thoſe alone were wanting, which were neceſſary for life. The blockade of this place commenced in April, 1797: ſo that it was among the longeſt in modern hiſtory. By the reduction of this place, the French became maſters of the two banks of the Rhine, from Schaff-hauſen to Duſſeldorf. The poſſeſſion of theſe places, with that of Mayence, already noticed, opened to them the provinces of Franconia, Heſſe, and Weſtphalia. At the ſame time, the French troops that were ſtationed between Cologne and Mayence, along the left of the Rhine, repaſſing that river, were joined by thoſe who had formed the blockade of Ebrenbritſtein, on the left.

While the note of the French plenipotentiaries, reſpecting the march of the Ruſſians, was under the conſideration of the diet, at Ratiſbon, the French miniſters at Raſtadt, declared

declared to the deputies of the empire, on the thirty-firſt of January, that they had orders neither to receive nor remit any note in any of the points of the negociation, till they had received a categorical and ſatisfactory anſwer to that which they had remitted, on the ſecond of January, relative to the ſame ſubject. In the mean time the Ruſſians continued to advance. The emperor of Germany aſſembled his troops on the river Lech. And the French army, having, as already obſerved, re-croſſed the Rhine, penetrated into Suabia, under the command of general Jourdan. Official information of this invaſion, was, on the firſt of March, 1799, communicated to count Metternich, by the French plenipotentiaries, at Raſtadt; who remitted to him, by order of the directory, the following proclamation, ſigned by the preſident, and dated the twentieth of February, 1799: "The troops of his majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in contempt of the convention concluded at Raſtadt, the eleventh of Frimaire, (December the firſt, 1797), anno. 6, have repaſſed the river Inn, and have quitted the hereditary ſtates. This movement is connected with the march of the Ruſſians, who declare aloud, that they are coming to attack the French republic, and who are already in the dominions of the emperor.

Ever faithful to its engagements, always animated with the ſincereſt deſire of maintaining peace, and ever diſpoſed to attribute the ſame ſentiments to his majeſty the emperor, the French government has demanded of him a ſatisfactory declaration, reſpecting the march of the Ruſſian troops, and the paſſage which has been granted to them. The emperor, however, has remained ſilent. The executive directory, therefore, finds itſelf compelled, by the abſolute neceſſity of ſelf-defence, and the obligation impoſed on all governments to provide for their ſafety, to command the French armies to take thoſe poſitions which the exiſting circumſtances require. But, at the ſame time, it declares, that its wiſh for peace is unalterable: and, the moment that his majeſty the emperor ſhall announce, by an amicable declaration, that the Ruſſians have evacuated his territories, and that his troops have returned to the poſitions regulated by the convention, at Raſtadt, the French armies ſhall alſo re-enter their former limits."

This proclamation was accompanied by an addreſs from general Jourdan, to his army, on their entrance into Germany. It was dated, February the twenty-eighth, and was conceived in the ſame ſpirit with that of the proclamation, as far as it related to political objects. It alſo enjoined the ſtricteſt military diſcipline under the ſevereſt penalties. The French miniſters, in a note which they remitted at the ſame time to count Metternich, ſignified, that they were authorized to declare, that the march of the army ought not to be conſidered in any other light than that of a precaution neceſſitated by circumſtances; that the deſire of peace, on the part of the French government, continued to be ardent and ſincere; and that the directory perſiſted in the intention of concluding peace, with the empire, on the ſuppoſition always, that the empire would declare itſelf againſt the march of the Ruſſians.

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The deputation of the empire having taken the proclamation, together with the note of the French miniſters, and the addreſs to the army, into conſideration, came to a determination, that all theſe pieces ſhould be ſent to the general diet of the empire, at Ratiſbon; that it ſhould be obſerved to the diet, at the ſame time, that the majority of the deputation was convinced, that after this note, the diet ought to be perſuaded how urgent it was, that the deputation ſhould be inveſted with full powers, to give an anſwer to the note of the French legation, of the ſecond of January, (concerning the march of the Ruſſians,) in order to reſume the negociations which had been ſo long ſuſpended; that the preſent ſubject of deliberation ſhould be remitted, as uſual, to the commiſſary of his imperial majeſty; that he ſhould be requeſted to impart to the French miniſters, the deciſion of the deputation, and to expreſs its ardent deſire of concurring, in all poſſible efforts, for a ſpeedy and laſting peace. The imperial commiſſary was not influenced by the ſame pacific diſpoſitions. By a note, tranſmitted the fourth of March, he informed the deputies, that the imperial commiſſion could not approve the *concluſum*, ſince, from the actual ſituation of affairs, their anſwer ſhould have been reſtrained to the ſimple acknowledgement of their having received the French miniſter's note, and communicated it to the general diet; and that all farther declaration ſhould have been ſuſpended till the ulterior deciſion of the emperor and empire, agreeably to a former *concluſum* of the deputation. The views that dictated this note of the imperial miniſters, could not be miſunderſtood. But a prelude to the renewal of war, ſtill leſs equivocal, was exhibited ſoon thereafter, in the expulſion of Bacher and Alquier: the firſt, the French reſident at Ratiſbon; the ſecond, the French ambaſſador at Munich. On the fourteenth of March, they were ordered to quit thoſe towns within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, and to retire within the French advanced poſts. The expulſion of theſe miniſters was not effected without oppoſition on the part of certain members of the diet, as well as that of the elector of Bavaria: but, as the order was accompanied by military force, Bacher and Alquier were under the neceſſity of obeying the requiſition.

CHAP. IX.

Attack on the French, by the King of Naples.—Secret Motives assigned for this.—Position of the Neapolitan Troops, after their Repulse from the Roman Territories.—And of the French.—The different Divisions of the French Army draw near to Naples.—Amidst general and constant Insurrections of the Natives of the Country.—Armistice proposed by the Neapolitan to the French General for an Armistice.—Rejected.—Massacres of the French.—Perilous Situation of the French Troops.—Desperate Resolution of Championet.—Unexpectedly relieved from his Embarassment by an Offer, for the third Time, of an Armistice.—The Neapolitan Troops evacuate Capua.—Where they are succeeded by the French Garrison.—Dissatisfaction of the Directory with Championet.—The Royal Family of Naples at Palermo.—Regency appointed, at Naples, in his Absence.—Championet's Vindication of his Conduct to the Directory.—Communication between Championet and the Malcontents of Naples.—Violent Fermentation in Naples.—Contest between the Royalists and Revolutionists.—Retreat of the Viceroy.—Escape of General Mack to Championet.—Total Disorganization of the Neapolitan Army.—Assassination and Rapine.—Naples assaulted by the French Army.—Obstinately defended by the Lazzaroni.—Momentary Cessation from mutual Slaughter.—Improved by Championet.—Whose Professions of Humanity and Respect for St. Jannarius draw over the Lazzaroni to the Side of the French.—Miracles.—Advertisement, by the Archbishop, to the Citizens of Naples.—Proclamation of Championet.—Edict of the Provisionary Government of the Neapolitan Republic.—Under imposing Forms and Names in the Hands of the French General.—Contributions.—Trophies of Victory and Ambassadors sent from Naples to Paris.—The whole public and much of the private Property of Naples claimed, by the Directory, for the French Nation.—Civil Commissaries sent for the Purpose of taking Possession of this.—Ordered, by Championet, to quit Naples.—The Decree of the Directory, on the Subject of Neapolitan Property, annulled by a Counter-Decree issued by the General.—Indignation of the Directory.—A Decree for arresting Championet with other Generals, and trying them for Disobedience.—Another for bringing Persons, accused, by public Fame, of Robbery or Dilapidation, to Trial by a Court-Martial.—These Trials prevented by new Struggles and Changes at Paris.—French Invasion of the small Republic of Lucca.—Factions there.—Revolution.—And Contributions.

WHILE the farce of negociation was carried on at Rastadt, military preparations were continued on both sides of the Rhine

Rhine and in Italy. Notwithſtanding the treaty of Campo Formio, the continued encroachments of French ambition provoked a war, in which it was almoſt certain that the houſe of Auſtria muſt ſooner or later be involved.

The courage, with which the king of Naples, after the naval victory of Aboukir, ventured to attack the French, on the Roman territories, was conſidered, by many politicians, as a ſpur to the emperor to depart from that myſterious inaction in which he had remained, after many provocations, on the one hand, and encouragements, on the other, to rejoin his former allies in an appeal to arms. By others it has been affirmed, that the Neapolitan court, as well as that of Vienna, with military preparations and precautions mingled political negociation. It was ſecretly agreed on, they ſaid, and underſtood, between the prevailing party in the directory and thoſe courts, that, after ſuch a ſhew of reſiſtance, as might prevent murmurings or worſe effects, on the part of the French nation, the eccleſiaſtical ſtates ſhould be given up to the arbitriment of the court of Naples. The terms, on which this ceſſion was to be obtained, were the ſame with thoſe on which a majority of the individuals, compoſing the directory, offered peace to the Americans, the Portugueze, and other nations: and it was determined, according to this account of matters, by the directory, to ſacrifice the ſmall army, under Championet, to their private intereſts. If theſe reports be well-founded, the ſelfiſh views of the directors were counteracted and diſappointed by the French generals, who were not admitted into the ſecret.

Championet, after the repulſe of the Neapolitan troops, encamped at Santo Germano, the ſpot from whence his Sicilian majeſty, but a few weeks before, had iſſued his proclamations of deliverance from the French yoke to the Romans. The king and general Mack, as mentioned in our laſt volume, had haſtened back, with their defeated and diminiſhed forces, from the Roman territories into thoſe of Naples. The king, with part of the troops, repaired to his capital: the general, with the remainder, joined the garriſon, and undertook the defence of Capua; from whence, on the thirty-firſt of December, 1798, he ſent a letter to Championet, propoſing an armiſtice, limited or unlimited, on account of the ſeverity of the weather and the badneſs of the roads. The French general returned for anſwer, that, as his army had overcome the difficulties of both the way and the weather, with their uſual patience, he ſhould not halt until he had made his entry into Naples. Championet, in purſuance of his plan, moved his head-quarters from Santo Germano to Teano.

The left wing of the French army, under Duheſme, in the midſt of repeated attacks, both by the Neapolitan troops and large bodies of inſurgents, marching along the coaſt of the Adriatic, through a country interſected with rivers, proceeded towards Peſcara. A maſs of inſurgents, to the number of ſix thouſand, had taken poſſeſſion of Teano, in the rear of the French army, and there maſſacred every perſon belonging to the French. Duheſme, ſtill continuing his march, ſent back

detachments to reduce the inſurgents. Taking advantage of the impreſſion that had been made on the Neapolitans, by the repeated checks given to their attacks, and particularly by a victory over them near the river Vomano, he appeared before Peſcara without artillery or ammunition, and by threats of a general ſack on the one hand, and promiſes of protection and favour on the other, induced the garriſon to open the gates of that important fortreſs, which was the key of the Adriatic, and the poſſeſſion of which was equally ſubſervient to the progreſs of the left wing of the army towards Naples, as that of Gæta, on the Mediterranean, already in the poſſeſſion of the French, under general Roy, was to the advance of the right. The centre of the army, under general Lemoine, having croſſed the Appenines in one of their moſt difficult paſſes, continually expoſed to the maſſacres of the inſurgent peaſantry, wherever they could meet with little reſiſtance, forced the poſt of Popili, where the centre of the Neapolitan army was ſtrongly entrenched, and thereby prevented the junction of the centre of the French army with its left. While the centre diviſion formed its communication with the right by Venafro, general Roy, leaving a garriſon at Gæta, marched on towards Capua with the remainder of his column, and took his poſition along the Volturno, a river falling into the gulf of Gæta, which covered Capua, towards the ſea. General Macdonald, who commanded the main body of the right wing, had fallen down from Calvi, and was marching onward, in order to reconnoitre the ground around Capua. A body of Neapolitans, routed in a cloſe encounter with the French, found protection in their retreat from the artillery of that city. The French, who had purſued them to the very walls, were forced to retire with very conſiderable loſs to Cajazzo, where Macdonald, having left a reſerve at Calvi, in the Terra di Lavora, took up his poſition. This poſition, in the face of an army yet numerous, covered by a river, protected by a ſtrong place, maſters of the left ſide, and all the fords of the Volturno, with the means of drawing conſiderable re-inforcements from the capital behind: this poſition of Macdonald, in ſuch circumſtances, was daring and dangerous. It was, however, the reſult of circumſtances of which the generals in chief had not probably the command. His own plan was to have waited at Cajanello, to concentrate his armies, by the diviſions of the left and centre, and not to have advanced into a country, every where in inſurrection, until he had a force fitted to face the dangers to which he would be expoſed. The precautions intended by Championet were juſtified by the event. On his return to the head-quarters at Teano, from Venafro, whither he had gone to concert the operations of the ſiege of Capua with Lemoine, he found diſpatches from general Roy, informing him, that a prodigious number of inſurgents had aſſembled at Soſia, threatening to cut down the bridges at Garigliano, and even menacing the camp. Strong detachments were ſent againſt them, in order to re-eſtabliſh the communication between the left wing of the army and the centre. The inſurgents not only oppoſed the paſſage of the French troops,

troops, but beat them, after they had been reinforced, in ſucceſſive engagements, and at length forced them to retreat. Other bodies of inſurgents, during theſe conflicts with the French troops, took poſſeſſion of the bridges on the Garigliano, which they cut down, ſeized the park of reſerve belonging to the army, burnt the ammunition waggons, plundered the baggage, and made themſelves maſters of all the poſitions that had been occupied by the French. While theſe tranſactions paſſed in the rear of the French army, commiſſioners from the viceroy of Naples preſented themſelves at the head-quarters before general Championet, offering to ſurrender the city of Capua, and to draw a military line, on which the oppoſite armies ſhould wait the orders of their reſpective governments. Championet, though aſtoniſhed that ſuch propoſitions ſhould be made to him in the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the French army, refuſed to enter into any diſcuſſion of them, on other terms, than the ſurrender of Naples. The ſame propoſitions were repeated the next day, and met with the ſame refuſal. But Championet, on returning from this conferrence to head-quarters, at Teano, found that the troops appointed to ſurround it had fallen back, and that the town was evacuated.

The inſurgents, having gained the heights, were preparing for an attack. Theſe bands were diſperſed: but, on the ſame evening, Championet received intelligence that the inſurrection was general, that every part of the kingdom was in arms, and that the inſurgents were commanded by experienced officers. Lemoine, whoſe head-quarters had been attacked, had croſſed the Volturno. No farther intelligence could be obtained of the left wing under Duheſme. It was believed at the time, that he had been ſurrounded by inſurgents.

The gathering ſtorm of general inſurrection gained on the rear of the French army more and more. The ſtandard of revolt was raiſed in Santo Germano, and the whole of the adjacent country. Championet's baggage and equipage were pillaged. One of his aids-de-camps, it has been aſſerted, was burnt alive. Another was taken priſoner. At Tendi and Ihi, there was an indiſcriminate maſſacre of French, travellers, and all that were found in thoſe places.

The French troops, thus ſurrounded, were left without proviſions. Their number was conſiderably diminiſhed, by the numerous detachments ſent out againſt the rebels. The burning of the park of artillery and ammunition-waggons, left each ſoldier only a ſingle round of cartridges. The communication with Rome was cut off. A junction with the left wing was become impoſſible. The Neapolitans were making diſpoſitions for a general attack. And a landing was expected, about this time, to take place, at the mouth of the Garigliano, of troops, that had embarked at Leghorn, and which were to fall on the rear of the French, while general Mack made an attack in front. In this extremity of fortune, Championet had called in all his poſts, reſolved to conquer or periſh, when a trumpet preſented itſelf, the third time, at the advanced poſts of the French army, announcing the arrival of the former deputation with more ex-

tenſive powers. An armiſtice was immediately concluded between Championet, and, on the part of Naples, the prince of Milliano. The principal conditions of this were, the ſurrender of Capua, with all its ſtores and artillery; the poſſeſſion, by the French army, of the country as far as Acerra, before Naples; Benevento, and a tract from thence to the Adriatic, to ſerve as a line of demarcation; the evacuation of the Neapolitan ports, by the ſhips of hoſtile powers; and the payment of ten millions of livres. This treaty was to be ratified by the reſpective governments of the contracting parties: and, in caſe of its rejection by either government, no hoſtilities were to take place till after three days notice. —The armiſtice was concluded and ſigned, on the twenty-firſt day of January, 1799. The Neapolitans evacuated Capua on the next, and proceeded to Naples. They were, on the twenty-third, ſucceeded by a French garriſon. The reſt of the French army encamped without the city. Championet, diſembarraſſed from a formidable oppoſition in front, cleared the country of inſurgents in his rear.

The French directory, quickly informed, and before the arrival of any official diſpatches, of the armiſtice between Championet, and the government of Naples, was ſo highly diſſatisfied with it, that a letter, by their orders, and in their name, was written to Championet, in the moſt ſevere and inſulting terms.* But when Championet had explained the reaſons of his conduct, and which were altogether irrefragable, that letter was retracted.

By the time that the armiſtice was concluded, the king of the two Sicilies, with the royal family, had been for ſome days, after a tempeſtuous voyage, ſafely landed in Palermo. It was not without much reluctance that the king quitted the ſeat of his government. Artifices were uſed by the party who urged his retreat, in order to bend him to ſubmiſſion; ſuch as pretended conſpiracies and popular inſurrections. At length, having created the prince Pignatelli viceroy, he embarked on board the Britiſh ſhips, commanded by lord Nelſon, during the night of the firſt of January, with his court, accompanied by the Britiſh, Auſtrian, and Ruſſian ambaſſadors. For the tranquillity of the city, a civic guard was formed: the officers of which were taken equally from the claſſes of the nobles and private citizens. Large ſums of money, as well as arms, were diſtributed among the Lazzoroni, for the purpoſe of retaining and encouraging their wonted loyalty.

At Caſerta, which Championet had now made his head-quarters, he received intelligence of the left wing of the army, which had been embarraſſed, on all hands, by inſurgents, as had been ſuſpected, in the provinces of the Arbruzzo. Duheſme, after the reduction of Peſcara, extended his line to Ortona

* According to what has already been briefly ſtated, it was the wiſh of the ruling faction of the directory to ſacrifice Championet and his army to a ſecret treaty with the king of Naples. On this point we have not learnt any thing that can be conſidered as certain. It appears, that an animoſity had been conceived by the directory againſt Championet on other accounts than his ignorant counter-action of their ſecret deſigns, if ſuch really exiſted, in favour of the courts of Vienna and Naples.

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and Lanciano, and then directed his march towards Popoli. After various dangers and escapes, he reached Sulmona and Venafro, and finally joined Championet, at his head-quarters at Caserta. Macdonald, who, from some disgust, had given up his commission, was replaced by the general Dufresne.

Championet, in a confidential note to the directory, accompanying his official letter, had stated, that a suspension of arms, with a government so perfidious, was nothing more than a stratagem of war; that such articles had been inserted in the treaty as would lead the Neapolitans to break it in various ways, and thereby furnish an ostensible ground for the re-commencement of hostilities when he pleased; that, at the time in which they should receive the news of the capitulation of Capua, he should be master of Naples, having means of revolutionizing it, from his head-quarters, at Caserta, through the correspondence which he was about to open with the disaffected party, and who, as appeared by their conduct towards the viceroy, had not been strangers to this useful treaty. In pursuance of the design he had intimated to the directory, Championet found means of opening a communication with the malcontents in Naples. For that end, a committee was formed, which received, from time to time, accounts of what was passing in the city. The emissaries, sent from thence, carried back instructions to the revolutionary party, who, having come to a determination to cooperate with the French, for the destruction of the old government, and having received new assurances, which led them to rely on the fidelity and generosity of the French army, began to declare their intentions more openly. General Lemoine was now sent to Paris, to receive instructions from the directory, respecting the nature and form of government to be given to the Neopolitans. The crisis expected, was precipitated by the following circumstance. A French agent had been sent from the general, under a safe conduct, to Naples, to hasten the payment of the money agreed on by the treaty. He was received very cordially by the viceroy: but his visit and the object of his mission were no sooner known, than a violent fermentation was excited among the Neapolitans. The French agent was in danger of assassination, but saved by the French party. An individual of this party was killed. Some abetted the deed of the assassins, others were eager to avenge the victim.

From this moment the two parties, the royalists and revolutionists, were at open war. The Lazzaroni, who were in the royal interest, took possession of all the arms; and, forming themselves into bands, ran through the streets, invoking the names of the king, and St. Januarius. General Mack was noted as a traitor, and the remains of the army which he commanded, as jacobins, corrupted by French gold. Even the viceroy was become an object of suspicion, and, apprehensive of the danger that awaited him from both sides, prudently withdrew to his barge, which lay in the bay, and set sail for Sicily. The soldiers, terrified by the numbers and the menaces of the Lazzaroni, deserted to the French ranks, and in two days the Neapolitan army was quite disorganized and annihilated. General

neral Mack, abandoned to the capricious fury of the Lazzaroni, demanded an aſylum from Championet: but his danger became ſo imminent, that he arrived at Caſerta on the heels of the officer whom he had ſent to aſk for protection.

Championet received Mack with kindneſs, and gave him a paſſport and eſcort to accompany him to Milan. Here, however, he was arreſted, by order of the directory, as a priſoner of war: an act to which Championet was not in anywiſe acceſſary, and which he reprobated with great indignation.

The Lazzaroni, exaſperated at the eſcape of their prey, collected themſelves into a body, and ruſhed, like madmen, on the French advanced poſts, at Ponte Rotto, routed the advanced guards, and penetrated even to the line. Numbers of the ragged multitude were killed, and diſperſed. The reſt returned to their ſtations. Previouſly to this attack, they had made themſelves maſters of Caſtel-Nuovo, and of the fort of Camina, and had proclaimed, that they were going to exterminate the French, and their partizans, the jacobins. Under pretence of ſearching for thoſe diſaffected perſons, they had begun to break open the houſes of the inhabitants, and to commit various depredations. Naples was about to be given up to every kind of horror, when the young prince of Molliterno, of a family which had conſiderable weight with the people, mingling with the Lazzaroni, perſuaded them to chooſe him for their general.

The prince, in concert with the reigning authorities of the city, had begun to re-eſtabliſh order, and to enter into negociation with the French general, when the Lazzaroni, informed of his deſigns, revolted againſt their chief, and renewed their pillage. Thoſe whom they conſidered, or pretended to conſider as jacobins, were the objects of their fury, as their property was of their rapacity. Among the victims of their capricious fury, was Zurlo, comptroller of finances; the duke Della Torre, with his brother, Clement Filomarino, whom they maſſacred and burnt: though neither of theſe noblemen had ever been ſignalized for what was called patriotiſm; and that the duke was diſtinguiſhed only by his love of the arts, and by multiplied acts of beneficence. There was a celebrated clock and watchmaker, one Villoliani, who was much about the duke. This man, who was a great patriot, was of courſe obnoxious to the Lazzaroni, who, not finding him at home, went in ſearch of him to the duke's palace. Miſſing their intended victim, they wreaked their fury on his patrons.

The only means that remained to Molliterno and his friends for ſaving the city, were, to ſeize on the forts, and to call the French to their aſſiſtance. They gained poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Elmo; intelligence of which was the ſignal to Championet to commence an attack, on which he had already reſolved, and in which he was juſtified by the rupture, on the part of the Lazzaroni, of the armiſtice. The diviſion under general Duheſme, lately the right commanded by Macdonald, encamped on two lines before Averſa. The vanguard was poſted at Melito, and within gun-ſhot of Naples.

The diviſion of Duheſme marched from Acerra, and, after diſperſing an enormous maſs of armed peaſants,

ſants, encamped on two lines to the left of Naples.

Theſe lines were ſtrengthened by a brigade from Benevento. This brigade was attacked by a band of five or ſix thouſand peaſants; who, unacquainted with the ſtratagems of war, fell into an ambuſcade, near the Caudine Forks, (the ſpot where the Romans were made to paſs under the yoke of the Samnites,) and the greater part of them deſtroyed. Such detachments were made from the different poſts in the country around Naples, as could be ſpared, for a time, from the important ſervice of quelling inſurrections, and cruſhing bands of inſurgents.

On the day following, the twenty-third of January, 1799, theſe two diviſions, which were charged with the attack of Naples, drew nearer to the town and gained the heights. Two battalions, in order to eſtabliſh a correſpondence of ſignals with Fort St. Elmo, took poſſeſſion of Capo-di-monte. The firſt grand diviſion placed their centre between Capo-di-Chino, and Poggio-Reale. The ground to the left of the city was occupied by the left diviſion, and joined to the right by a brigade under general Ruſca. The artillery, under general Eble, was ſo diſpoſed as to give it the command of the city. Every thing was ready for the aſſault. Naples was on the point of being given up to all the horrors of a ſtorm, and the impatient ſoldier waiting for the ſignal of attack.

Championet ſtill heſitated. He was anxious to prevent ſo great and unneceſſary a waſte of life, and addreſſed a proclamation to that effect, by the chief of a ſquadron, to the magiſtrates of the city. But Naples had now no magiſtrates. Such of the inhabitants as had not taken up arms, had ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, or concealed themſelves from the fury of the Lazzaroni, who, to the number of ſixty thouſand, had ſworn to defend themſelves to the laſt. The meſſenger of Championet was received by a volley of muſketry. A ball broke the pommel of his ſaddle; and, on his attempting to make them underſtand the general's propoſition, another volley forced him to retreat.

Championet, imagining that the exhibition of his forces would have induced the Lazzaroni to come to ſome compromiſe, had determined to defer the attack to next day. But the Lazzaroni, during the night, made ſeveral ſallies, and kept up ſo terrible a fire, that the general loſt all hopes of gaining them by any other means than thoſe of force. Orders were given for the two battalions on Capo-di-Monte, to march in the ſilence of the night, to join the patriots in St. Elmo, from whom information had juſt been received that they waited the ſignal of the French to open their fire on the city; to announce their arrival by the junction of their columns with thoſe of the patriots: when the citadel was to open a general diſcharge of all its artillery; and on which, general Eble, alſo, was to open all his batteries. The whole army, inveſting the city, were to ruſh forward, and bear down every thing that oppoſed them. Columns, armed with torches, were to carry fire and deſolation wherever they ſhould be able to penetrate.

The Lazzaroni, drawn up in columns, ſuſtained, or rather anticipated the attack with aſtoniſhing addreſs

dreſs and courage. When repulſed, they returned again to the charge, and ſeveral times repulſed the French in their turn. At length they were forced to yield ſome ground, of which they diſputed every foot, with part of their artillery. The French became the maſters of ſeveral ſtreets. The Lazzaroni were harraſſed and preſſed, but not vanquiſhed. Night overtook the combatants, but the fire was ſtill continued. The French troops, overcome with fatigue, divided themſelves into two equal portions. The one kept up the fight, whilſt the other lay down to reſt amidſt corpſes and ruins. At the dawn of the day the fury of the combatants redoubled, and final victory was yet uncertain. Championet, in order to bring the ſtruggle to an iſſue, gave orders to force the paſſages to Caſtel-Nuovo, and the forts Del Cannina, with the bayonet, and to penetrate into, and turn the quarter of the Lazzaroni. A diviſion was ordered to march into the heart of the city, and take poſſeſſion of the palace: and another to form a junction with the garriſon of St. Elmo, who had already gained certain quarters of Naples.

From the exhauſted ſtate of both parties, a momentary ceſſation took place from mutual ſlaughter. In this interval, Championet ſpoke to ſome of the inhabitants who had crept forth from their houſes, and gave them aſſurances of protection. He profeſſed profound reſpect for St. Januarius, to whom he put up fervent ejaculatory prayers for the preſervation of human lives, and reſtoration of tranquillity to the unhappy city of Naples. The report of the general's reſpect for St. Januarius was carried into the ranks of the Lazzaroni. The cry of *Vivent les Français, vive la republique*, began to be heard. A guard of honour was ſtationed at the church of the tutelary apoſtle. The conſign was, *Reſpect for Januarius*. The general paid his homage at the ſhrine of the ſaint twice. His converſion flew throughout the city like lightning. Numbers of the Lazzaroni crowded round him as he rode on horſeback through the ſtreets or ſquares, and kiſſed his boots. The avenues, to the church of St. Januarius, were filled with Lazzaroni and other inhabitants of Naples. One of the chiefs of the Lazzaroni, placing himſelf at the head of the French, harrangued his terrible ſoldiers, ordering them to ceaſe their fire and ground their arms. He was heard reſpectfully and obeyed. A ſhout of general joy ſucceeded to the voice of mourning and the ſhrieks of deſpair. The war was ended, and peace reſtored. Thus it was the fortune of the French, in this campaign, to make allies of their enemies on the field of battle. A part of the regular troops had gone over to them with general Mack, before their entrance into Naples.

The Lazzaroni, who had hitherto been the moſt ſtrenuous defenders of the royal cauſe, were now as loud in their vociferations for the new ſyſtem, and began to evince the ſincerity of their converſion, by the ardour of their zeal, by proceeding to pillage the royal palace, and the houſes of thoſe who had been attached to the court. This demonſtration of true proſelytiſm was immediately repreſſed by Championet; who, having taken poſſeſſion of all the forts, and encamped his army on the heights around Naples, appointed Dufreſne commander

mander of the place, and ordered all the inhabitants to be disarmed; lest, among so capricious and inflammable a people, some accidental spark should set them again in combustion.

The army of Rome, on the day after the cessation of hostilities, was proclaimed the army of Naples. The general announced his order to the assembled troops, amidst the shouts of the populace and the thunder of all the artillery. On the same day there was an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which had been tranquil for five years past. This phenomenon, which had hitherto been regarded as an indication of the anger of their favourite saint, in the present temper of the Neapolitans, was constructed into a favourable omen. The blood of the saint flowing at the same time, at the earnest intercession of the cardinal, archbishop, and the other clergy, confirmed by another miracle this sudden revolution in Naples.

In consequence of these two coincident prodigies, *Te Deum** was sung in the cathedral: at which solemnity the French general and his principal officers assisted. "The French," said the Neapolitans, "have come to regenerate, and to establish the prosperity and happiness of this city, under the particular guidance and protection of divine providence. St. Januarius, our protector, has given his sanction to their proceedings. His blood began to liquify on the evening of the day on which the republican troops entered the city." On the same day, January twenty-fourth, 1799, Championet held out to the Neapolitans the objects which he chose to avow for his invasion, and the reason of the new denomination, which had been given to the French army in the following proclamation. "Neapolitans, you are at length free: your liberty is the only reward which France claims from its conquest; and the only clause of the treaty of peace, which the army of the republic has just solemnly sworn, together with yourselves, within the walls of your capital, and on the ruins of the throne of your last king.

"Woe be to him who shall refuse to sign with us this honourable compact, in which the whole of the advantage is on the side of the conquered, and which leave nothing to the conqueror but the glory of having consolidated your happiness: such an one shall be treated as a public enemy, against whom we remain in arms.

"If there be any among you who have hearts ungrateful enough to reject that liberty which we

* The following is the advertisement published, on this occasion, by the archbishop: "All the faithful citizens of Naples are invited to be present this day, Friday, twenty-fifth of January, at two in the afternoon, at the celebration of *Te Deum*, which the archbishop, accompanied by the chapter, the clergy, the general-in-chief, and staff of the army of Naples, will sing in the cathedral church, to thank the most high for the glorious entry of the French troops into this city; and who, protected in a peculiar manner by Providence, have regenerated this people, and are come to establish and consolidate our happiness. St. Januarius, our protector, rejoices in their arrival. His blood miraculously liquified on the very evening of the entry of the republican troops." The cardinal, and the other clergy gave out to the people, that great faith and extraordinary prayers had been necessary to induce their saint to give a sign of his will and pleasure.

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have purchaſed for you at the price of our blood—or any, whom inſanity would lead to regret a king, who has forfeited whatever right he had to command them, by the violation of the oath which he had made to defend them; let them fly to the diſhonoured ſtandard of perjury: eternal war againſt them: let them be cut off!

"Republicans, the cauſe under which you have ſo generouſly ſuffered is at length decided. What the brilliant victories of the army of Italy were not able to effect—what had for ſo long a time retarded the political intereſts of all Europe—what had ſuſpended the hopes of a general peace—what had hitherto prevented the fulfilment of the faith of treaties, and raiſed apprehenſions of another general war—the blindneſs of your laſt king has happily accompliſhed.

"Let him accuſe, therefore, only his own inordinate ambition, and the folly of his aggreſſion, for the happineſs of your lot, and the diſgrace of his: but let him remain a juſt object of puniſhment for having attacked, contrarily to the faith of treaties, an allied nation; and for having purpoſed to deprive a neighbouring people of their liberty, by the loſs of a throne which he diſhonoured, and by the reflection of having contributed to the regaining your liberty. Let no fear poiſon the ſentiment of a happineſs ſo unexpected: the army which I command remains amongſt you for your defence; it will loſe its laſt ſoldier, and ſhed the laſt drop of its blood, before it ſuffers your loſt tyrants to entertain even the hope of renewing the preſcriptions of your families, and of opening again the dungeons in which he had ſo long buried them.

"Neapolitans! if the French army aſſume at preſent the title of Army of Naples, it is only from the ſolemn engagement which it has taken to die for your cauſe, and to make no uſe of its arms but for your independence, and the preſervation of the rights which it has obtained for you.

"Let the people feel no apprehenſions for the liberty of their worſhip; let the citizen be no longer anxious for the ſecurity of his property. The tyrants have been ſtrongly intereſted in the exertions which they have made to calumniate the loyalty of the French nation; but a very ſhort time will ſuffice to undeceive ſuch as have harboured unjuſt ſuſpicions, and which have been weapons put into their hands by deſpotiſm, in order to excite them to the moſt deplorable exceſſes.

"The organization of plunder and aſſaſſination, formed by your laſt king, and executed by his corrupted agents, as a means of defence, has been attended with the moſt ſhocking effects, and the moſt fatal conſequences; but, as we have removed the cauſes of the evil, it will be eaſy to ſtop the career, and even repair the calamities. May the republican authorities, which are about to be created, re-eſtabliſh order and tranquillity on the baſis of a paternal adminiſtration! may they diſſipate the terrors of ignorance, and calm the fury of fanaticiſm with a zeal equal to that which has been employed by perfidy to alarm and irritate them! and ſoon will that ſeverity of diſciple, which re-eſtabliſhes order with ſo much facility among the troops of a free people,

put

put an end to ſuch diſorders as are excited by hatred, and which the right of repriſal has not been too forward to repreſs."

This proclamation was immediately followed by an edict, entitled "A law for the proviſionary government of the Neapolitan republic." The preamble to this law ſtates, that the regeneration of a people cannot be effected under the influence of deſpotic power: that the formation of a free conſtitution for a people, whoſe habits and manners had received a tincture from the prevalence of ſuch a power, was a taſk that required the utmoſt aſſiduity, and the moſt profound reflection: that the general courſe of government could not be ſuſpended without the greateſt danger to the public welfare, as well as to the private fortunes of individuals: that the reign of tyranny, in a country on which it had ſo deeply impreſſed, through the length of time, habits of corruption, could not be counteracted, and finally ſubverted, without oppoſition to very great intereſts and irritating the loweſt paſſions; and that, of conſequence, it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to check the projects of malevolence, and the attempts of diſcontent, by a vigorous and active adminiſtration, which has for its object, to provide for the happineſs of the people by the enaction of wiſe laws, and to defeat the deſigns of its enemies by conſtant vigilance. The general, after this brief lecture on the difficulty of political regeneration, which, as well as religious regeneration, muſt indeed be allowed to be no eaſy or pleaſant matter, proceeded to ordain that the Neapolitan republic ſhould be proviſionally repreſented by twenty-one citizens, whom he had choſen for that end, and whoſe names were mentioned. This aſſembly of repreſentatives was inveſted with authority, legiſlative and executive, until a new conſtitutional government ſhould be completely organized. But the decrees of this aſſembly were not to be valid as laws, without the ſanction of the general-in-chief of the Army of Naples. The aſſembly was not to enter on any buſineſs without a quorum of two-thirds of their number; when decrees were to be paſſed by a majority of ſuffrages.—The aſſembly was to be divided into ſix committees, to be choſen by the aſſembly itſelf: the functions and limitations of each to be determined and fixed by a particular law. It is evident that by fixing a quorum at two-thirds of the aſſembly, the general of the army, even without the exerciſe of his vote, could manage and direct the proceedings of the repreſentatives as he ſhould think proper. Thus, under a ſhew of freedom, the Neapolitans were bound hand and foot and delivered, like all the other friends and allies of the French, into the hands of a military government. Contributions were levied for the ſupport of the adminiſtration, and the maintenance of the army. Trophies of victories were ſoon followed by ambaſſadors from Naples to Paris, to preſent the vows of the new republic, and to fraternize with the French government. They were received very coolly, and even with marks of contempt; which has been accounted for, as it is the nature of every theory, true or falſe, to draw every thing into its own vortex, by the ſuppoſed compact above-mentioned, between the directory and the king of the Sicilies; but which may, perhaps

perhaps be explained, without ſuch a ſuppoſition, by what follows:— In the plunder of Italy, the military commanders it was ſuſpected, had taken more than their juſt ſhare. Civil commiſſaries were appointed by the directory to attend the army, and to control, or rather monopolize its robberies. Thoſe civil commiſſaries were armed with a decree of the executive directory, claiming for the French nation almoſt all the public, and a great portion of private property, throughout the kingdom of Naples: the royal domains, and the feudal rights of the crown; the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions offered for ſale by the exking; the eſtates belonging to orders of chivalry; public banks, mounts of piety,* and lotteries; eſtates of emigrants; the fortunes of ſtrangers, ſubjects of ſtates at war with France; repertories of works of art; and whatever could be conſidered as prizes of war.

The whole power of ſuch extenſive proſcription and confiſcation, with the collection of the ſums ariſing from thence, was veſted by the directory in their civil commiſſaries, of whom Fagtoult was at the head. The very diſcipline of the army ſubjected to the interference of the commiſſaries, and even to that of the Naſcent Neapolitan republic. In a word, the directory was jealous of the power of their generals, and envious of their fortunes.

Championet did not heſitate, by a counter-decree, to ſet aſide and annul a *placand*, as he called it, ſo unworthy of the French nation, ſo contrary to the engagements he had come under, ſo dangerous to the authority of the republic in an unſettled ſtate, and ſo ſubverſive of the diſcipline of the army. The diſpoſal of all national, and regulations concerning the tenure of private property, he affirmed were the excluſive province of the Neapolitan legiſlature. Among other ſtrictures, on the ſhameful conduct of the directory, he remarked, that it would not fail of exciting a general apprehenſion of the cruel dilapidations in the ſtate of Venice, and other parts of Italy. In fact, ſuch an apprehenſion, in conſequence of the directorial *placand*, had been already excited, as was fully evinced by the teſtimony of the French generals, and commandants of fortreſſes, as well as by members of the civil adminiſtration. A general fermentation was excited. Confidence in the ſolemn promiſes of the French was ſhaken, and the raiſing of a contribution for the army, that had been without any pay for five months, was retarded. In conſideration of all theſe circumſtances, which proved how abſurd the directory's decree was in principle, indecent in form, injurious and inſolent in expreſſion, and dangerous in its tendency. The general gave orders, that the individuals compoſing the civil commiſſion, namely, the commiſſary, the comptroller, and the caſhier, ſhould quit Naples within twenty-four hours, and the territories of the Roman and Neapolitan republics in ten days. All agents, charged by the commiſſioners with the execution of any orders, were inſtantly to ſtop their proceedings. They were allowed five days for removing the ſeals they had affixed to any property committed to their charge,

* Depoſitories on a great, liberal, and merciful plan, of the nature of pawn-broking.

for

for drawing up inventories of such property, and consigning it into the hands of commissaries of war, or such other commissaries as the commander-in-chief might appoint. The five days being expired, they were to quit the Neapolitan and Roman territories within the time allowed for their departure and journey, to their principals. All the functions vested in the civil commission were provisionally confided to the commissary-general, the comptroller of expenses, and the paymaster of the army, until farther orders should be received from the executive directory. Confiscations of the property of strangers were not to be valid without the confirmation of the commander-in-chief. All Sicilian property.—This counter-decree of Championet's was sent by a courier extraordinary to the executive directory, to the French ministers of war and finance, and to the governments of the Roman and Neapolitan republics. The directory having received the decree of their general, on the twenty-fifth of February, found that he had been guilty of disobedience to certain laws, which they quoted, and that he was in a state of open revolt against the government.

Championet was employed in quelling insurrections in the provinces, in making new perforations into the ruins of Pompeia and Herculaneum, when he received a mandate from the directory, ordering him, together with generals Roy, Duhesme, Dufresne, Bonami, and Brouffier, to surrender themselves prisoners of state, and undergo a trial for disobedience. These generals, in obedience to the mandate, returned to France. But their trial was prevented, by the struggle which soon after took place at Paris, and which terminated in the overthrow of the directory; with whose tottering state, Championet had probably been well enough acquainted. The directory, indignant at rapine committed without their authority, direction, or participation, at the same time that they issued a decree for the arrestations of the generals, issued another for bringing to trial, by a council of war, all those persons whatever their rank now, or who had been in the armies of Italy and Naples, whom public fame had accused of any species of robbery or dilapidation. It was necessary, they stated, by a striking example, to prevent the return of excesses so reprehensible and disgraceful, and injurious to the French republic. One Bassal, who, it seems, was a noted offender, was particularly pointed out as a flagrant object of inquiry. This decree was ordered to be printed in French and Italian, and to be put up in all proper places throughout the Roman and Neapolitan territories.

While Championet was employed in the conquest of Naples, general Serrurier invaded the little republic of Lucca, and immediately imposed on it a contribution of two millions of livres. The principles of republicanism having made their way into Lucca, as well as other Italian states, it was divided into two factions; denominated the patriotic and the oligarchical. The patriots embraced the present opportunity to demand a new constitution of government. But the government wisely determined to moderate, at least, the evils of innovation, by taking the lead in the revolution. In compliance with the requisitions of the people, they de-

creed the abolition of all privileges and titles, the ſovereignty of the people, the integrity and independence of the republic, the return as much as poſſible to the conſtitution as it ſtood before the uſurpation of 1556, and the beſtowing places of power and truſt on thoſe who could and would adminiſter them cheapeſt. But while they readily, and with a good grace, made theſe important ceſſions to the popular party, they thought it prudent to retain the proviſionary authority. The patriots, through the organ of their deputies, repreſented to the ſenate and the legiſlative commiſſion, that the wiſh of the people was, to have a conſtitution founded on a more perfect equality of right and diviſion of power. The ſenate reſiſted thoſe reclamations, and were ſupported by the French agents, who treated the patriots as anarchiſts, and diſturbers of the public peace. Six other members were added to the legiſlative commiſſion: but this meaſure did not occaſion any alteration. Agreeably to a notification from the French general, a hundred deputies, choſen by the city and territory of Lucca, were about to open their ſittings, when a conſtitution ready made, and formed as nearly as circumſtances would admit, on the plan of the Ligurian republic. The general, having diſſolved the ſenate, appointed the members of a directory, and of two councils, and remitted to them the form of government, which they were to put in execution.

The directory was to conſiſt of five perſons; and to nominate five miniſters: one for foreign affairs; one for domeſtic; one for juſtice; and one for war and the marine. The directory was alſo to chooſe a national treaſurer. Fourteen commiſſaries were alſo to be appointed by the directory for the adminiſtration of the departments, and to reſide in the country. All the acts of the former government were to remain in force. And thoſe who were to have either civil or military employments were, as far as poſſible, to be continued in their places, or to receive indemnities. The contribution of two millions of livres was raiſed, only, on the ex-nobles. This was a kind of counterbalance to the complaiſance that had been ſhewn in continuing the proviſionary authority in the hands of the ſenate. The ſalaries of the public functionaries were judiciouſly proportioned to the ſmallneſs of the ſtate. The directors were to receive fifty crowns a month, the miniſters twenty-five, the members of the legiſlature twelve, and the other agents of government in proportion.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Meeting of the Britiſh Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—Debates thereon in both Houſes.—Army, Navy, and other Eſtimates.—Supplies.—Ways and Means.—Taxes.—New Meaſure of Finance.—Ruſſian Subſidy.—Debates.—Eulogy on the Ruſſian Emperor.—India Budget.—Amended Bills for the Redemption of the Land-Tax.—Motion by Mr. Tierney, for the Prevention of any Negociation that might prevent a Peace.—Suſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus-Act.—Converſation relating to the Treatment of Perſons confined in the New State Priſon.

WE come now to give ſome account of the effects produced by the great events, above related, on the councils and conduct of Great Britain: the great antagoniſt, around whom all the powers were naturally arranged, that were yet unwilling to bend the knee, and able, with her aid, to make a ſtand againſt the ſpreading tyranny of France.

On Tueſday, the twentieth of November, 1798, the king, in a ſpeech, from the throne, to both houſes of parliament, ſtated "the ſignal ſucceſs, which, by the bleſſing of Providence, had attended his arms, been productive of the happieſt conſequences, and eſſentially promoted the glory and happineſs of the country. The unexampled ſeries of our naval triumphs had received freſh ſplendour from the memorable and deciſive action, in which a detachment of his fleet, under the command of rear-admiral Nelſon, had attacked and almoſt totally deſtroyed a ſuperior force of the enemy, ſtrengthened by every advantage of ſituation. By this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize of which the injuſtice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed againſt ſome of the moſt vulnerable intereſts of the Britiſh empire, had, in the firſt inſtance, been turned to the confuſion of its authors; and the blows, thus given to the power and influence of France, had afforded an opening, which, if improved by ſuitable exertions on the part of other powers, might lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

"The wiſdom and magnanimity ſo eminently diſplayed, at the preſent juncture, by the emperor of Ruſſia, and the deciſion and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, had ſhewn that thoſe powers were impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of the preſent criſis: and their example, joined to the diſpoſition manifeſted almoſt univerſally in the different countries ſtruggling under the yoke of France, muſt be a powerful encouragement to other ſtates to adopt that vigorous line of conduct, which experience

perience had proved to be alone conſiſtent with ſecurity and honour.

"The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonſtration of zeal and ſpirit among all ranks of his ſubjects, had deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coaſts of this kingdom.

"In Ireland, the rebellion, which they had inſtigated, had been curbed and repreſſed; the troops which they had landed for its ſupport had been compelled to ſurrender; and the armaments, ſince deſtined for the ſame purpoſe, had, by the vigilance and activity of his ſquadrons, been captured or diſperſed. The views and principles of thoſe who, in concert with our inveterate enemy, had long planned the ſubverſion of our conſtitution, had been fully detected and expoſed, and their treaſons made manifeſt to the world. Thoſe whom they had miſled or ſeduced muſt now be awakened to their duty; and a juſt ſenſe of the miſeries and horrors which thoſe traiterous deſigns had produced, muſt impreſs on the minds of all his faithful ſubjects, the neceſſity of continuing to repel, with firmneſs, every attack on the laws and eſtabliſhed government of their country." His majeſty proceeded, as uſual in times of war, to expreſs his confidence, that the public reſources and ſpirit would enable the houſe of commons to provide the neceſſary ſupplies without eſſential inconvenience to his people, and with as little addition as poſſible to the permanent burthens of his people.

His majeſty and the houſe of commons having retired, the earl of Darnly went over all the topics touched on in his majeſty's ſpeech. He celebrated with equal warmth, eloquence, and juſtice, the pre-eminently glorious victory of the Nile; the ſpirit and union of the Ruſſians and Ottomans, rouzed and animated by that victory; the courage of the king of Naples inflamed by the ſame cauſe, and the riſing hopes, and ſpirits of the inferior Italian ſtates. His lordſhip concluded by moving an addreſs, echoing, as uſual, the ſpeech from the throne, and aſſuring his majeſty of the loyalty and zeal of his parliament, and the chearfulneſs with which that houſe would ſupport the crown and conſtitution. The motion for the addreſs was ſeconded by

Lord Craven, who ſaid that, by our ſingle exertions, the navy of the French republic was annihilated. Her boaſted army of England had loſt even its title, and every enterpriſe ſhe had undertaken againſt us was wholly defeated. Not only our coaſts at home, but our moſt valuable poſſeſſions abroad, were ſecured. There was but one branch of commerce which this country did not almoſt excluſively poſſeſs; namely, that of the Levant. Of that trade France would now be totally deprived: and this country would reap all the advantages which had before belonged to our enemy, in that quarter, which alone contributed to the ſupport of her navy. Buonaparte was cut off from all means of retreat, and on every ſide beſet with obſtacles. Theſe ſucceſſes had already given ſpirit and alacrity to ſeveral of the foreign powers, who had unequivocally declared their determination to join againſt the common enemy. Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte had already declared themſelves, and he had no doubt but Auſtria, though

unwilling,

unwilling, would find it her intereſt to join in the great united exertion, which the example of our government had recommended to all Europe, and without which it would be vain to look for either ſecurity or peace.

The marquis of Lanſdown joined moſt heartily in the praiſes juſtly beſtowed on our navy. It became all that houſe to join in merited thanks. But after that duty was performed, there would remain another duty to be performed by the king's miniſters and by their lordſhips: the duty of drawing from our naval victories the advantages they were calculated to ſecure. He was ſatisfied that it was of conſequence, not only to the repoſe and ſecurity of Great Britain, but of the world in general, to check the progreſs of the French revolution. It was neither neceſſary nor conſiſtent with ſound policy to load with approbrium even the enemy: but it was impoſſible, he ſaid, to ſpeak of the conduct of the French without uſing the language of the utmoſt reprobation. Their courſe of havoc and devaſtation, their unprincipled and deteſtable tyranny, corruption, and baſeneſs, muſt excite in every boſom that cheriſhes the principles of liberty as the ſupreme good, and the happineſs of human kind, as the end of every rational government, a ſteady reſolution to check their career, and to ſave the world from the horrible calamity to which they doom it. But how was the progreſs of their atrocity to be checked? Had we not the experience of five years to prove to us that we had undertaken the taſk in a way not calculated to obtain the end? It was never denied that, if at length, a ſenſe of general danger ſhould bring the powers of Europe to a league, upon honeſt principles, they muſt prevail over the revolutionary ſyſtem; and it was his hope, that his majeſty's miniſters had improved the late victory of the Nile to that great purpoſe; that they had diſplayed to the powers the advantages of magnanimity, and before they came to parliament to announce the continuance of war, had incorporated thoſe powers in a great and diſintereſted league, in which, inſtead of diſgracing themſelves, by looking to this country for ſubſidies, they had reſumed the dignity which became them, and at length reſolved on proceeding directly to the object of reſtoring ſecurity to Europe, without ſeeking, in its diſorders, their own temporary profit. My lords, ſaid the marquis, I am diſappointed to find none of this in the ſpeech from the throne; I ſee nothing held out to me on which I can repoſe; I hear no account of returning magnanimity, and wiſdom. His lordſhip proceeded to deſcribe the mutual jealouſies that ſubſiſted among the great powers of Europe, and conſequently that, while theſe laſted, no ſyſtem of co-operation againſt France can be ſucceſsful. As to the boaſted vigour, manifeſted by Ruſſia and the Porte, it was impoſſible to ſpeak of ſo monſtrous an idea as a conjunction between the Ruſſians and the Turks without ridicule. Their mutual diſtruſt and jealouſy exceeded that of other nations. And what, he aſked, was the Ottoman Porte? Did we not know that the moſt helpleſs of all the countries on earth was Turkey? It was not only merely incapable of external operations, but even of domeſtic defence. The grand ſeig-

nior had been defeated in more than thirty attacks on one rebellious baſhaw. Experience ought to impreſs on our minds a conviction of the hollow principles on which political combinations are formed. We had aſſiſted the great powers of the continent: one of theſe had contracted large engagements with us, and been enabled, through our means, to make valuable acquiſitions. "I do not, from his majeſty's ſpeech, underſtand that that power has come forward to diſcharge its obligations; or to give any aſſurance that he will repay the loan, which he raiſed under the guarrantee of the Britiſh government, and therefore, I ſay again, my lords, that even if a new combination ſhould be made, of thoſe powers that have hitherto only looked to their own diſtinct and individual objects, and who have deſerted the common cauſe, the inſtant that they had obtained ſome miſerable acquiſition to themſelves, we can have no proſpect of advantage from ſuch a league. Nay, my lords, if the jealouſies of theſe great powers ſhould again be ſtifled for the moment, I ſhould not think this all that was neceſſary to the combined movement of Europe againſt France. I ſhould demand the concurrence and exertion of the northern powers alſo. It is material that the powers of the Baltic ſhould join in the confederacy; but I ſee nothing of all this, and yet we are to continue the war upon the ground of hollow and disjointed combination, and that combination neither general nor diſintereſted. Are other powers leſs ſenſible of their danger than we are? Are they leſs liable to feel the atrocity of the French ſyſtem? The ſecurity we derive from our marine, from our inſula ſituation, and from public opinion, makes us certainly more ſecure than any kingdom on the continent: and when we ſee that the powers on the continent make uſe of us only for their own ends, can we again entangle ourſelves with ſuch confederates? I anticipate the reply to all this." "How can we make peace? By repeated trials it has been ſhewn, that it is impoſſible to negociate to any purpoſe with the French directory." Miniſters know beſt whether they ought to have failed. I do not wiſh to exaſperate. If they were ſincere, I only lament that they did not take the moſt dignified courſe, nor the moſt likely to obtain the end. I would have your lordſhips to ſhew, by your conduct, that you ſeek for no other object than ſecurity and peace; that you will ſupport the government who ſhall act upon this ſingle principle. And let it be made manifeſt to all the world, that England looks to nothing elſe. It is particularly dignified to make this declaration in the moment of conqueſt. Political ſituations are always, and at the preſent period, rapidly changing. The French of this day, are not the French of laſt year. And therefore, however indiſpoſed they were on the laſt experiment, it is now worth the trial. I do not mean that you ſhould ſend to offer it, but chooſe the moment of victory to make it manifeſt, that this is the only end you have in view; and that you are conſtantly ready and prepared to make it. After ſuch declaration, our courſe is clear and ſafe. Let us lay aſide all idle plans of conqueſt and acquiſition, which we cannot maintain, witneſs Corſica

Corſica and St. Domingo, and let us only think of cheap and economical defence. Let us refuſe our aſſent to all continental intrigues, in which it is likely that the French will out-manœuvre us: for it is clear, that in all the progreſs of their ſyſtem, they have gained full as much by intrigue as they have by arms.

Lord Romney perfectly coincided in opinion with the noble lords who moved and ſeconded the addreſs. The negociation, he thought had been well conducted, and produced the happy effect of convincing the people of England that his majeſty's miniſters were ſincere.—There were ſome who conſtantly called the preſent "an unfortunate war." It was unfortunate indeed, he ſaid, on account of the expenſe with which it was attended; but, in all other reſpects, this country had never carried on any war that had been more ſucceſsful than the preſent. He augured better than the noble marquis from our alliance with the Turks, on whom he beſtowed not a little praiſe, for opening their eyes to the errors of their conduct towards France, and determining to oppoſe the French with the utmoſt vigour. As to the emperor Paul, taken notice of in the ſpeech from the throne, his character, he believed, deſerved praiſe. The ſyſtem of his internal policy was moderation. He had no doubt but a prince, ſo remarkable for virtue, would be faithful to his engagements. He had heard a rumour that Denmark and Sweden were arming, and that the other powers were making great preparations. —He hoped the rumour was true. If Europe had made a common cauſe againſt the French, they would have long ago been ſucceſsful, and the great nation muſt have given way to them. With regard to conqueſts, St. Domingo and Corſica were not only acquiſitions we had made: witneſs St. Lucia, Martinico, and the Cape of Good Hope.

Lord Holland confeſſed, that, with all the advantages we had gained, it appeared to him, that the noble lords, who had moved and ſeconded the addreſs, failed to prove that which it was their great object to eſtabliſh, namely, that the next combination of the powers of Europe, would procure for this country an advantageous peace. We had heard indeed of the powerful effects of a new confederacy. It was held out in the ſpeech from the throne. But this was not the firſt time they had heard from the throne of the probable effect of a powerful confederacy againſt France. And he wiſhed to know what there was new in their ſituation, that ſhould induce them to think that the confederacy, now about to be formed, would be of a firmer texture, and more durable and efficacious than thoſe that had been tried already. Compare, ſaid his lordſhip, the ſituation of this country, at this moment, with its condition at the commencement of hoſtilities, and then aſk yourſelves, my lords, what is likely to be the reſult of your proceeding? If ſo many victories cannot gain you peace, what is a new confederacy to produce? His lordſhip proceeded to ſhew, that to manifeſt a diſpoſition to peace was not a humiliation, but equal magnanimity and wiſdom.

Lord Mulgrave, having warmly joined in the general expreſſions of

joy and congratulation on the glorious atchievements of Lord Nelſon, aſked whether the preſent moment was a time for a diſplay of unmerited and injudicious moderation? Was it a time to crouch to the intemperate views of inordinate ambition, and to ſeek for precarious ſecurity? No! It was on the contrary, a time for inſpiring unanimity and vigour, for infuſing conſtancy and courage into the powers which were threatened with diſſolution, and for reſcuing from oppreſſion and every ſpecies of miſery, the countries which had unfortunately fallen victims to the arbitrary meaſures, and boundleſs tyranny of the French republic. However he might lament the private diſtreſſes of many, and that the tears of individuals were ſhed on various occaſions, the general exultation was complete and ſatisfactory, for it was founded on the general good, the preſervation, the happineſs, and the glory of the country. The noble marquis had aſſerted that no concert, no ſyſtematic plan of co-operation could exiſt between nations jealous of one another. That Auſtria and Pruſſia were jealous of one another when they entered into the war, and became parties in the coalition, he was ready to admit.—But was not the ſituation of theſe powers moſt materially altered ſince that period? Had they ſeen no example of ruin, produced by improvidently and raſhly indulging in ſentiments of jealouſy? He would undertake to ſay, that, under the ſalutary impreſſion of their paſt expenſe, he ſhould have more juſt confidence in any alliance that ſhould be formed between them now, than in that of the moſt amicable nations in any former war. As to the unexpected co-operation between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte, what could have induced the grand ſeignior, with all the prejudices with which he was ſuppoſed to be tainted againſt his new ally, to ſuffer the Ruſſian fleet to paſs the Dardanelles, but the dreadful example of the deſolations and horrors held out to him by the ambition and rapacity of the French in Europe? The very idea of entering into any negociation at preſent with ſuch a government as that of France, and conſequently of checking the reviving ſpirit of Europe, would, in his mind, not only militate againſt the true and ſubſtantial intereſts of this country, but afford an unqueſtionable proof of puſillanimity and meanneſs.

Lord Grenville put the queſtion; what had threatened the ſubverſion of civilized ſociety, and the overthrow of the ſyſtem of Europe, but paltry and ſhameful diſ-union? but thoſe ſhifting, ſelfiſh politics, which had to night been applauded, and through which France had for years been ſtrengthened, by the reſources of plunder, till at laſt the miſery of republican dominion had driven thoſe countries to that reſiſtance which they were afraid to exert, when their ſtrength and their means were entire. "It is with pride and ſatisfaction I acknowledge," ſaid his lordſhip, "that I have never ſubmitted to you the neceſſity of different policy. I have valued too much the teſtimony of my own conſcience, the feelings of national honour, the dictates of public duty, and, perhaps, thoſe frail memorials which may remain of me, ſhould men take the trouble to inquire how William lord Grenville thought and acted in this great criſis,

criſis, ever to adviſe any other than a vigorous manly line of conduct, or to recommend any reſource but our own conſtancy and perſeverance.—It has ever been the opinion, which I have entertained and avowed, that if France remained miſtreſs of the continent, we could have no ſafety. Diſunion, mean and ſhifting policy, have occaſioned all the calamities under which a conſiderable part of Europe now groans. Now, however, there is ſomething more then mere ſymptoms of the return of other ſentiments, and the prevalence of other views. This then is not the moment for England to ſhew that ſhe is guided only by little ſelfiſh politics. Inſtead of reſigning Europe to its fate, and abandoning the victims of French domination to their miſery, it ought to be the buſineſs of England to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It is rather the duty of the miniſters of this country, ſupported by king and parliament, to ſay that we are ready to take them under our ſhield, which is raiſed for their defence and ſecurity; that we are willing to aid them by our counſels, to ſupport them with our reſources, to conciliate differences, to allay jealouſies, and unite their efforts.—What is the ſituation of thoſe powers which yet ſtand in a trembling, degraded, precarious, exiſtence, purchaſed by diſhonour?—Look at thoſe who have followed that courſe in which it has been recommended to us to ſeek our ſafety. What impartial man will deny that the compariſon juſtifies an honeſt pride, that the ſurvey approves the ſyſtem on which his majeſty's miniſters have acted?—We have endeavoured, in a moment of difficulty and danger, to maintain the honour and independence of our country, and to ſupport the liberties of Europe, and the proud ſuperiority which we now enjoy, through the national conſtancy, energy, and virtue."

The marquis of Lanſdown obſerved, that in what he had ſaid to night, he had abſtained from agitating any topics that did not ſeem to be immediately connected with the diſcuſſion before the houſe.—Since, however, the noble lord who had juſt ſat down, had brought forward old queſtions, he would frankly own that, in his opinion, opportunities for concluding a ſafe and honourable peace had been loſt, and that, for the omiſſion, miniſters were ſeverely reſponſible. When the noble lord talked ſo exultingly of the ſchemes entertained for new coalitions, and told us that we were to take the lead in Europe, he thought it a fooliſh idle plan, which could terminate in nothing but confuſion and diſaſter. He begged their lordſhips to read the collections, which had recently been publiſhed, of the correſpondence of our ſtateſmen ſince the revolution, and they would find how much our wiſeſt politicians diſapproved of continental connections, the ſyſtem of ſubſidies. In his own time he recollected to have heard lord Grenville's father ſearch the Engliſh language for epithets, by which to expreſs his diſapprobation of ſuch views and politics.—The duke of Marlborough, who poſſeſſed conciliatory talents in as eminent a degree as any man ever did, ſaid, with that grace which was ſo peculiar to him, that it was ſome merit to have made eight nations act as one man. But, great as the duke

of Marlborough's talents were, he would venture to ſay, that were he alive now, it would be above his talents to form ſuch a confederacy, or to make four nations act as one man: as little would the noble lord find it eaſy to make even four nations act with concert and effect. Now that experiments were to be made, at the expenſe of ſo many millions, and of ſo many thouſand lives, he would ſay to the noble lord, you tried one experiment and failed, and we do not chooſe that you ſhould try it over again. The noble lord has been deceived once, and I am afraid he will be deceived a ſecond time. "If, ſaid the marquis, I have any credit with the country, I ſtake it upon this ſentiment. For ſeveral years I oppoſed the former attempt to take the lead in continental coalitions, and I now oppoſe the attempt to renew them."

The queſtion being put, the addreſs was carried *nemine contradicente*.—On the ſame day, his majeſty's ſpeech having been read in the houſe of commons,

Lord Grenville Leviſon Gower, roſe to move an addreſs in reply. The houſe, he ſaid, would recollect, that his majeſty had been induced to make two attempts to negociate with France. It was conceived that a dawn of reaſon had at laſt broke forth in France, and it was hoped that the directory would ſee that it was their intereſt to make ſuch a peace as this country could with honour agree to.—The event, however, had ſhewn how vain were all theſe expectations. It was poſſible, indeed, for a country to be ſo much embarraſſed, as to render it prudent in them to make peace almoſt on any terms. Great difficulties we had certainy experienced: but we had happily ſurmounted them. The national credit, which at one time was greatly diſtreſſed, and on the fall of which the enemy had placed their expectations, was confirmed. The ſpirit of the country was rouzed, and its ardour ſeemed to have increaſed in proportion to the difficulties it had to combat. The Britiſh people proceeded in willing concert with the government. In addition to the burthens upon them, they had come forward with voluntary aids to an amount which exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations; and, from a people unaccuſtomed to arms, they had ſuddenly become a nation of ſoldiers. The French government were intimidated; and all their mighty preparations, for the invaſion of this country, terminated in mere gaſconnade. The few troops, whom the French government had, by a favourable chance, ſucceeded in throwing on the Iriſh ſhore, were ſoon compelled to ſurrender to his majeſty's forces. This fortunate event was ſucceeded by the defeat of the Breſt fleet. The Dutch ſhips, which had the ſame deſtination, were alſo intercepted; and, in ſhort, every armament they had ventured to ſea was either captured or diſperſed. From theſe inſtances of Britiſh valour and diſcipline, his lordſhip turned to the glorious firſt of Auguſt: that ſplendid atchievement, which, in its brilliancy and utility, was unequalled in the annals of this or any other nation. That expedition, which had been planned againſt our Eaſt India poſſeſſions, had been rendered incapable of hurting them. It was cut off from all communication with France,

France, and must be left to its own means, as they were at present, for no reinforcement could be sent from Egypt. Not only had the destruction of the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir given spirit and energy to the Turkish government, but it had inspired all Europe with hope and joy. When the news of that great event reached Rastadt, the deputies of the empire for the first time ventured to resist the ambitious projects of the French plenipotentiaries. It had also encouraged the king of Naples to oppose the common enemy, and it was to be hoped that the time was not far distant when he would be capable of crushing the infant republics, which had been erected in his neighbourhood. It was from the conduct of the French to other powers that we ought to estimate the practicability of negociating in safety with France. Witness Switzerland, Spain, Austria, and Italy. When Russia and the Ottoman Porte had so magnanimously stepped forward in the cause of virtue and social order, when those powers that had, by force or fraud, been subjected to French domination, manifested a returning sense of indignant pride, and a determination to throw off the galling yoke of republican tyranny, ought that house, by talking of an unattainable peace, to chill the ardour and paralyze the efforts of the people of England in the common cause, and at the same time to blast the hopes of every civilized state of Europe, whose sole prospect of relief centered on this country? Lord Levison did not forget in this animating retrospect to advert to the increase of our commerce and the flourishing state of our finances.

Sir H. P. St. John Mildmay, who seconded the motion for the address, went over the same ground, with equal eloquence.—Offers of pacification rejected by the enemy; the necessity we were under of pursuing to a conclusion the advantages we had gained, not only for the sake of our own country alone, but that of all civilized society; a progressive and uninterrupted chain of splendid success; Ireland saved; public credit not subverted, but propped and strengthened. From the mutilated and almost annihilated state of the French marine, many years must elope before the enemy could again become formidable to this country: by vigour, and perseverance, therefore, at the present moment, we were not only preparing a permanent and substantial treaty for ourselves, but laying the foundations of peace, prosperity, and happiness, to a generation yet to come.

Sir John Sinclair, who had minutely examined the particulars of the various brilliant actions which decorated the maritime history of this country, declared, that, amongst them all, he did not find one that could stand a comparison with lord Nelson's victory: which placed the hero, under whose banners it was atchieved, and the fleet that had the honour of serving under him, at the summit of naval glory. But, by the misconduct of ministers their laurels had been well nigh blasted. The orders for the sailing of the fleet had been shamefully delayed, in consequence of which lord Nelson had not been able to attack the French armament at Malta: in which case, both the fleet and army of Buonaparte must have surrendered. The British fleet was unaccompanied with frigates, which had rendered it necessary

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for lord Nelſon to ſend home a fifty gun ſhip with an account of the engagement, by which we loſt the Leander. And, no bomb-veſſels having accompanied the fleet, the tranſports in the harbour of Alexandria had hitherto eſcaped deſtruction. The next inſtance noticed by ſir John, on the miſconduct of miniſters, with regard to lord Nelſon's fleet, is very important indeed, and ſhews to how many accidental circumſtances a hero may owe his fame; and a hero too his diſgrace. Had it not been for the accidental circumſtance, ſir John obſerved, that the l'Orient drew too much water to enter that harbour, the whole French fleet might have been moored there in ſafety, and might have defied all our efforts. It was not ſufficient that we had gained a ſplendid victory, by the ſkill and gallantry of our ſeamen, in ſpite of miniſterial miſconduct. We ought to know why the expedition of Buonaparte was not totally deſtroyed? Sir John proceeded to make various remarks on all the other points touched on in the ſpeech from the throne, and alſo on ſeveral other points of which he had expected or wiſhed that ſome notice had been taken. To detail thoſe remarks, or even all the topics to which they refer, would exceed the plan of this conciſe abridgement of proceedings in parliament. But there is one of theſe that may be mentioned, both on account of its own importance, and the ſingularity of the obſervation with which ſir John introduced it. The ſubject was the evacuation of St. Domingo. It was well known that ſir John S. obſerved, that, if, at the beginning of the war, we had bent all our exertions againſt the French Weſt India iſlands, inſtead of Flanders, where we had waſted our ſtrength ſo fruitleſſly, we might have ſecured the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands, and prevented all thoſe ſcenes of deſolation, maſſacre, and plunder, which had taken place in that unfortunate quarter of the globe. At laſt, we did ſend ſome troops there, and ſucceeded in capturing ſome of the French poſſeſſions, but were not ſufficiently ſtrong either to take the whole of St. Domingo, to retain poſſeſſion of Guadaloupe, or to prevent ſome of our own iſlands from being deſolated. Amidſt all theſe unfortunate circumſtances it was ſome conſolation to us that we could retain poſſeſſion of a part of St. Domingo, by which, we were told, Jamaica was protected from invaſion. That ſource of conſolation however was now over, as St. Domingo was completely evacuated. This was a ſubject which would demand a very ſerious inquiry. That houſe, and the nation, ought to know the number of Britiſh ſubjects that had periſhed in that ill-judged, or ill-conducted enterpriſe; the amount of the ſums of money laid out in attempting to make the acquiſition; whether they had been properly expended and regularly accounted for; with other particulars. This ſubject, of ſo much public importance, ſaid ſir John, "to his utter aſtoniſhment, had been totally overlooked in the ſpeech from the throne." We ſuppoſe that it would have been matter of great aſtoniſhment to moſt of our readers if the miniſter, on ſuch an occaſion, had poured forth confeſſions and lamentations on ſo melancholy and mortifying a ſubject—on all the points in the ſpeech from the throne; obſervations were alſo made by ſir Francis Burdett.

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The country he admitted ſtood on higher ground than it did a ſhort time back; and if advantage were taken of this favourable ſituation, in conjunction with the reſt of Europe, to procure a ſafe and honourable peace, then indeed he ſhould hail our recent ſucceſſes as the omens of future happineſs. But if, as the whole tenor of the ſpeech from the throne this day gave too much reaſon to fear, our recent ſucceſſes were to be made uſe of, only as an inſtrument to inſtigate the country to a proſecution of the war, without a declaration of any diſtinct and definite object, he could then regard our naval victories only as the probable forerunners of future misfortunes. The hiſtory of all coalitions, formed of great and diſcordant intereſts, was the ſame. If they were not ſucceſsful in their firſt efforts, they rarely, if ever, ſucceeded at all. Did any man think that ſucceſsful war would be carried on againſt France, by a coalition of the preſent mutilated powers of Europe, when ſhe had already baffled the moſt powerful league that was ever formed againſt any country? And though internal diſſentions ſhould ariſe in France, we knew, by experience, how little influence internal diſturbances had upon her armies and her external politics. Sir Francis, having come to the concluding part of his majeſty's ſpeech, ſaid, that in the laſt ſentence, and in that alone, he did moſt completely agree, that we ſhould all be firmly determined to repel any attack on our laws and conſtitution. Had we firmly repelled the many attacks made on theſe by our preſent miniſters, he ſhould not now have to complain of many and weighty grievances on the part of the people of England: innovations in the juriſprudence of the country; the interference of the executive power with the management and treatment of priſoners; baſtilles, called houſes of correction, where ſeverities were exerciſed upon men, not even charged with any crime, ſuch as the humane old law of the land does not allow to be inflicted, even upon the greateſt criminals; men thrown into priſon on mere ſuſpicion of crimes, and, after months of ſolitary confinement, turned naked into the world, their fortunes ruined, their health deſtroyed, their wives and families ſtarving, or depending for a precarious ſubſiſtence on charity: and this was the conduct of a government which we were called on, not barely to ſubmit to, but zealouſly and affectionately to ſupport. If his majeſty, ſaid ſir Francis, was ſincere in wiſhing to promote that unanimity amongſt all ranks of his people, ſo deſirable at all times, ſo peculiarly neceſſary at the preſent time, let the people be reſtored to their rights and liberties; let the old law of the land be again made the rule of action; let theſe new priſons, theſe receptacles of miſery, and inſtruments of tyrrany, be deſtroyed; let a wiſe ſyſtem of economy ſucceed to the preſent profligate waſte of corrupt expenditure; and let theſe bleſſings of liberty be ſecured by a full, free, and fair repreſentation of the people in parliament. The queſtion for the addreſs being put, was carried with only one diſſentient voice.

Next day, November twenty-firſt, 1798, the thanks of both houſes of parliament were voted, unanimouſly, to lord Nelſon and

his

his fleet, and alſo to ſir J. B. Warren and his fleet. On lord Nelſon, and his two next ſucceſſors, being heirs male, a net annuity was ſettled of 2000*l.* *per annum*, for their natural lives. To the memory of captain George Weſtcott, who fell in the naval engagement on the firſt of Auguſt, as noticed in our laſt volume, a monument was ordered to be erected, at the public expenſe, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.

On the ſame day, the miniſter entered on the great and urgent buſineſs of finance, the grand ſpring of all other buſineſs, external and internal. The houſe of commons having reſolved itſelf into a committee, a reſolution, moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, for granting a ſupply to his majeſty was agreed to.

On the twenty-ſixth of November, lord Arden moved that it was the opinion of the committee, that one hundred and twenty thouſand ſeamen ſhould be employed for the ſea-ſervice of 1799, including twenty thouſand marines: which after ſome oppoſition from ſir John Sinclair were voted. The following ſums were alſo voted, for their maintenance:

For the payment of the ſeamen, at the vote of 1*l.* 17*s.* *per* man, *per* month, for thirteen months, 2,886,000*l.*

For victualling the ſame for thirteen months, 2,964,600*l.*

For the wear and tear of ſhips, 4,659,600*l.*

For naval ordnance, 390,000*l.*

On the report of the reſolution for 120,000 ſeamen, the twenty-ſeventh of November,

Sir John Sinclair, heſitated not to declare his full conviction, that 110,000 was the utmoſt extent to which we could poſſibly go with any attention to propriety. The principal grounds on which he reſted his opinion, were, the ruined ſtate of the French navy; the ſkill and ſpirit uniformly diſplayed by our own; the aſſiſtance we were likely to receive from Ruſſian, Turkiſh, Portugueſe, and Neapolitan auxiliaries, not forgetting the new maritime power that was riſing in America, and the aid which, according to report, we were to receive from Sweden and Denmark; the inoccupation of a vaſt number of our ſhips, undergoing repairs or rotting in harbours; the neceſſity of public economy; and the prudence of a gradual diſbandment of our ſoldiers and ſailors, and leaving hands ſufficient for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce.

General Tarleton wiſhed the houſe not to miſtake what were the ſentiments of gentlemen on his ſide of the houſe, reſpecting the importance of the navy to the country. He could aſſure them that not one of his honourable friends, entertained the ſame ſentiments on that ſubject, as the honourable baronet. The reſolution was then put, and, with the exception of ſir John Sinclair's ſingle vote, unanimouſly agreed to.

On the twenty-eighth of November the following reſolutions were moved and agreed to:

That it is the opinion of this committee, of the houſe of commons, that, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſeveral duties impoſed upon ſugar, by the 27th, 34th, and 37th, of his preſent majeſty, and alſo the duties of exciſe on tobacco and ſnuff, directed in the laſt ſeſſion of

parliament,

parliament, to be continued until the fifth of March, 1799, ſhould be farther continued until the fifth of March, 1800.

"That four ſhillings in the pound and no more, be impoſed on all penſions, offices, &c. and continued:

"That the duty on malt &c. be continued from the twenty-third of June, 1799, to the fourth of June, 1800. On the twenty-ninth, the houſe being in a committee of ſupply, the ſecretary-at-war, Mr. Windham, proceeded to lay before the commons, the army-eſtimates. The difference between the eſtimate of this, and that of 1797, he ſaid, would be ſomething more than one million. The objects, which had created this difference, were the ſupplementary militia, the proviſional cavalry, the volunteer corps, and barracks. The charges attendant on thoſe new arrangements, added to thoſe already eſtimated for 1798, amounted in the whole, to the ſum of 3,305,925*l.* Beſides theſe increaſed eſtabliſhments, which were to be kept up for the enſuing year, there were ſome volunteer corps that had not been called out till the preſent time, and others that had conſiderably increaſed ſince the laſt eſtimate; on which account, the eſtimate for the enſuing year would amount to ſomewhat more than the ſum of nine millions. The heads of the cauſe of increaſe, in the preſent year, were, an augmentation of dragoons, which amounted to 65,000*l.*; an increaſe of the companies of foot-guards from one hundred to one hundred and twenty men, which cauſed an increaſed expenſe of 120,000*l.*; for the eſtabliſhment of regimental pay-maſters, 27,000*l.* The great head of exceſs in this year's account aroſe from the embodying of the ſupplementary militia. It came in but partially laſt year, (1798) but now it was to be provided for the whole of the year. The Scotch militia was another head quite new. Another head of charge was, an increaſe of ſencible cavalry: to which muſt be added, an increaſe of the ſtaff at home. A ſmall additional aroſe from the increaſed allowances to inn-keepers. The charge of volunteer corps, although not entirely a new head, was yet, in the eſtimates before the houſe, conſiderably extended. The next additional charge, which occurred, was that of barracks, on account of the increaſe of troops, during the laſt year, for the purpoſe of repelling any attack which might be made againſt us. Another article, which it would be neceſſary for him to notice, was one, which would meet with the approbation of every gentleman: a ſmall increaſe of the penſion to officers widows. His private opinion was, that it was now much too ſmall, and when it was conſidered to what a deplorable reverſe of fortune thoſe perſons muſt be reduced, before they received that reward, he was convinced that the ſmall additional ſum could not be conſidered as improperly beſtowed.* The whole account under this head did not exceed 12,000*l.*

But theſe articles of exceſs were reduced by other articles of ſaving. We had formerly to provide for foreign corps: an expenſe which had now ceaſed. The reduction of proviſional cavalry was another head of ſaving. To this was to be added an additional ſum from the iſland of Jamaica, and a farther allowance from

from Ireland, in conſequence of the troops ſent from this to the aſſiſtance of that country. Scotch roads and bridges were an article in former eſtimates, but now they were totally omitted, being provided for in another manner. There now occurred another article to which he wiſhed to ſay a few words. In the preſent eſtimate, the expenſe of the war eſtabliſhment is included. He much queſtioned whether the new regulation of paying fixed ſalaries from fees would in the event prove any ſaving to the country.—He very much doubted whether the regular and uſual fees would pay the permanent eſtabliſhment of the office. He had now ſtated all that occurred to him to be neceſſary.—After ſome obſervations by Mr. Tierney on the neceſſity of economy, and on expenſes riſing inſtead of being diminiſhed, in the midſt of victories and triumphs, the ſeveral reſolutions on the army-eſtimates, as laid down by the ſecretary-at-war, were moved and agreed to.

On the third of December, the chancellor of the exchequer made a ſtatement of the whole of the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſervice of 1799, and of the ways and means by which he propoſed to raiſe them. The ſum total of the ſupplies required, was 29,272,000*l.* The ways and means for which there were the uſual reſources, in the duties ſubſtituted in lieu of the land-tax now made perpetual, the lottery, the conſolidated fund, and imports and exports, extended to the amount of 6,150,000*l.* The remainder of the ſum total of the ſupplies for the year remaining to be raiſed, either by a tax within the year, in the ſame manner as the aſſeſſed-tax bill of laſt year, or by a loan, was upwards of twenty-three millions. Laſt ſeſſion, the plan of trebling the aſſeſſed-taxes, not only was taken to furniſh a certain portion of the ſupplies of the year, but part of its produce was aſſigned for the extinction of ſuch part of the loan of eight millions as was not covered by the ſinking-fund. Voluntary contributions had made up the deficit on the aſſeſſed taxes; and the ſuperior produce of the exports and imports beyond the eſtimate of ways and means, had brought the amount of the ſums to be raiſed to that of ſeven millions and a half, at which they had been calculated. The produce of the aſſeſſed-taxes, which he had eſtimated at 4,500,000*l.* under all the modifications they had undergone, and all the evaſions and tricks with which ſo many perſons had ſhifted the public burthen from their own ſhoulders, was yet four millions. Inſtead of 1,500,000*l.* the voluntary contributions already exceeded two millions: and the ſum of ſeven millions and a half, for which credit had been taken, had been effective to the public ſervice. Theſe particulars, reſpecting the eſtimate of 1798, being premiſed, Mr. Pitt proceeded to ſtate a new plan for raiſing a very conſiderable part of the ſupplies within the year, and of courſe proportionably diminiſhing that of the ſum to be borrowed. This tax was not like the aſſeſſed tax, a tax on expenditure, but one on income. The commiſſioners who ſhould be inveſted with a power of fixing the vote of every one's income, ſhould be perſons of a reſpectable ſituation in life, and men of integrity and independence. Amongſt the commiſſioners of ſupply, from whoſe voluntary ſervices

in the different counties the country had derived such benefit, men might be expected to be found, who would best answer the description he had just given. He would propose that no men should be admitted to act for the purposes to be hereafter specified, who did not possess 300*l.* per annum: to these a certain number of persons should be added, resident in the different divisions or districts, and who should possess the same qualification of 300*l.* a year—that such list of commissioners should be referred to the two last grand juries for each county, who should select a proper number of each division, and a smaller number for appeals. In great cities and commercial places some special provisions might be necessary. The commissioners being oppointed, the next stage of the business was, the manner of bringing before the commissioners the first view of the charge which each individual was to contribute; adopting it as a principle, in the same manner as was done in the assessed-tax bill, that no persons whose incomes were under 60*l.* a year should pay any thing. Every person should state what that sum was, which he was willing to contribute, under a declaration that what he so contributed was not less then one-tenth of his income. The difference between this plan and that of the assessed-tax-bill was, that instead of a treble and quadruple assessment, the first charge would be from the declaration of the parties themselves. But the next point to be considered, was in what manner the declaration of the parties should be checked and ascertained. The mode Mr. Pitt would propose, was, not any public statement of income, but that it should be made the duty of some officers, in each district, to lay before the commissioners any grounds of doubt which they might entertain. These statements from individuals, he proposed, should be sent to the surveyors of taxes, or some other officers appointed for that purpose; that these should only express their doubts, and the foundations of them; and, that then the commissioners should call for farther explanation. When these grounds of doubt should be transmitted to the commissioners, they should have the power of requiring a specification of income arising from the different branches, and according to the forms prescribed by a schedule annexed to the act. If the commissioners should not be satisfied, they might require another specification. Individuals also might state in what they had been overcharged. If the commissioners should not be satisfied with the schedules given in, they should have, in that case, the power to proceed to examinations by oath; but they should have no compulsory power to make a man answer.—They should neither have authority to call for books, nor to examine any man's clerks or agents. If, however, the party examined should withhold any information on these points, it should rest with the commissioners to form their own opinion, and their judgement should be final, unless the party chose to appeal to the higher order of the commissioners. But even in that case, no books or papers should be examined. If the party should be unwilling to produce those papers, he must acquiesce in the decision which the commissioners should come to upon such other information as it might

be

be in their power to obtain. Such information the commiſſioners ſhould be ſtrictly ſworn not to diſcloſe, nor to avail themſelves of it for any purpoſe ſeparate from the execution of the act. If, however, any information ſhould be made, upon oath, which the commiſſioners ſhould think to be falſe, they might carry on a proſecution for perjury. Mr. Pitt proceeded to propoſe certain exemptions from diſcloſure of income: abatements, and allowances in favour of certain deſcriptions of perſons; and next to conſider the probable amount of the tax. Having reviewed the general ſources of the wealth of this country, he ſtated the national income to be 102,000,000*l.* annually, clear of all deductions; * on this ſum, a tax of ten per cent. was likely to produce 10,000,000*l.* a year. Now, it would be recollected, that in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, the aſſeſſed-taxes were the only part of the public reſources which were mortgaged for the ſum of 8,000,000*l.* borrowed for the public ſervice, in 1797. He therefore propoſed that the ſum now to be raiſed in lieu of the aſſeſſed taxes, after its appropriation to the ſupplies of the preſent year, ſhould remain as a pledge for the diſcharge of that ſum, for which the taxes were a ſecurity, and alſo for the diſcharge of the loan for the preſent year, beyond what would be paid out of the ſinking fund; that it ſhould be applied to the ſupplies of the year in the firſt inſtance; but, at the ſame time, that the tax ſhould be continued till it had diſcharged the debt for which the aſſeſſed taxes were mortgaged, and then to make a farther charge for what might be borrowed beyond what the ſinking fund would diſcharge.

Mr. Pitt having thus explained the nature and object of his preſent plan of finance, obſerved, that it was founded on an extenſion of the general principle of that financial meaſure which had been adopted laſt ſeſſion of parliament. If the committee had ſeen the advantages of that principle, imperfect as its executibility was, in compariſon of that of the preſent meaſure, they would find ſomething better than reaſon to induce them to adhere to it: they would find that their own experience decided in its favour.—He exulted in the diſappointment of our enemies, who had founded their hopes on the immoderate ac-

* The amount of rent on land poſſeſſed by landlords in England . . £20,000,000.
The amount of lands in the hands of tenants . . . . . 5,000,000.
Amount of tythes . . . . . 4,000,000.
Amount of mines, ſhares in canals, timber, &c. . . . . 3,000,000.
Amount of the rent of houſes . . . . . 6,000,000.
Amount of the income ariſing from poſſeſſions . . . . . 2,000,000.
Amount of the produce of all the above articles in Scotland . . . . 5,000,000.
Amount of income of abſentees from Ireland . . . . . 1,000,000.
Amount of income from the Weſt Indies . . . . . 4,000,000.
Amount of intereſt of funds . . . . . 12,000,000.
Amount of profit on foreign trade . . . . . 12,000,000.
Profit on home trade . . . . . 28,000,000.

£102,000,000.

cumulation

cumulation of our funded debt, and the ruin of our public credit. The preſent ſurpaſſed the proudeſt period of Britiſh hiſtory. He beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on our armies and navies, and particularly the ſecrecy and vigilance diſplayed in our naval department, and a ſkilful diſpoſition of our maritime force. But the great and permanent ſource, he ſaid, of our glory, was thoſe pecuniary reſources, and the proper means of calling them forth, which had enabled us to perſevere in the conteſt, to weary out adverſe accidents, to ſtrike at length a moſt terrible blow, and to bring about the greateſt events. When the intereſts of themſelves and their poſterity, of England, and alſo of all other nations, were at ſtake, he was confident, that after the difficulties they had already encountered, they would not ſhrink from the preſent arduous criſis, or reſign thoſe titles to pre-eminence, for which they had already been ſo celebrated, and which were the pride and glory of all thoſe who had the honour of calling themſelves ſubjects of Great Britain. On theſe grounds, therefore, he propoſed a ſeries of reſolutions, on the plan ſubmitted to their conſideration, which were agreed to.—The reſolutions were,

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that ſo much of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled "An act for granting to his majeſty an aid and contribution, for the continuation of the war," as charges any perſon with an additional duty in proportion to the amount of the rates of duties to which, prior to the date of the fifth day of April, 1798, ſuch perſon was aſſeſſed, according to any aſſeſſment made in purſuance of any act of parliament in force, at the time of paſſing the ſaid act of the laſt ſeſſion, be repealed.

"Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be charged annually, during a term to be limitted, the ſeveral rates and duties following, upon all income ariſing from property in Great-Britain, belonging to any of his majeſty's ſubjects, although not reſident in Great Britain, and of every body politic or corporate, or company, ſociety, or fraternity of perſons, whether corporate or not corporate, in Great Britain, whether ſuch income ſhall ariſe from lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereſoever the ſame ſhall be ſituated, in Great Britain or elſewhere, or from any profeſſion, office, employment, trade, or vocation. It has already been noticed that no income was to be burthened with any tax, if it did not exceed ſixty pounds. If it amounted to 100*l.* but did not exceed 105*l.* it was charged with a duty of one-fortieth part. Intermediate incomes were charged in ſimilar ratios.

Mr. Tierney declared himſelf an opponent to the financial meaſure propoſed, chiefly on the ground of its being unequal. The tax was ſaid, by its mover, to fall nearly equally on all ſorts of property. That was not true. It did not fall on the property of a certain deſcription of ſtockholders, or what might be called the leading London gentlemen: not the maſs of ſtockholders, but thoſe whom the chancellor of the exchequer always choſe to favour; the monied men of the city. Theſe gentlemen could pay off any

tax without burthening themſelves. Indeed, the greater the taxes were, the richer they became, and they never ſucceeded better than when the miniſter ſucceeded in taxes. There was, among other conſiderations urged by Mr. Tierney, on which merits particular and profound attention. Under the preſent plan, the whole property of England would ſoon ſhift hands: which would make a great difference in the ſtate of the country. For, ſaid Mr. Tierney, if the rich man in the city buys the ſmall eſtates of a number of gentlemen, which will be one of the operations of this plan, although the eſtate will be the ſame, and the revenue the ſame, yet the condition of whole diſtricts of inhabitants, will be materially altered. When a gentleman of ſmall fortune ſells his eſtate, let him get ever ſo much for it, there are evils ariſing to his family from that ſale, which can never be avoided, nor adequately deſcribed. But not only the condition of the farmer, Mr. Tierney might have added, by ſuch transferences, would be altered, but that alſo of the farmers and others. Between old families and their tenants, there ariſes a mutual ſympathy: nor does the offer of a higher rent always induce the farmer to baniſh the latter from the ſoil cultivated by his forefathers. The mere monied man, for the moſt part, meaſuring all things by money, ſcruples not to ſend them packing, whenever another monied man offers a higher rent, with as much *ſang froid* as a London houſe-builder lets a row of houſes. If one rich farmer offer to rent the whole eſtate, the abſentee, unreſtrained by any ſympathy, or recollection, (as was commonly the caſe with great landed abſentees, from Ireland,) accepts the offer. Thus farm is added to farm. The middling claſs of farmers, the actual cultivators of the ſoil, is gradually extinguiſhed, and the nation divided into maſters and ſervants, much in the ſame manner as Jamaica planters. Such, indeed, is the operation of all great capitals of credit: which enable the capitaliſt, by means of banks, to multiply the natural power of his ſtock even three or four fold; to graſp, monopolize, and controul every thing; moderate farms and farmers, as well as other articles, and other induſtrious individuals, and, in a word, to turn the world upſide down. Large capitals and credits cannot certainly be conſidered as evils in themſelves, but as national advantages; though it muſt be allowed, that they ariſe, in many inſtances, from the diſtreſs as well as the proſperity of the country. That they have a tendency to monopolization, and to form a kind of *bourgeois* and upſtart ariſtocracy, with all the faults of the former, without any of its virtues, is alſo undeniable. But, another truth, equally certain, and equally to be deplored, is, that it would be difficult for the legiſlature to check the evils ariſing out of immenſe capitals and credits, without alſo checking a ſpirit of induſtry and enterprize. Yet the evils ariſing from an immoderate extenſion of farms are ſo obvious and rapidly increaſing, that ſome meaſures may be expected for reſtraining it, and opening, by the improvement of natural opportunities, the earth to the cultivation of men,

men, not as hirelings to others, but on their own account.* Before the report of the committee-tax was taken into consideration, the chancellor of the exchequer, on the tenth of December, informed the house, resolved into a committee of ways and means, that he had bargained for the limited sum of three millions, as a loan, and reserved the remainder till after Christmas. The 3 *per cent. consols* were at $52\frac{1}{2}$: the reduced at $51\frac{3}{4}$. For every 100*l.* in money, there was to be given $52\frac{1}{2}$ *consols*, and a proportion of seven-eighths of a hundred pounds in the reduced, amounting to 87*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* the value of which, in money, was 46*l.* 12*s.* $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ The payments were to be made before the month of February, in four instalments. And, as the public service did not require prompt payment, there would be no discount. In lieu of the discount, an allowance was to be made, as a *bonus* to the contractor, of 13*s.* 4*d.* The whole sum then given for every 100*l.* lent to government 99*l.* 15*s.* $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ Since that period stocks had risen, and the premium on the loan was $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* Thus it would appear, that the reasons for postponing the whole of the loan, at the present period, were founded in prudence. He then moved, that the sum of three millions be raised, by way of annuities, which was agreed to. On the fourteenth of December, the report of the income-tax was taken into consideration.

Sir J. Sinclair thought that, if such extraordinary contributions were to be levied, there ought to be half *per cent.* on capital, and only five *per cent.* on income, above 200*l.* He urged, against the income-tax proposed, three radical objections; namely, that it would promote emigration, diminish the produce of the old taxes, and raise the price of all the necessaries of life. Among a variety of strictures on the bill before the house, made by this speaker, the following arrested, in a particular manner, our attention: "Formerly our principal taxes, arising from consumption, and not extending to many of the real comforts and necessaries of life, were, in a manner, voluntary. The exchequer was enriched; the people were happy; and the profusion of government was happily checked, by the conviction that, if the taxes were carried beyond a certain length, the produce, instead of increasing, would be diminished. But if this bill pass, the whole property of the country will, in future, lie at the mercy of the minister. For though he now, very moderately, requires only a tenth part of our income, he establishes a principle, that the government of this country is entitled to demand a certain part of the income of each individual, and is also entitled to enforce that compulsive requisition,

* Were it certain (which is controverted) that large capitals and large farms are the best means of raising the greatest quantity of cattle, grain, or other physical produce, at the least expense; there is in political economy a previous question. Is the advancement of agriculture itself, so defined, to be preferred to population, health, virtue, contentment, general independence, and an immense reduction of the poors rates? See Mr. Newte, of Tiverton's, Tour in England and Scotland, and "An Essay on the Right of Property in Land." Walters. Both these publications have been translated into the French language, and been received with the highest approbation by the French economists.

by the ſtricteſt and harſheſt regulations."

Mr. Simeon ſaid, as the honourable baronet had not ſhewn, that the price of labour would be affected, he might allay his fears reſpecting the emigration of the laborious claſs. And, for his own part, he had no apprehenſion that perſons of 200*l.* would emigrate. The country, he ſaid, was now better able to pay the tax than it had been. So rapid had been the increaſe of our commerce, that we had not ſhipping enough to do the buſineſs.

Mr. M. A. Taylor objected to the bill, that it diſcloſed property, and, what was worſe, invaded it, (though, by the genius of the conſtitution, it was held ſacred) to its inequality, and to its operation, as a check on the vigour and energy of the manufacturer and merchant. It hurt not the rich man; but hundreds of induſtrious people, employed by that ſplendour from which he would now be obliged to retire. He would prefer a tax that ſhould be borne, generally by all claſſes of people in the community. Mr. Taylor, though widely differing from Mr. Paine, in both religion and politics, quoted what follows, from his publication, of which he was reminded by the bill before them, "Government always take to themſelves, all the produce of the induſtry of the people, under the head of government."

The ſolicitor-general ſaid, that when it was propoſed to repeal the aſſeſſed tax bill, and to ſubſtitute this mode of collection, the principle was preſerved, though the means were altered: that principle, approved by the houſe, and ſanctioned by experience, he was of opinion, the houſe would not now controvert. He was ſurpriſed to find that ſir J. S. was an advocate for taxing capital, becauſe it ſeemed to be an opinion almoſt univerſally agreed to, that income, and not capital, was the proper object of taxation. It was on this principle that moſt of our taxes were founded. What were the land-tax, the country rates, the rates for building bridges, and ſo on, but taxes on income. That principle was entirely aſſented to by

Sir W. Young, who obſerved, that the natural conſequence of paſſing the funding ſyſtem to an extreme would be, to raiſe the intereſt of money to a degree that would be extremely dangerous; becauſe, if men could get an extravagant intereſt for money, without expoſing it to the riſks of commerce, they would be much inclined to lay out their money at intereſt, and thus all commercial enterprize would be checked. As to diſcloſure of property, he did not conſider it as any mighty hardſhip. In the Weſt Indies, and in many parts of America, a man could not have a bond or note, without its being regiſtered, and conſequently, to a certain degree, diſcloſing his property: yet he did not know that it ever was conſidered as an inconvenience, or had ever produced any prejudicial effects.

Sir Francis Baring thought the preſent meaſure as liable to evaſion, and even more ſo than that of laſt year. In commerce, the bill would be liable to evaſions and frauds without end. On the whole, he diſliked the meaſure, and augured ill of its ſucceſs.

Mr. William Smith admitted, that the principle of the bill was the ſame as that of the aſſeſſed taxes laſt year, as far as it went to raiſe a certain portion of the ſupplies within the

the year. As it related, however, to the criterion, by which the means of contributing were to be aſcertained, it differed widely. A man might think himſelf able to ſpend a certain ſum of money, but his expenditure was at his option. His income, however, could not be ſaid to be a voluntary criterion: over this he had no control. It had been ſaid by an honourable gentleman, (Mr. Elliſon) that they ſhould all put a hand to the plough and free the bill from all its inconveniences. But he would aſk that honourable gentleman whether, if he thought the bill unconſtitutional, unjuſt, oppreſſive, and cruel; he might alſo add, fraudulent—would he then inſiſt on forcing it on the houſe and the nation? Such was his opinion of the bill; he would not, therefore, put his hand to the plough. On the preſent ſubject, Mr. Smith quoted Dr. Adam Smith, whoſe authority would have more weight than his ſpeeches—"Capitation taxes, if it is attempted to proportion them to the fortune or revenue of each contributor, become altogether arbitrary. The ſtate of a man's fortune varies from day to day, and without an inquiſition more intolerable than any tax, and renewed at leaſt once in every year, can only be gueſſed at; his aſſeſſments muſt, therefore, in moſt caſes, depend upon the good or bad humour of his aſſeſſors, and therefore be altogether arbitrary and uncertain.

Mr. Pitt defended the bill. It was ſome ſatisfaction to him, that he had no reaſon to think that any gentleman objected to the principle of the bill, but the honourable baronet who opened the debate: if there were any points in it really objectionable, they might be altered in the committee. On the whole, the meaſure propoſed, affected in a juſt and equal manner, the commerce of the country, all proprietors of land, all on whom the commerce and economy of the country depended, all thoſe through whom the adminiſtration of juſtice took place, all on whom the protection of the poor was incumbent, all who formed the great and important links in the chain of ſociety. The houſe then divided on the reconſideration of the bill. For it, 133; againſt it, 25. On this reconſideration, which took place, in a committee of the houſe, on the ſeventeenth of December, a motion was made for poſtponing the preamble of the bill. This preamble ſtated, that under the aſſeſſed taxes bill, people were not taxed in proportion to their income, and that frauds and evaſions had been practiſed with ſucceſs.

Mr. Tierney deſired to know what reaſon there was to ſuppoſe, that under the aſſeſſed taxes, people were not aſſeſſed in proportion to their income, and that frauds and evaſions had been practiced with ſucceſs. He thought the preamble a libel on the people of England. A debate of conſiderable length enſued: but the queſtion, for the reading of the preamble was carried in the affirmative. After ſeveral amendments, in ſeveral committees, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, December 31, that the income-bill ſhould be read a third time. Mr. Nicholls obſerved, that if it was fair that the ſcale ſhould riſe from 100*l.* a year, to 200*l.* it was equally fair that it ſhould riſe from 200*l.* upwards.—Mr. Abbot ſaid, that it ſeemed

now to be the decided opinion of the people of this country, that a great part of the ſupplies ſhould be raiſed within the year. Laſt year conſiderable progreſs had been made in the application of it by the aſſeſſed-tax-bill: and, with regard to diſcloſure of income, in Scotland, all tranſactions reſpecting real, and many reſpecting perſonal property, were publicly regiſtered. In Ireland, the ſame practice prevailed in caſe of real property. In the counties of York and Middleſex, it exiſted to a conſiderable extent. The attorney, and the ſolicitor-general, both defended the bill. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Tyrwhitt, alſo ſupported it, as highly creditable to the ſpirit of the country, and as the moſt effectual that could be adopted for confounding the hopes of the enemy. The queſtion for the third reading of the bill was carried by 93 againſt 2. After undergoing farther amendments, the bill, having been read a third time, on the eighteenth of March, was paſſed on the fifth of April, and ordered to be carried to the lords; to whoſe conſideration "on the motion for the third reading, in the houſe of commons," on December 31, being agreed to, it had already been ſubmitted, on the ſecond of January; when it was read the firſt time, and ordered to be printed. On the eighth of January, the order of the day, in the upper houſe, for the third reading of the income-duty-bill being read, and the queſtion put, lord Suffolk approved its principle, in one point of view, namely, that it would tend to prevent the nation from raſhly embarking in expenſive wars, by ſhewing them the conſequences: and, on this ground, it would have been well for the country if a fair and equitable tax of this kind had been propoſed at the commencement of the war. It was ſaid that this tax was only ten *per cent.* upon income. But when he reflected on the taxes and expenſes peculiar to landed property, and added the ſum of theſe to the preſent tax, the whole amounted to not leſs then 20 *per cent.* Laſt ſeſſion, a tax upon ſalt took place, which, in Glouceſterſhire, Wiltſhire, Cheſhire, and other places, upon what were called the dairy farms, in particular, would in its operation be found equal to 4 *per cent.* There was alſo a very heavy article, which in many places, and particularly on eſtates adjoining to his, the poor-rates fell uncommonly heavy.—Where there were extenſive commons, the poor naturally* flocked to them. And in the pariſh of Brinckſworth particularly, he was within bounds, when he ſtated the poor-rates at 3 *per cent.* This, added to the other, made, with the tax impoſed by the preſent bill, 17 per cent. The neceſſary expenſes of bailiffs, ſtewards, and other numerous incidentals to landed property could not be leſs than 3 *per cent.* more; making the whole nearly 20 *per cent.* His lordſhip ſtated, that he had, in the courſe of the laſt few years expended in improvements more than 15,000*l.* not for his own perſonal gratification; for, in doing this, he had ſubmitted to many privations, but in order that he might tranſmit to his ſon, an eſtate as independent as the prin-

* To ſeek for ſome ſpot on the earth where to reſt the ſole of the foot; ſome dear and ſacred home, this worthy nobleman admits, is the natural diſpoſition of men: but this diſpoſition, by a proper diſtribution of the land, might be improved to the advantage of the landed proprietors, and the comfort of the country people.

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ciples which he had endeavoured to inſtil into his mind, and which might enable him to act up to them. Many other lords, he doubted not, had acted upon the ſame ſyſtem with himſelf. Such noble lords he cautioned to beware how they gave their ſanction to a meaſure which fell ſo peculiarly heavy and oppreſſive on the landed intereſt. Very different was the ſituation of the noble lords on the croſs bench, and other parts of the houſe, whoſe ſituations brought them in very large emoluments, unimpaired by the duties and expenſes peculiar to landed eſtates, which they no doubt well deſerved, for the high, important, and arduous ſtations they filled in the ſtate.

Lord Suffolk, after many expreſſions of regard to morality and religion, and admitting the neceſſity of a decent maintenance for thoſe whoſe lives were ſpent in teaching and inculcating them, both by precept and example, obſerved, that there was nothing that had long lain more heavily on all agricultural improvements than tythes. It was a very miſtaken notion that they amounted only to a tenth; taking in all improvements, they certainly amounted to a fifth of all the landed property of the kingdom. The people of this country were every day feeling their preſſure, and the alleviation of that preſſure would be a conſideration well worth the attention of their lordſhips. His lordſhip concluded by giving his decided diſſent to the preſent bill.

The earl of Liverpool ſaid, that had lord Suffolk attentively peruſed the bill he would have ſeen that many of the peculiar expenſes attached to land were allowed to be deducted previouſly to the operations of the bill taking effect. With regard to the ſalt-duties, they certainly bore with additional weight on thoſe parts of the country where cheeſe was manufactured; but the maker repaid himſelf by the advanced price of his cheeſe.

Lord Holland, among a variety of obſervations, to the ſame effect with thoſe that had been urged againſt the bill, in both houſes of parliament, ſtated that the arguments in favour of the meaſure, he believed, had been reduced to three, which were, firſt, that it prevented all idea of deluſion, with regard to our ſituation, and made the people underſtand at once the nature and extent of the burthen they had to bear. Second, that the country ſaved by raiſing the money at once, the intereſt, whatever it was. Third, that this proceeding was calculated to intimidate the enemy, who had placed the hope of our deſtruction on the increaſe of our debt. With regard to the firſt of theſe arguments, the principle on which it was founded, met his ſincereſt approbation. As to the ſecond, it made no eſſential difference with regard to the wealth of the nation whether intereſt was paid or not, as the great loſs aroſe from the capital being taken out of productive, and ſquandered on unproductive labour. If borrowing was inexpedient for government, it was equally ſo for private perſons. Nothing could be ſaid to ſhew the difficulties of government in raiſing money, that might not be urged with regard to individuals. He had heard an argument in favour of the meaſure of laſt year, from lord Liverpool, who, he was ſorry to obſerve, had left the houſe. He had ſtated that it was nothing more

than taking the money out of one pocket and putting it in another. But if a great part of the ſavings, which might enable people to pay the preſent tax, ſhould be taken from conſumption, there muſt be a reduction of the revenue: if they ſhould pay the tax out of their capital, the evil would ſtill be greater. It certainly was the operation of many taxes to take money out of one pocket, and put it in another: and it was not unworthy of their lordſhips attention, to conſider, from whoſe pockets it was to be taken. Their property was eaſily known, and they could not, if they were inclined, evade the tax. It was evident that the object of the bill, in taking money from one pocket, and putting it into another, was to take from thoſe that had wealth, and give it to thoſe who had none. As this meaſure muſt continue for many years, the whole weight of the tax muſt fall on thoſe who ſhould not be able to eſcape it: in fact, on land-owners; or as a noble lord had expreſſed it in a book, "on thoſe who had oſtenſible poſſeſſions." The tendency, his lordſhip obſerved, of this ſhifting of property, was, to impoveriſh the members of that houſe, and to render them ſtill more and more dependent on the crown. The gradation of the tax, commencing from upwards of 60*l.* and ſtopping ſhort at 200*l.* he was afraid would give too great an opportunity to the circulation of thoſe calumnies which often repreſented ſome of their lordſhips as acting from the worſt of motives. It might, perhaps, be ſaid, that the lower and higher claſſes were ſheltered from the tax, and that thus a compromiſe was made with them to cruſh the middle. It was whiſpered, why do not perſons of the latter claſs petition againſt the bill? There were, comparatively, few, he believed, in that ſituation of life, but had ſome dependence, directly, or indirectly, on the miniſter. As to the third argument, in favour of the tax, lord Holland was of opinion that a perſeverance in the funding ſyſtem was more likely, than the preſent meaſure, to give the enemy a great idea of our reſources, becauſe that ſyſtem was not underſtood on the continent. Their ignorance of its nature made perſons abroad magnify its effects, and they were inclined to conſider it as an inexhauſtible reſource to which the Britiſh government could always with confidence reſort.

The book to which lord Holland in the above-mentioned ſhort quotation, alluded, was *Letters to the Earl of Carliſle from W. Eden, Eſq.* publiſhed in 1799. Lord Holland, by way of illuſtrating his ſentiments on the preſent ſubject, in the courſe of his ſpeech made ſome farther quotations from it. "The author (he obſerved) in putting the ſuppoſition of one-thirteenth of the income of the country being to be raiſed, either voluntarily or by force, laid it down as a maxim, that ſuch a tax could not take place without diminiſhing the capital of the country, which would prove very injurious to trade and agriculture. The ſuperior ranks would retrench their expenſes, which would cauſe a defalcation in the revenue, which muſt be made up, either by taking from the ſinking fund, or by freſh taxes, &c. &c." The book, from which he had read ſo much, alſo repreſented, in a very ſtriking point of view, the "evils ariſing from a diſcloſure

diſcloſure of property." Theſe quotations naturally called up Lord Auckland, (formerly Mr. Eden), who thought it incumbent on him to repel the inſinuation, that he could give his concurrence to the income-bill, as a peer of parliament, without an inconſiſtency of reaſoning, or a change of ſyſtem. He might admit, he ſaid, the full conſtruction given by the noble lord to the paſſages quoted, and anſwer that, in the lapſe of time, many ſpeculative opinions were liable fairly and honourably to be varied by events, change of circumſtances, better information, and more mature judgement. If, however, the noble lord had adverted, with his uſual accuracy, to the context of the paſſages which he had thought proper to cite, he would have found that they related to a voluntary contribution; or if to a forced and general contribution, then to be dependent on a merely voluntary diſcloſure of income. At that period, it never entered into the minds of the moſt enlightened ſtateſman, that it could be practicable to eſtabliſh a forced and general contribution, on the only juſt and efficient ſyſtem of a forced diſcloſure. In 1799, he did not foreſee either the enthuſiaſm, or the proſperity and reſources, which diſtinguiſh the actual epoch of our hiſtory above all others, and which have given to our countrymen both the diſpoſition and ability to adopt the preſent meaſure, without any probable inconveniencies to counterbalance the advantages to be obtained. It now appeared, that the difficulties we feared were not inſurmountable. The ſucceſsful attempt to ſurmount them was well worthy of that great and energetic mind which directs our councils—that mind which ſeemed to have been created by a beneficent Providence for the preſervation of this, and an adjoining kingdom: perhaps for the reſtoration of Europe. Till the period of the Liſle negociation, and even then, a great part of the nation was diſpoſed to abandon the whole continent of Europe to ſubjugation and deſtruction, and to make other ruinous ſacrifices, in order to purchaſe a nominal peace, more fatal than any war. When he looked back to that period, he had all the painful ſenſations of a feveriſh and frightful dream. Almighty God was pleaſed, for our preſervation, to deſtroy our ſhort-ſighted hopes. The Liſle conferrences were broken off in a manner that removed the film from the eyes of many. A patriotic enthuſiaſm warmed the heart of every Engliſhman in every part of the gobe. The wiſdom of parliament went hand in hand with the right diſpoſition of the people; and, towards the cloſe of 1797, brought forward the meaſure of the additional aſſeſſed taxes, and theſe again, the preſent bill, than which, his lordſhip endeavoured to ſhew there was no meaſure better calculated, in an equal manner, to bring our great reſources into activity and effect. Lord Auckland, in the courſe of his ſpeech, contraſted the preſent ſafety, proſperity, and unparalleled glory of his country with the national bankruptcy, diſtreſſes, difficulties, and crimes of France. Lord Holland, having riſen for the purpoſe of explanation, made the following remark of what had been ſaid by the noble lord, who ſpoke laſt, in praiſe of the ſpirit and enthuſiaſm

of

of the country, manifeſted in the voluntary contributions, and the payment of the triple aſſeſſment of laſt year. "Unfortunately this panegyric is broadly denied by the bill now before the houſe: the preamble to which tells the world, that the reaſon for introducing it was, the ſhameful evaſions practiſed laſt year." The noble lord, he obſerved, had brought forward obſervations not very cloſely connected with the ſubject, but ſuch as the miniſters and their adherents knew well how to introduce into every debate. To prepare their lordſhips minds for the adoption of their unconſtitutional meaſures, ſome rant on French atrocities muſt always be introduced. He would only ſay, that if, from a meaſure well intended, evil conſequences might afterwards ariſe, this ſhould not be fairly imputed as a fault to the framers of the meaſure. Where there was no evil intended, there could be no fault. And here he would not heſitate to ſay, that had he been a Frenchman, he would have felt it the pride of his life to have been concerned in that great event: but, though he felt that ſuch would have been his ambition, in ſuch a ſituation of his country as that of France then was, he was far from thinking that there could be any juſtice in making him anſwerable for the conſequences that might enſue.

Lord Grenville, with regard to the French revolution, ſaid, it was a ſubject which he could not imagine to be introduced for any other purpoſe than that of calling away the attention of the houſe from the arguments of his noble friend, lord Auckland. As it had, however, been introduced, he would again ſtate the opinion which he had uniformly profeſſed reſpecting it, from its commencement to the preſent moment. He had been aſked whether, if his majeſty's miniſters had foreſeen the preſent poſture of affairs, and had known that the courſe of events would have led to the extenſion of the dominion of France, they would have adviſed his majeſty to commence hoſtilities againſt the government of that country? He would, for himſelf, repeat it a hundred times over, that, had he been perfectly aſſured, beforehand, of all the events which had happened, the ſubjugation and pillage of Italy, the conqueſt of Holland, the maſſacres of Switzerland, or even the murder of the king of France: theſe things, aye, and ten times more, he would have ſacrificed, to ſtem the tide of thoſe vicious and falſe principles, fantaſtically called philoſophy, but, in truth, no other than the effuſions of revolutionary madneſs.

The duke of Bedford obſerved, that the preſent bill embraced two important principles; the one, the principle of raiſing a conſiderable part of the ſupplies of the year within the year; the other, the principle of effecting that meaſure by the means of a tax on income. As to the firſt, it was a mere ſpeculative queſtion, and could not be treated in the ſame manner as that which had ſtood the teſt of trial, in repeated inſtances, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of the funding ſyſtem. There was, however, the conſtant and uniform practice of our anceſtors againſt it; nay, and of the preſent miniſter himſelf, during five years of the preſent expenſive war. In the outſet of a war, the duke admitted, that this method might have one good effect: it might make

make the people cautious how they plunged themſelves into war without due conſideration. But whether, after being actually engaged in war, and, in five years, created a debt greater in its amount than the whole of what had been incurred during the hundred years preceding, we ſhould adopt this mode now, was a queſtion of extreme doubt. If the general principle of raiſing the ſupplies within the year were recognized, it might be hereafter contended, that, by adopting the preſent bill, they recognized the principle of taxing income. It had been the general practice of taxation, to levy as great a portion as poſſible of the ſum wanted upon articles of luxury and conſumption: and, ſo long as that practice could be continued, it would never be conſidered as materially unjuſt in its operation. Although the whole community might not pay towards it in equal proportion, ſtill, as it was optional, it could not be conſidered as fundamentally wrong. If it was abandoned, it would be a confeſſion, that we could not go on in the moſt equitable courſe of taxation. His grace entered into a minute detail of the bill, and gave his reaſons for thinking it injurious, unjuſt, and impolitic.

The lord chancellor obſerved, that the preſent chancellor of the exchequer, who had propoſed the bill, was the very perſon who had adviſed and effectually ſupported the plan of annually ſetting a part of the ſupplies of the year aſide for the uſeful purpoſe of reducing the national debt. From this plan the public had derived, and ſtill continued to derive, the moſt important advantages. It was reaſonable, therefore, to infer that the preſent meaſure of raiſing a tax, amounting to ten millions on income, would be found practicable, and anſwer the end propoſed. As to a tax on capital, preferred by the noble duke, there was an abſolute impoſſibility of aſcertaining what the capital of individuals, reſpectively, amounted to. A noble perſon, a friend of the chancellor's, had a converſation with a tradeſman, on the ſubject of the bill, who ſaid his income might amount to about three hundred pounds a year, and declared that he thought it hard to pay thirty pounds out of it for this tax. The tradeſman, however, who was a barber and hair-dreſſer, on a little reflection, ſaid, "But, perhaps, if I did not pay the thirty pounds, ſo many of my preſent cuſtomers would not have their heads on their ſhoulders to ſhave and dreſs."—"This," ſaid the chancellor, "was the true defence of the bill." With regard to tythes, the abolition of which had been recommended by the noble duke, and who had affirmed that all were agreed as to the expediency of this meaſure, provided a proper ſubſtitute could be found, to be given to the clergy in lieu of tythes, he begged leave utterly to deny that aſſertion. There was, perhaps, no one queſtion on which ſuch a variety of opinions prevailed, nor was it the clergy alone who held tythes; many of the laity held tythes; and held them by as good a tenure, as the free-holder held his eſtate. The queſtion being put, was carried without a diviſion. The bill was then read a third time. The bill, as above ſtated, having undergone all its amendments, was brought up, on the fifth of April, from the houſe of commons to that of the lords, where, after a ſhort diſcuſſion, it was

alſo

alſo paſſed, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

Mr. Pitt, who, as already obſerved, had deferred bargaining for the whole of the loan in the beginning of the ſeſſion, on the twenty-ſecond of February, 1799, moved, in the houſe of commons, that it is the opinion of this committee, that, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of three millions be raiſed, by way of loan, on exchequer-bills. This ſum was voted.

On the ſixth of June, Mr. ſecretary Dundas brought a meſſage to the houſe of commons, from his majeſty, acquainting them "that he had, ſome time ſince, concluded an eventual engagement with his good brother and ally, the emperor of Ruſſia, for employing forty-five thouſand men againſt the common enemy, in ſuch manner as the ſtate of affairs in Europe, at that period, appeared to render moſt advantageous.* Though his majeſty had not yet received any account, that the formal engagements to that effect had been regularly concluded, he had the ſatisfaction of knowing, that the ſame promptitude and zeal, in ſupport of the common cauſe, which his ally had already manifeſted in a manner ſo honourable to himſelf, and ſo ſignally beneficial to Europe, had induced him already to put his army in motion to the place of its deſtination, as now ſettled by mutual conſent. His majeſty, therefore, thought it right to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the pecuniary conditions of this treaty would oblige his majeſty to pay the ſum of two hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds in ſpecified inſtalments, as preparation money; and to pay a monthly ſubſidy of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, as well as to engage for a farther payment at the rate of thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds per month: which laſt payment was not to take place till after the concluſion of a peace, made by common conſent.† His majeſty relied on the zeal and public ſpirit of his faithful commons to make good theſe engagements, as well as to continue to afford the neceſſary ſuccours to his ally, the queen of Portugal; and alſo to give timely, and effectual aſſiſtance, at this important conjuncture, to the Swiſs cantons, for the recovery of their ancient liberty and independence." On June the ſeventh, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply. His majeſty's meſſage having been read,

The chancellor of the exchequer ſtated that the preciſe ſum neceſſary for defraying the expenſe of two hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, to be advanced as preparation-money, and the monthly expenſe of ſeventy-five thouſand pound, for eight months, or to the end of the year, was eight hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds. The committee were aware that there was an addition to this, after the concluſion of a peace, by mutual conſent, of thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds per month:

* See proviſional treaty between his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, under the head of State Papers, in vol. xl. (1798) of this work, p. 223.

† This ſubſidy is ſtated in the treaty, at 44,000*l.* ſterling; and it was to be continued until the return of the Ruſſians into their own ports. See the treaty in this volume.

but

but the ſum of eight hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds was the only ſpecific vote that it was his intention to propoſe; accordingly moved, "that it was the opinion of the committee, that the ſum of eight hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds be granted to his majeſty, to enable his majeſty to make good his engagements with Ruſſia, in ſuch a manner as might be beſt adapted to the exigencies of the caſe. Mr. Tierney hoped that the honourable gentleman, learning a leſſon of policy in the ſyſtem of ſubſidies, and from his knowledge of emperors, had declined paying before-hand. But the difference was not very material: nor was it worth while to trouble the houſe with particulars. The great ſubject of debate was the ſubſidy: the time of payment, and other matters of detail being merely of a ſecondary nature. He truſted, that, whatever differences might have formerly ariſen, miniſters now had but one opinion, and that they were all agreed that the ſafety of England ſhould be the main object. Deeply impreſſed with this truth, he would not vote any ſums for a purpoſe he did not underſtand, in aid of a power whoſe object he did not know, and which might be appropriated to his own views excluſively, and to the injury, inſtead, of the welfare of England.

Mr. Pitt replied, that there was no ground to fear, leſt that magnanimous prince ſhould act with infidelity in a cauſe in which he was ſo ſincerely engaged, and which he knew to be the cauſe of all good government, religion, and humanity, againſt a monſtrous medley of tyranny, injuſtice, vanity, irreligion, ignorance, and folly. That magnanimous and powerful prince had undertaken to ſupply, at a very trifling expenſe, a moſt eſſential force, and that for the deliverance of Europe. "I muſt ſtill uſe this phraſe, notwithſtanding the ſneers of the honourable gentlemen; does it not promiſe the deliverance of Europe, when we find the armies of our allies rapidly advancing in a career of victory the moſt brilliant and auſpicious, perhaps, that ever ſignalized the exertions of any combination? Would it be regarded with apathy, that the wiſe, provident, vigorous, exalted, and godlike prince, who now, fortunately for the world, ſwayed the Ruſſian ſceptre, had already, by his promptneſs and deciſion, given a turn to the affairs of men? From the praiſes of Paul, Mr. Pitt paſſed to thoſe of the people of England. "There is," ſaid he, "a high-ſpirited pride, an elevated loyalty, a generous warmth of heart, a nobleneſs of ſpirit, a hearty hilarity and manly gaiety that diſtinguiſh our nation, in which we are to look for the beſt pledges of general ſafety, and of that ſecurity againſt general uſurpation, which other nations, in their weakneſs or their folly, have no where found. With reſpect to that which appeared ſo much to embarraſs certain gentlemen, the deliverance of Europe, he would not ſay particularly what it was: whether from the infection of falſe principles, the corroding cares of a period of diſtraction and diſmay, or the diſſolution of all governments, and death of all ſocial order and religion. But while the ſpirit of France remained what at preſent it was, it its power to do wrong at all remained

mained, there did not exiſt any ſecurity for this or any country in Europe. He did not confine his views to the territorial limits of France. He ſaw in the principles, character, and conduct of France, the iſſues of diſtraction, infamy, and ruin!

Mr. Tierney ſaid, "I have received an anſwer and it does carry the conviction that we are now about to embark in a ſeventh year of the war, aiming at an indefinite object, warring againſt ſyſtem, and fighting with Engliſh blood, and Engliſh treaſure, againſt French abſtract principles, without the ſmalleſt regard to the burdened ſtate of the country." Many explanations, replies, and rejoinders now took place on thoſe trite ſubjects, the object of the war, and the deliverance of Europe: in which Mr. Windham took a part, and declared his well-known opinion, that nothing could be more deſirable to this country than the reſtoration of the monarchy, which, notwithſtanding all its defects, could never do us any ſerious injury, compared to the incalculable miſchiefs which the preſent ſyſtem was peculiarly filled to produce. And this appeared to him not only the moſt deſirable, but the moſt probable change that could happen, becauſe it was that which the people of France preferred.

Sir W. Pulteney begged to ſay a few words in conſequence of what had fallen from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham. The former had ſtated, that even if we were to drive the French within their own territories, ſtill we ſhould have a great deal more to do. This declaration he thought, not only unneceſſary but highly imprudent. It might induce the people of this country to relax in their efforts. It would furniſh the directory with a new argument to perſuade the people of the neceſſity of continuing the war. The other right honourable gentleman had commented on the advantages that would reſult from a reſtoration of the French monarchy. He wiſhed to know whether it was likely to produce a favourable effect for us in France, to have it known, that we were diſcuſſing, in our ſenate, the form of government they ought to have? Sir William made every allowance for ſanguine temperament: but it was very wrong, he ſaid, to ſuffer ourſelves to be elated with proſperity. We ought to proceed firmly and manfully in the conteſt. But language, which ſeemed to breathe ſomething more than exultation, and even defiance, was to be avoided as impolitic, and, indeed, not very conſiſtent with firmneſs, and true dignity of character. The queſtion for the ſupply to Ruſſia was, after ſome farther diſcuſſion by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Windham, carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Pitt then moved that the ſum of three millions be granted to his majeſty to enable him to make good ſuch farther engagements as his majeſty might deem it expedient to enter into: which was agreed to.

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt recapitulated the ſupplies, which he had ſtated to be neceſſary for the ſervice of the current year, on the third of December, with the farther ſupplies ſince required. The amount of the whole, after certain alterations in the ſums voted in December, was 30,947,351*l.*

30,947,351*l.** beſides the vote of credit for 1799, which was an increaſe by more than 1,600,000, of that brought forward at Chriſtmas, as the total of the ſupply was then ſtated at 29,272,000*l.* ways and means were provided or deviſed for raiſing the ſupplies to the amount of 31,000,000*l.*† There was no proviſion made for exchequer-bills to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* Theſe he left ultimately to be funded: expecting that they would be ſo on more advantageous terms, than by adding that ſum of three millions to the loan. Mr. Pitt next ſtated the terms of the loan. Three of the moſt reſpectable houſes agreed to pay for 125*l.* in the three *per cent. conſols.* 69*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. and for the reduced 28*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* making 97*l.* 6*s.* 10*d*$\frac{1}{2}$. which, with the benefit of the diſcount at 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* gave 99*l.* 13*s.* 4$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* inſtead of *bonuſes*, the bargain had been concluded at the price of the day, when it was conſiderably under the actual value of 100*l.* As to the intereſt

* RECAPITULATION OF THE SUPPLIES.

NAVY	£13,653,000.
Deduct diminution of navy debt and ſaving extracted in 1799	1,403,000.
	250,000.
ARMY	8,840,000.
Vote of credit, 1798	1,000,000.
Extraordinaries, 1799	2,500,000.
ORDNANCE, excluſive of ſea-ſervice	1,570,000.
Miſcellaneous ſervices	3,264,351.
Deficiency of land and malt tax	498,000.
Subſidy to Ruſſia	825,000.
National debt	200,000.
	£30,947,351.

† RECAPITULATION OF THE WAYS AND MEANS.

Sugar, tobacco, and malt			£2,750,000.
Lottery			200,000.
Surplus of conſolidated fund in January and April, 1799			521,000.
Growing produce of ditto			3,229,000.
Exports and imports			1,500,000.
Ten per cent. on income			7,500,000.
Inſtalments on aid and contributions, 1798			650,000.
From the ten per cent. on income, and theſe inſtalments, amounting together to 8,150,000*l.* deduct half a year's intereſt on			
3,000,000, 1798	240,000		
Ditto one year 5*l.* 11*s.* per cent.	588,000		
	828,000	there remains	7,300,000.
Loan firſt			3,000,000.
Loan ſecond			12,000,000.
			£31,000,000.

to

to be provided for by the new taxes, it was no more than 315,000*l.** The foundation of the whole of the preſent ſyſtem of finance, was the ſame which he had offered to parliament laſt year, namely that there ſhould be no loan contracted for, during any year, greater than what the amount of the ſinking fund could pay off. The reſolutions moved by Mr. Pitt on the ſupplies for the year, with ways and means, were agreed to, carried through the uſual forms of the houſe, and after undergoing ſeveral amendments, ſome of which were ſuggeſted by Mr. Tierney in a ſtring of reſolutions which he propoſed, were early in July paſſed into a law.

We now proceed to give ſome account of Eaſt India expenſes and revenue.

On the 12th of March, Mr. Dundas ſtated firſt, what might be properly called India accounts, as peculiarly regarding the ſtate of India itſelf: ſecondly, the home accounts, as reſpecting, particularly, the company's concerns here. Under the firſt of theſe heads were to be found a financial ſtatement of the condition of the reſpective places; accounts of the expenſes incurred; the amount of the debts in India; a deduction of the general ſurplus not applicable to the payment of theſe debts; the ſums which remained to be expended; with many other items in the eſtimate not neceſſary for his preſent purpoſe to be ſpecified.† On the whole, taking a general view of the company's affairs at home and abroad conjointly, it would ſeem to be worſe 413,220*l.* than it was at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. He was obliged to confeſs that there was a farther ſum of 200,000*l.*, which did not appear on the face of theſe accounts, but the reaſon of that aroſe from ſome circumſtances attending the quick-

* RECAPITULATION OF THE NEW TAXES.

In many parts of the kingdom there was an extenſive circulation of ſmall bank notes, or notes under 40*s.* amounting, as was computed, to 1,500,000. A tax of 2*d.* on each, according to that number, would produce 62,000*l.* But in a matter of ſo great uncertainty, he ſuppoſed the amount to be conſiderably under that ſum, and therefore reckoned it among other articles of taxation as follows:

750,000 annually, at 2*d.* each	£42,000.
Britiſh ſugar, left for home conſumption, 1,700,000 cwt. at 8*s.*	56,600.
Clayed ſugars from Britiſh plantations, in addition to all other duties, 200,000 cwt. at 4*s.* per cwt.	40,000.
Britiſh plantation ſugar exported: withhold 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. of the drawback, in addition to 4*s.* now retained on 358 cwt. Eaſt India ſugars exported 76,000 cwt. at 6*d.*	62,000.
Foreign plantation-ſugar exported, 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt on 111,000 cwt.	14,000.
Refined ſugar exported, 4*s.* per cwt. of the bounty now payable to be withheld on 196,000 cwt.	39,000.
Coffee exported in 1798, excluſive of 327,000 cwt. at 4*s.*	65,000.
	316,000.

† See a general view of theſe accounts, copied from "An Abſtract of ſtatements, relative to the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, 1798, preſented to parliament in 1799." Appendix to the Chronicle, page 200*.

neſs of the paſſage which ſome of the ſhips had homeward. This ſum would apparently ſwell the balance againſt the company, but when the accounts came fully to be examined, it would be found covered by the increaſed amount of their aſſets.—With reſpect to the 413,220*l.* in which the ſtate of the company's affairs appeared worſe now than laſt year, that was a matter which he would better and more fully explain at a future period. Meanwhile he called the attention of the houſe to the diſputed debt of one million between the Eaſt-India company and the nabob of Arcott. Before that claim was eſtabliſhed, it was impoſſible that it could come into the ſtatement of the company's affairs; and, though it appeared upon the account now, it was no new debt, and in fact, could not be included as a defalcation in the produce of the laſt year. So far otherwiſe, the company's affairs would be 600,000*l.* better than in laſt year, were not that million included. All circumſtances conſidered, he ſaw nothing in the preſent ſtatement by any means alarming. On the contrary, on a full retroſpect, there would be found the ſtrongeſt grounds for conſolation and ſatisfaction. And he was entitled, he ſaid, to make that concluſion, from the immenſe improvement in the company's affairs, ſince they had been under his own management. After all, the company's debt was certainly beyond what he could have wiſhed it to have been. But, as it had been contracted, for the purpoſe of purchaſing inveſtments, it was of courſe to be found in the increaſe of the company's aſſets at home. They might naturally be induced to ſwell their eſtimates and ſales at home, by bringing home as large cargoes as poſſible.

Mr. Dundas now touched on a ſubject, alarming (though it would ſeem unreaſonably) to the Eaſt-India company, but highly important to the Britiſh nation, and which, in the natural progreſs of events and ideas, muſt one day force itſelf on the ſerious attention of the Britiſh legiſlature. The company, Mr. Dundas ſaid, ſhould recollect that they were not merely a commercial body, but that they were alſo truſtees for the imperial revenues of India. The wealth and commerce of the Eaſt-India company was, no doubt greatly increaſing, and there was no want of ſufficient funds for extending it.—But great and opulent as they were, there was no man living who muſt not be ſenſible that all the commerce with India, and all the wealth that might be brought home from our Eaſt-India ſettlements to this country was far beyond the power or the means of the Eaſt-India company. The export of the wealth of India to Europe, as ſtated to him, amounted to no leſs a ſum than five millions ſterling. If this was true, and that the capital of the company, whether conſiſting in exports, or in the ſurplus of the revenue of India, could bring home only two millions or under, the general intereſt would require, that in ſome ſhape or other, as much as poſſible of the three millions ſhould be brought to Britiſh ports in Britiſh veſſels, and not ſuffered to go ſtraggling in other veſſels to other ports of Europe.—Mr. Dundas, on this ſubject, made a very juſt, as well as obvious, diſtinction between what was ſo much talked of, the clandeſtine trade, or

the traffic carried on for the private emolument of the company's own ſervants, and the merchandize brought home by ſhips of neutral nations: articles which the company either was not able or willing to bring. The reſolutions moved by Mr. Dundas were agreed to, and carried through all the uſual forms.

Various difficulties having occurred in executing the act of laſt ſeſſion, for the ſale and redemption of the land-tax, Mr. Pitt, on the ſixth of December, moved for leave to bring in a bill, to enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the proviſions of the bill introduced laſt ſeſſion for that purpoſe. It was the general object of the preſent bill to facilitate the execution of the act of laſt ſeſſion, and extend its benefits by a wider and more equal operation. Leave being granted to bring in the bill, it was read and agreed to, and, through the uſual forms, paſſed into a law.

A bill, brought in by Mr. W. Dundas, on the third of April, was paſſed, for amending ſo much of the acts for the redemption of the land-tax, as far as they related to Scotland, likewiſe for extending the time for redemption, and for empowering the proprietors of certain eſtates to ſell a part of thoſe eſtates for the purpoſe of redeeming the land-tax.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Meaſures for the external Defence and internal Tranquillity of the Britiſh State.—Motion againſt any Negociations that might prevent or impede a Negociation for Peace.—Negatived.—Bills for continuing the Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus.—Digreſſion to the State Priſon in Cold-Bath-Fields.

FROM the buſineſs of finance, or the ſupplies, and the great object to which they were directed, we proceed, agreeably to our plan, to the meaſures adopted by the legiſlature for the external defence and internal tranquillity of the ſtate. But, it may not be foreign to the deſign of an Annual Regiſter to notice alſo ſome of the meaſures propoſed for thoſe ends, and that were under diſcuſſion, though not adopted by the legiſlature.

On the eleventh of December, Mr. Tierney moved "that it was the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to adviſe his majeſty againſt entering into any negociations which might prevent or impede a negociation for peace, whenever a diſpoſition ſhould be ſhewn, on the part of the French republic, to treat on terms conſiſtent with the ſecurity and intereſts of the Britiſh empire." He was induced to think that the pacific diſpoſition, which, ſoon after the conference at Liſle, was manifeſted by his majeſty's declaration, had been abandoned, and that a new ſpirit had begun to riſe up, leading to an extenſive connection. It might be ſaid that this motion was an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown. But, as a member of that houſe, he had as good a right to ſay, that the ſupplies ſhould be granted excluſively for England, as to ſay, that there ſhould not be any ſupply. It might be ſaid that this motion had a tendency to damp the ſpirit which was now riſing in Europe. There was no ſymptom riſing in any quarter, from principle: on which alone, the value of any ſpirit and even the duration of it could be founded. After a review of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Auſtria, and the Ottoman Porte, he could ſee nothing like a ſyſtematic courſe of oppoſition to the ambitious projects of the enemy in general. A great confederacy againſt France, and that at a time when ſhe did not poſſeſs the advantages of a ſettled government, had already been formed and diſcomfited. What produced the diſcomfiture of the confederates? The ſkill of the French or the jealouſy and indeciſion of the allies? On either ſuppoſition the concluſion, from experience, would be the ſame. Could it really be believed that France, after having got Mantua, Luxemburgh, and other places, was more eaſily to be driven within her ancient limits, than ſhe was before ſhe made theſe acquiſitions? He ſhould think it

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an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown were he to ſay what is, and what is not, for the ſecurity, the honour, or the intereſt of the Britiſh empire. But miniſters had put into his majeſty's mouth, on the rupture of the conferences at Liſle, words tantamount to the ſpirit of his motion. He quoted his majeſty's declaration to that effect. "His majeſty looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may ſhew a diſpoſition and ſpirit in any degree correſponding to his own. And he renews even now, and before all Europe, the ſolemn declaration that he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be cloſed) to conclude peace on the ſame moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before propoſed." Mr. Tierney did not propoſe any thing that ſhould bind government as to terms. He was anxious only to renew the ſpirit of a declaration, which did honour to his majeſty's councils at the time it iſſued. If miniſters departed from the ſpirit of that declaration, and adopted any other, they ſhould aſſign a reaſon for ſo doing. There could be but two:—the aggreſſion of the French in Switzerland, which was not a novelty, as Venice witneſſed, and the victory of admiral Nelſon. This was unqueſtionably great and glorious: but, it ſhould be recollected that the declaration, after the conference at Liſle, was made after the brilliant victory of lord Duncan. As to the objection, that this motion might operate as a notice to France that we could not any longer co-operate with our allies, he did not ſay any thing of the terms on which peace ſhould be made, and we might and ought ſtill to co-operate as laſt year, with our allies, by our naval exertions.

Mr. Canning expected from the honourable gentleman rather ſome ſolid reaſons, for the meaſure he had propoſed, than an anticipation of the objections which he thought might be brought againſt it. As to the point of conſtitutional form, he was not inclined to lay the greateſt ſtreſs on any objection on that ground. The motion, though extraordinary, was not wholly unprecedented. Examples were not wanting. But he preſumed that it would be farther neceſſary for Mr. Tierney to ſhew, as had been ſhewn or attempted to be ſhewn in all former inſtances, that ſome neceſſity exiſted which called for the interference of the houſe of commons. Mr. Canning ſummed up the ſubſtance of a long, yet lively ſpeech (though dotted, after the manner of young men, with quotations) by ſtating that the motion appeared to him to be founded on no principle of neceſſity: ſince, if it was intended for a cenſure on miniſters, it was unjuſt; if for a controul, nugatory: as its tendency was to impair the power of proſecuting war with vigour, and to diminiſh the chance of negociating peace with dignity, or concluding it with ſafety.

Mr. Jekyll aſked whether, in the moment in which we ſtood, on the proud eminence of ſuch a victory as that at Aboukir, was not the moment to think of peace, in what ſtate of our affairs could we turn our attention to that great object with propriety? This country, however, was again to be embarked on the ocean of continental politics, without knowing the purpoſes for which we were engaged, or the extent to which we might be involved.

involved. On the authority of Bolinbroke, ſir Robert Walpole, and lord Townſhend, he recommended an adherence to our inſular policy, and an avoidance of continental connections.

Sir James Murray Pultney obſerved, that the ſituation of the continent was ſuch as to oblige the French to make great preparations, both on the Rhine, and in Italy: which might be conſidered in ſome meaſure as equal to a campaign: a circumſtance which muſt have operated greatly in favour of this country. He was not quite ſure, if Europe had been quite tranquil, and France had ſeen all the continent at her feet; if the enemy had kept up a great force on their coaſts, and expended the ſums they had ſpent in military preparations by land, on their marine; but it might have been more difficult and dangerous to detach ſo large a diviſion of our navy to the Mediterranean, by which the ſplendid victory of lord Nelſon was atchieved.

Mr. Tierney's motion was negatived without a diviſion.

On the twentieth of December, Mr. Pitt having premiſed, that the circumſtances, which at firſt render it neceſſary to ſuſpend the habeas-corpus act, being ſtill ſo forcible, as to prevent the neceſſity of his enlarging on the ſubject, moved for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus act, for a time to be limited. Leave being given, the bill was read a firſt time. On the ſecond reading, the following day, Mr. Courtenay took occaſion to enumerate the benefits of the habeas-corpus act. A number of perſons were arreſted laſt year, he believed, not leſs than ſeventy or eighty. To have arraigned and convicted thoſe perſons, would have been the beſt reaſon that could have been urged for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the *habeas-corpus* act. Had there lately exiſted any ſymptoms of rebellion, or had any informations taken place in any quarter of the country? On the contray, no period ſince the revolution, Mr. Pitt would bear witneſs, had diſplayed more loyalty and attachment to government. There was another reaſon why Mr. Courtenay thought the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus ought to ceaſe. The perſons impriſoned under the act, now propoſed to be continued, were moſt cruelly treated. Having viſited the priſons, he found the priſoners without fire, and without candles, denied every kind of ſociety, expoſed to the cold and the rain, allowed to breathe the air out of their cells only for an hour, denied every comfort, every innocent amuſement, excluded from all intercourſe with each other, and each night, locked up from all the reſt of the world. He ſuppoſed it was ſcarcely neceſſary to inform the houſe, that the priſon, of which he had been ſpeaking, was that in Coldbath-fields, known by the name of the baſtille. He underſtood that ſome reverend gentlemen were among the magiſtrates, who managed it: and who, no doubt, kindly ſubjected their priſoners to ſo much pain in this world, that the leſs puniſhment might be inflicted on them in the next. It was not to perſons ſuſpected of ſtate crimes alone that the uſage he had deſcribed was extended. A diſorderly woman, as ſhe was called, that is, one of thoſe unfortunate creatures who walk the ſtreets, was confined in a cold damp cell,

though not convicted of any felony, and ſmarting under the virulence of a diſeaſe with which women of the town are frequently afflicted. In another diſmal cell he found a boy confined there for diſobedience to his maſter. Mr. Courtenay lamented that an honourable gentleman, celebrated for his humanity, had not viſited that priſon. His principles of vital Chriſtianity (principles which he had indeed read in his book) would have induced him to exert all his eloquence for ameliorating the condition of thoſe unhappy people.

Mr. Dundas ſaid, that the points urged to night, having no *earthly connection* with the bill before the houſe, might as well have been urged at any other time, or on any other occaſion, as the preſent. If there exiſted any abuſe in the management of goals, there was an eaſy remedy: as they were all of them under the management of ſome magiſtrate or other. In order to ſhew that the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus ſhould not now be continued, Mr. Courtenay ſhould ſhew that there did not now exiſt any treaſonable ſeditious ſpirit any where in the country. Did he mean to ſay that there was nothing of that kind diſcovered at Maidſtone?

Mr. Tierney obſerved, that a meſſage was brought down from his majeſty, laſt ſeſſion, ſtating, that there was an imminent danger of an invaſion, aided by diſaffected and treaſonable perſons in this country; and that a bill of indictment had been found by a grand jury, at Maidſtone, againſt five perſons, for high treaſon.—Combining theſe two circumſtances together, he could not deny that a caſe was made out which warranted a temporary ſuſpenſion of the *habeas-corpus* act. The ſituation of the country was now, however, completely altered. No one, who had read the king's ſpeech, at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, could ſuppoſe that his majeſty's miniſters had now any apprehenſion of an invaſion. The number of perſons arreſted, in conſequence of the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus act, had been ſtated to be between ſeventy and eighty, who were now all diſcharged, except a few, and theſe were not brought to trial, though detained in confinement ſince laſt April. This ſeemed to indicate that there was not much reaſon for continuing the meaſure: and it was certainly but fair that ſome new motive ſhould be ſhewn, before the houſe was required to agree to the bill. Had the gentlemen, who viſited the Cold-bath-priſon, procured their inquiries in a proper manner, the ſheriffs muſt have been applied to, and other perſons examined, whoſe local ſituation rendered their information indiſpenſable to a concluſive opinion. If the ſheriffs had been found to blame, it would have been a grave point to proceed upon, but nothing of this ſort was alleged. He wiſhed the houſe to reflect on the cloſe alliance in principle between the United Iriſh and the French. The Iriſh, like the French, had their executive directory. In Ireland, as in France, there was a government within a government, ſeeking the ruin of their country, but audacious enough to promiſe the deluded people of Ireland ſuccour, from the ſale of the eſtates of the gentry of Ireland. United Iriſhmen could make United

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Britons. If, as a ſociety, they did not correſpond with ſocieties here, they propagated miſchief as individuals.

Mr. Burdon ſaid, that when he went to viſit the priſon, ſo far from perceiving the parties ſent there by warrant by the ſecretary-of-ſtate, to ſuffer by any rigorous confinement, he ſaw them walking about with each other, and perfectly undiſturbed. They had the means of enjoying both air and exerciſe at proper hours: nor had they any reaſon to complain, as to the means of ſubſiſtence, having an allowance from government of 13*s.* 4*d.* per week. Sir Francis Burdett, while he ſtill aſſerted, that there were many circumſtances in the ſtate-priſon, in Cold-bath-fields, tending to grievous ſuffering and diſeaſe, and that, in many inſtances, the priſoners had been treated with unjuſtifiable ſeverity, admitted, that thoſe matters were not ſtrictly in point, on the conſideration of the bill before the houſe. But no ground had, in his opinion, been ſtated, on which the houſe could ſurrender ſo important a bulwark of the liberties of the ſubject.

The ſolicitor-general gave a ſketch of the origin and hiſtory of the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus-act. It originated in the reign of king William. In the year 1715, when this ſuſpenſion was renewed, the moſt ſalutary conſequences had followed. This precaution having been omitted in 1745, left the country in a much more dangerous ſtate than that in which it was in 1715. The ſociety of United Iriſhmen was that which enabled the conſpiracy to diffuſe itſelf, till at length it burſt forth in acts of open rebellion. Strong attempts had been made to eſtabliſh ſimilar ſocieties in this country. Correſponding ſocieties had been formed, with their executive committees: an *imperium in imperio* had been introduced, which was nothing elſe than a germ of treaſon and rebellion. Now ſuch ſort of treaſon was not eaſy to be brought home to the conviction of a juryman, becauſe actual treaſon was concealed in the matter that was to bring it forth. And it was with great difficulty, that minds not habituated to conſider the ſubject with the greateſt attention, could be led to ſee the danger that ſurrounded them! The executive government, aſſuredly, would not have done its duty, had they not made uſe of all lawful means to thwart the deſigns of perſons who had engaged in ſuch combinations, and to break the ſtrength of ſuch confederacies.

Mr. Mainwaring ſaid, that the reports of abuſes in the management of the Cold-bath-priſon, were wholly void of foundation. There was not a more comfortable place of the kind in the whole country, or one in which, in proportion to the numbers confined, there was leſs ſickneſs. Every thing was provided for the ſtate-priſoners in the moſt liberal manner. Mr. Wilberforce, too, vindicated the management of that priſon. He had viſited it himſelf, and had very ſatisfactory accounts from a correſpondent, of the ſtate of the priſon, as to the health and treatment of the priſoners. Mr. Elliſon ſpoke ardently in praiſe of miniſters, who had ſo well exerciſed the powers with which they had been inveſted; and moſt heartily gave his vote to the bill. The attorney-general, in reply to ſomething that had fallen from ſir F. Burdett, ſaid, that in ſupporting the meaſure, he was not

actuated by any ſuch unworthy motive, as a wiſh to keep men in confinement: he conſidered the meaſure not as an act of ſeverity, but of mercy. The trials at Maidſtone, and the confinement of thoſe now in priſon, aroſe from the ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus-act having been ſuffered to expire. Mr. Combe thought that twenty-five men, the number now in priſon, under the act, could not, if let looſe on ſociety, do any harm, in the preſent ſtate of the public mind. Mr. Weſtern ſaid, as no grounds had been ſtated to the houſe to ſhew the neceſſity of the meaſure, he could not ſupport it.

Mr. Pitt expreſſed the warmeſt ſatisfaction at hearing it ſtated from all quarters, that the ſituation of this country, both with reſpect to its foreign and domeſtic affairs, had been ſo greatly improved. But he reminded the houſe, that this change, now ſo univerſally acknowledged, had been obtained by the adoption of thoſe meaſures, by a perſeverance on the part of government in that ſyſtem, which ſome of thoſe gentlemen, who now exulted in our ſafety, had repreſented as calculated to produce diſaſter abroad, and to deſtroy the conſtitution at home. Did the honourable gentlemen think that becauſe, through the wiſe and vigorous meaſures adopted by his majeſty's miniſters, they had ſo fortunately eſcaped the perils with which they were menaced, they might now, with ſafety, abandon their efforts and relax their precaution? The people of England had learnt enough of the nature of jacobiniſm, not to know, that while the principles of it exiſted, the moſt unremitting vigilance and the greateſt firmneſs were neceſſary to oppoſe it. This was the anſwer he ſhould give to thoſe gentlemen, who thought preſent ſecurity a ground for future negligence. He truſted that the ſucceſs, which had hitherto attended vigorous meaſures, would be an argument for their continuance. Mr. Tierney ſaid, "the right honourable gentleman has now let the houſe into his intentions: it now appears, that this ſuſpenſion is to be made into a ſyſtem." The houſe then divided. For the bill 96, againſt it 6.

The ſuſpenſion of the habeas-corpus-act was moved in the houſe of lords, on the fourth of January, by lord Grenville. It was oppoſed by lord Suffolk, who ſaid, it was highly neceſſary that miniſters ſhould aſſign ſome reaſon for the renewal of this bill before it was propoſed by the houſe. His lordſhip complained much of the cruel treatment of colonel Deſpard, rigorouſly confined, under great ſeverities, in the Cold-bath-priſon, for ſix months, without any ſpecific charge againſt him. Lord Grenville thought the reaſons formerly given for paſſing this bill, and which remained in full force, ſufficient to induce their lordſhips to continue it. As to the harſhneſs with which colonel Deſpard had been ſaid to be treated, he did not know any thing of the matter. Something of the kind had been complained of, but it had been immediately diſcountenanced by government. Lord Holland, after a repreſentation of the important tendency and effects of the habeas-corpus-act, ſaid, that the moſt imperious neceſſity, only, ought to induce the houſe to abandon ſo ſtrong a bulwark to the liberty of the ſubject. The habeas-corpus

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act was so excellent a law, that nothing less than the detection of a conspiracy to overturn the government could overturn this measure. Besides, before so much of the liberty of the subject was taken away, we should be very careful to whom it was intrusted. But, it was asserted, that there had existed conspiracies of a deep and insidious kind. Several persons, his lordship observed, had been brought to trial on charges of high-treason; and the crown had exerted all its strength for their conviction: but what was the result? Why, that the accused were honourably acquitted, by a jury of their countrymen; and that the treasons and seditions, of which ministers had spoken so much, disappeared in a moment. There was but one case, he said, in which the measure proposed could be necessary: which was, if there actually existed those conspiracies, and some of the persons concerned in them were in custody, but could not be brought to trial without the risk of giving the alarm to the rest. Lord H. after a summary review of the state of Ireland, denied that the rebellion in that country justified new rigours in this. Had the government of Ireland ameliorated the condition of the people, by removing their grievances, rebellion would never have broken out. The system of ministers was to keep the attention of the public upon its own danger, instead of the incapacity or corruption of ministers. When he considered the failure of the objects of ministers in public affairs, the zeal and loyalty manifested by the people, the treatment they had experienced, and the conduct they had observed, he was astonished that their rulers should so calumniate them, as to affirm that the bill was necessary.

Lord Grenville despaired of convincing the noble lord of the propriety of the measures of any of the king's ministers. But, although they had not been favoured with his approbation, they had repeatedly received the approbation of the house. As to the trials of persons acquitted at the Old Bailey, were we now to learn, that the acquittal was not a proof of innocence? So far from this, it tended to confirm the existence of the conspiracy, by proving the existence of the corresponding society! Was the existence of a conspiracy, and the necessity of the measure proposed, disproved by the person so honourably acquitted at Maidstone? Had not that traitor, O'Connor, since his honourable acquittal, thrown himself on the mercy of that gracious sovereign, whom he had basely attempted to dethrone? O'Coigly, one of his confederates, had also been convicted of treason; and it appeared beyond a doubt, that a communication was to be made to the directory, not from any society in Ireland, but in England. All these things proved the existence of a conspiracy in both countries. A design, also, had been long conceived, for separating the kingdoms from each other. On the whole, Mr. Pitt was persuaded, that the public would consider the bill not as intended for the destruction of their liberties, but its protection.

Lord Holland was of opinion, that the tranquillity and safety of the country would be best consulted by the removal of grievances and colourable pretexts for rebellion.

CHAP

CHAP. XII.

Union with Ireland.—Meſſage from his Majeſty, relative to that Subject.—Reſolutions preparatory to an Union. Debates thereon, in both Houſes of Parliament.—Conferrences between the Lords and Commons.—Joint Addreſs, from both Houſes, to his Majeſty.—New Arrangements reſpecting the Militia Volunteer, and Proviſional Cavalry.—Slave-Trade.

IN proportion as the enemies of our country laboured to effect an entire ſeparation between Great Britain and Ireland, the Britiſh government became anxious to draw them cloſer and cloſer together, by uniting them not only under the ſame crown, but the ſame legiſlature.

Ireland had, for many centuries, formed one dominion with England: and, allowing to this country a ſuperiority in the nomination of her king, ſhe claimed and enjoyed, in every other reſpect, an equality of rights with Engliſhmen. As the rights of ſubjects in both kingdoms were the ſame, the king's prerogatives were alſo the ſame. The king had his courts of wards in Ireland as well as England: and, at his command, the poſſeſſors of landed property, in both kingdoms, then military tenants of the crown, were bound to take arms in the national defence. This martial ſyſtem, corrupted in all its branches, through the lapſe of time, and retaining ſcarcely any thing but the name, was finally ſwept away by the act, in the twelfth of Charles II. for the abolition of tenures.

Among the king's ancient prerogatives, the right of regulating commerce appears to have been one, and of impoſing duties on merchandize, excluſively, *jure Coronæ*: but this, like the other feudal rights inherent in the crown, gradually ſuffered alteration. The parliament gradually interfered in that power: and, one precedent of their interference juſtifying another, they at length wreſted from Charles I. his conſent to an act which placed that right in the ſupreme legiſlature.

What the Engliſh parliaments were doing in England, the Iriſh parliaments imitated in Ireland; and thus, unobſervedly, a wall of ſeparation was raiſed between the two kingdoms, to the prejudice of both. Commercial concerns, which, in the beginning, were directed by a law of uniformity, came thus to be directed by a law of diverſity. As different intereſts, and different views, predominated in the parliament of each kingdom, different commercial regulations followed of courſe, and the oppoſite ſhores of the Iriſh channel became, by degrees, mutually inimical. Theſe different intereſts, and different views, were fortified in each kingdom by the predilection of drawing a public revenue from port-duties: and on this principle, together with

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that of the unity of dominion, the Engliſh parliament thought itſelf entitled to controul the commercial proceedings of the Iriſh parliment, as far as, in their judgement, it prejudiced, or might prejudice, the revenue of England, which was the chief ſupport of government! The Iriſh, acquieſcing in this legiſlation, gave themſelves a kind of indemnification, by with-holding their proper proportion of the public ſupplies.

Uſages, long acquieſced in, form a conſtitution as well as written ſtipulations; examples of which we have in the prerogatives claimed by each houſe of parliament, which, though no where written, are generally underſtood and acknowledged. Accordingly, for want of a more regular and more defined ſyſtem of connection between the two iſlands, ſince the abolition of feudal tenures, this undefined ſupremacy of the Engliſh parliament, over Ireland, was regarded as the ſole remaining anchor that held Great Britain and Ireland together; as the only principle that made them one in political power and dominion. However imperfect, however impolitic, this ſyſtem was, it was nevertheleſs conſidered in both nations as a conſtitution, by which, in many inſtances, for many years, the parliaments and the tribunals of Ireland were conducted. From this conſtitution innumerable evils certainly flowed, both to Great Britain and Ireland. But many more grievances having been attributed to it than could actually be laid to its charge, it became doubly odious, and at length, ſharing the fate of the feudal tenures, was in May, 1782, aboliſhed. When the Iriſh conſtitution was thus deſolved, the people of Great Britain and Ireland expreſſed a wiſh, almoſt unanimous, that the two iſlands might ſtill continue to be connected by ſuch political principles as ſhould make their intereſts, their conſtitutional privileges, and their power one, in a more complete manner than they had ever been before. The motion, which paſſed into a law, for the abolition of the old conſtitution, was followed by another motion, declaring the abſolute neceſſity of forming a new conſtitution.

The formation of this new conſtitution, though acknowledged by both houſes of parliament to be of indiſpenſable neceſſity, was nevertheleſs put off, by what has been called the coalition miniſtry, *ſine die*. Yet, lord North, on the occaſion of propoſing, in 1783, a new act relative to the poſtage of letters, acknowledged it to "be very certain that Great Britain and Ireland had become to each other, in point of political power, as foreign nations." The relative ſituation of the two iſlands was thus both new and alarming. The two countries were liable to be ſeparated by a thouſand accidents, which no human foreſight or wiſdom could prevent.

The three great objects to be accompliſhed, for the formation of a conſtitutional connection between two nations are an equality of intereſts, an equality of privileges, and a unity of power. The two firſt of theſe objects were already in a great meaſure provided for, and very little remained indeed that could be urged by any peaceable and well-diſpoſed Iriſhmen, as a ſubject of complaint againſt the Britiſh government. But the unity of power, or unity of defence between Great Britain and Ireland, remained

remained unſettled in 1799; when on the twenty-ſecond of January, a meſſage on that ſubject was received from his majeſty by both houſes of parliament. His majeſty, after adverting to the unremitting induſtry with which our enemies perſevered in their avowed deſign of effecting the ſeparation of Ireland from this kingkingdom, recommended it to the lords and commons to conſider of the moſt effectual means of finally defeating that deſign, by diſpoſing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they ſhould judge the moſt expedient, for ſettling ſuch a complete and final adjuſtment, as might beſt tend to improve and perpetuate a connection eſſential for their common ſecurity, and conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources, of the Britiſh empire—on the following day, when this meſſage was taken into conſideration, Mr. ſecretary Dundas, having laid on the table ſeveral papers relative to the proceedings of certain ſocieties in Ireland, and the rebellion in that country, moved an addreſs to his majeſty, the ſubſtance of which was, "That the houſe would proceed with all due diſpatch to the conſideration of the ſeveral intereſts, recommended in his majeſty's gracious meſſage, to their ſerious attention."

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that before miniſters recommended to the houſe of commons to take meaſures that led inevitably to the diſcuſſion of ſome plan of union, it was incumbent on them to have ſhewn, that the laſt pledge of the Engliſh parliament, to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognized, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity, which the parliaments of the two countries ſought to cheriſh. The parliament of Ireland was an independent parliament.—There was no power whatever competent to make laws for that country. He was perſuaded that ſuch of his countrymen as really loved national liberty, and who recollected that auſpicious period when independence came upon them, as it were by ſurprize, when the genius of freedom reſted on their iſland, the whole of the Iriſh, in ſhort, would come to this ſecond adjuſtment, with a temper that would not augur tranquillity, but diſquietude; not the ſuppreſſion of treaſon, but the extenſion and increaſe of plots, to multiply and enſanguine its horrors! He admitted that there was ſomething informal in this way of treating the queſtion immediately before the houſe. But his dear country, Ireland, had claims upon him, which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready, to the full meaſure of his ability, to liquidate. He could ſee the poſſible danger of adding to the diſcontents of the people of Ireland. But theſe dangers were to be apprehended only as innovations and encroachments on the rights of the Iriſh people, as forming an independent nation. He did not know how to admit, that to reject the meaſure of an union were to invite the ſeparation of the two countries by a French force. His opinion was directly the reverſe of this. Situated as Ireland was, without having in one inſtance manifeſted a wiſh to unite, but, on the contrary, having unequivocally declared herſelf hoſtile to the propoſition of an union; he thought that, if it ſhould be effected, it would be an union accompliſhed by ſurprize, fraud, corruption,

corruption, and intimidation, and which muſt place the people of Ireland in a worſe condition than they were in before. Having eſtabliſhed, as he truſted, two propoſitions, firſt, that the meaſure propoſed was decidedly an infraction and violation of the acknowledged independence of Iriſh legiſlation; and, ſecondly, that union could not prevent the ſeparation of this country by France, Mr. Sheridan offered to the conſideration of the houſe a third propoſition, namely, that it was not poſſible, in the preſent ſtate of Ireland, that people could declare and act upon their genuine ſentiments. Was it poſſible that the free, fair, and unbiaſſed ſenſe of the people of Ireland could be collected, at the preſent time, on that queſtion? The Engliſh force in Ireland was, at once, an anſwer to that queſtion. What would be ſaid if France acted in a ſimilar manner, not to a country neutral or merely in alliance with her, but to a country dear to her on every account, and whoſe ſons were fighting her battles in every quarter of the globe? would it not be ſaid, that it was the greateſt perfidy? The king of Sardinia gave his conſent that the French ſhould take poſſeſſion of Piedmont: but it was the effect of force. He heard much of French principles, but he wiſhed that gentlemen would not ſo cloſely follow French practices. With reſpect to the enemies of the Britiſh government, it had two enemies in Ireland, "poverty and ignorance," and unleſs it could be ſhewn, that the preſent meaſure could remove theſe, he could not agree to the meaſure. If, ſaid Mr. Sheridan, the people of Ireland be active and induſtrious in every country but their own, it muſt be the effect of their government. Firſt remove the cauſes of their miſery, and then invite them, if you will, to a cloſer union. Mr. Arthur Young has attributed the evils that afflict the poor of Ireland to the progreſs of French principles. But I am quite convinced the miſery of that unfortunate claſs has had its origin, and continues to increaſe with the exactions and impoſts of their overgrown landlords. He concluded with moving the following amendment: "At the ſame time to expreſs the ſurprize, and deep regret, with which this houſe now, for the firſt time, learns from his majeſty, that the final adjuſtment, which, upon his majeſty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, and which, by the declaration of the parliaments of both countries, placed the connection between them on a ſolid and permanent baſis, has not produced the effects expected from that ſolemn ſettlement; and farther, humbly to expreſs to his majeſty, that his majeſty's faithful commons having ſtrong reaſon to believe that it is in the contemplation of his majeſty's miniſters to propoſe an union of the legiſlatures of the two kingdoms, notwithſtanding the ſaid final and ſolemn adjuſtment, feel it to be their bounden duty, impreſſed as they are with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the conſequences of ſuch a proceeding at this time, to take the earlieſt opportunity humbly to implore his majeſty not to liſten to the counſel of thoſe who ſhall adviſe or promote ſuch a meaſure at the preſent criſis, and under the preſent circumſtances of the empire."

Mr. Canning admitted, that in the reſolutions, entered upon the journals

journals of the houſe in 1782, the words *final adjuſtment* were made uſe of: but the reſolutions, to which Mr. Sheridan referred, were immediately followed by another reſolution, evidently of a proſpective nature, which declared the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome more permanent ſyſtem, by which alone the tranquillity and importance of Ireland could remain uninterrupted, and continue to be improved.—With regard to the poſture of affairs in Ireland, he ſaid, it was notorious that a rebellion had exiſted in that country. This, though checked, was not perhaps, effectually quelled. The object of the traitorous machinations, which gave riſe to that rebellion, was not any partial change of men or meaſures, but a total ſubverſion of the exiſting government and conſtitution of the country, and the complete deſtruction of all connection between the ſiſter kingdom and Great Britain.—Mr. Canning urged the expediency of an union, from the authority of a doctor Dugghenon, who had ſhewn in a publication, intituled "An Anſwer to Mr. Grattan," either that the plan of union muſt be adopted, or that ſome other muſt be deviſed for the fortification of the proteſtant aſcendency. As to the intimidation which, it had been alleged, would be impreſſed on the public mind in Ireland, and the reſtraint which it would impoſe on the free-will and voice of the nation, on the ſubject of the union: when once the union ſhould be effected, the neceſſity of keeping up a large army there would be removed; and thus the union would, in fact, remove one of the objects of Mr. Sheridan's own cenſure and complaints. But where did that intimidation appear? both the liberty of ſpeech, and the liberty of the preſs had been pretty freely indulged on the preſent ſubject. Was it the parliament of Ireland that Engliſh ſoldiers were to coerce and reſtrain? a parliament fully armed with every conſtitutional power to control that or any other army? In recommendation of an union with Ireland, Mr. Canning ſaid, that it would ſatisfy the friends of the proteſtant aſcendancy, without paſſing laws againſt the catholics, and without maintaining thoſe which were yet in force. Mr. Canning, in the courſe of his ſpeech, expatiated on the influence of the French revolution. As to what had fallen from Mr. Sheridan reſpecting the incorporations made by France, for the farther aggradizement of her already gigantic dominions, in what poſſible point of view could ſuch a compariſon be inſtituted between the conduct of France and Britain? did France attempt to incorporate other countries for the purpoſe of extending their common commercial intereſts? Had the French been the authors, not of contributions and confiſcations, but of means of wealth and proſperity to the conquered countries? and had they only required of them to bear a common ſhare, on common terms, for the defence and advancement of a common cauſe? did the countries, which they endeavoured to incorporate, reſemble France in conſtitution and law? and in other points which he ſpecified.

Mr. Jones was of opinion, that the meaſure now ſuggeſted, inſtead of cruſhing the rebellion, would have the oppoſite tendency. It appeared to him to have all the characteriſtic marks of French fraternity.

nity. He was far from ſuppoſing that troops were ſent to Ireland for the purpoſe of over-awing the deliberations of the parliament of the country; but, certainly, while they were there, they might be conſidered as having the effect of an intimidation, with reſpect to the people at large.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that he had heard Mr. Canning's ſpeech with much ſatisfaction, becauſe it was ſo little applicable to the queſtion. He had not ſtated that the Iriſh parliament deliberated under intimidation; but that there was a kind of negative intimidation, while ſo great a military force remained in the country; and, that Ireland was placed in a ſituation in which ſhe could not help herſelf. Offence had been taken at the term French incorporation, and it was ſaid that the countries, which the French compelled to unite with them, were not admitted to the participation of ſuch advantages as were held out to Ireland by an union with Britain. But the queſtion was, not a compariſon of bleſſings, but the mode in which the meaſure was to be carried into effect. Would it be ſaid that this country was to compel Ireland to agree to an union, becauſe we were certain that it was for their advantage?

Mr. Pitt, though he did not think it neceſſary to enter fully into the important details, which the ſubject before them naturally ſuggeſted, could not paſs over with indifference ſome topics which had been alluded to in the courſe of Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech. The honourable gentleman, in bringing forward his amendment, appeared to Mr. Pitt to furniſh but one argument in ſupport of the concluſion which he had laboured to eſtabliſh, namely, that there was no power which could make the reſult of the deliberation, for adjuſting the reciprocal intereſts of both kingdoms, effectual. If the parliament of Ireland had no right to incorporate with the legiſlature of this country, without the ſenſe of the people of Ireland, as little had the parliament of Great Britain a right to follow the ſame meaſure with that of Ireland; as little had the parliament of Scotland a right to agree to the terms of the union, which had been effected; as little had the parliament of England a right to ratify that union under which England had ſo eminently flouriſhed. The honourable gentleman had talked of a wiſh to carry the meaſure propoſed by ſurprize. Mr. Pitt heſitated not to ſay, that, if any blame was imputable to miniſtry, it was that of having acted with too much caution. It had been diſtinctly recommended, from the throne, to adopt ſuch ſalutary means as might improve and perpetrate a connection eſſential to the common ſecurity and intereſts of both countries. His majeſty's miniſters, in conformity to that communication, had only ſtated the time of laying before the houſe the materials neceſſary for forming an opinion, and added, that a proper interval would take place before they took the ſenſe of parliament. "In ſhort," ſaid Mr. Pitt, "the queſtion now is, ſhall we, after the expiration of a proper interval, diſcuſs and come to a determination on the ſubject; or ſhall we, in the firſt inſtance, and on the mere outſet of the buſineſs, without taking a juſt review of the conſiderations on both ſides, poſitively declare that the meaſure is either unneceſſary, or ſo impracticable

impracticable as to prevent any hopes of realizing it?" The evils with which Ireland was afflicted, Mr. Pitt obſerved, lay deep in the ſituation of the country. They were to be attributed to the manners of its inhabitants, to the ſtate of ſociety, to the habits of the people at large; to the inequal diſtribution of property, to the want of civilized intercourſe, to the jarring diſcord of party, and above all, to the prejudices of religious ſects. This deplorable ſituation of the country was not to be remedied by any act of the Iriſh parliament, but by gradual, ſober, and diſpaſſionate improvement and civilization; by the circulation of capital, by the ſocial intercourſe naturally flowing from trade and commerce, by the diffuſion of ſocial habits, by the diſſemination of liberal ſentiment, by removing party diſtractions, by ſuppreſſing factious aſſociations, by allaying hereditary feuds between two nations ſubſiſting in the ſame iſland, and by the extinction of religious prejudices. For ſuch remedies we muſt look to the proviſions of an independent legiſlature, removed from the immediate ſeat of the complicated diſeaſe, which ſhould not be partial to either party, but the fair arbiter and kind parent of both; which ſhould not be liable to local influence, nor ſubject to popular incitement, and which ſhould be fully competent to make head againſt the lawleſs inroads of deſtructive innovation and anarchy. Mr. Pitt did not deny that even the deformed reſemblance of the Britiſh conſtitution was ſuperior to any proceeding from the new ſyſtem; but, the imperfection of the Iriſh conſtitution was admitted, and to that the complicated grievances and defects in the ſtate of the country at large. With reſpect to the confinement of property in a few hands, the extraordinary diſparity of rank, and the ſcanty means of ſocial improvement, all producing in a proportionate degree miſery in one extreme, and oppreſſion in the other, how could theſe grievances be remedied but by a cloſer connection with Great Britain? The ſituation of Ireland muſt alſo be remedied by an influx of capital, and the circulation of wealth: and whence were theſe neceſſary ingredients to be ſupplied, but by aſſimilating it with Great Britain? He did not merely ſay, let Ireland be united; let her be blended with us, let her partake of every ſolid benefit, of every eminent advantage that could reſult from ſuch incorporation. In anſwer to what had been ſaid by Mr. Sheridan, about a final adjuſtment, Mr. Pitt undertook to ſtate that this final adjuſtment was made under the pretence of redreſſing grievances, without looking to future conſequences, or taking a general view of circumſtances: it was dictated by the ſpirit of momentary popularity, and was not founded in the ſolid intereſts of the country. Having created two diſtinct parliaments, equally able and competent to decide and dictate, on queſtions of peace and war, and all points of trade and commerce—it left them as divided on all material points, about which nations might conteſt, as any two powers on the continent.

When the act was paſſed, Mr. Pitt obſerved, which gave independence to Ireland, it was accompanied by a reſolution, ſtating that it was the opinion of the houſe, that the connection between both kingdoms ſhould be conſolidated by future meaſures or regulations, founded

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on the baſis of mutual conſent.—The exiſtence of the reſolution being proved, by extracts from the journals of the houſe, Mr. Pitt, on the authority of that reſolution, aſſumed it as an eſtabliſhed fact, that no final ſettlement, in 1782, had, as was alleged, been made with Ireland. And nothing, he added, had been ſince attempted to provide for that defective ſettlement, but the partial and inadequate meaſure of the Iriſh propoſitions, which were defeated by the perſons who framed the reſolution, but who found no ſubſtitute in their room. Was there no probable caſe in which the legiſlatures of both kingdoms might differ? Had not one caſe actually ariſen, and that within the ſhort ſpace of ſixteen years? He meant that of the regency. The difference of principle was evident, for the Iriſh parliament decided upon one principle, and the Britiſh parliament upon another. They both led to the appointment of the ſame perſon, but that was accidental, for that perſon muſt have governed the two kingdoms upon different principles. The office of regent, on grounds equally juſtifiable, might have been veſted in two diſtinct perſons. Could any man, with ſo inſtructive an example before his eyes, talk with ſincerity of a final adjuſtment? Would Mr. Sheridan pretend to maintain, that, when the habit of diſcuſſing the foreign relations of the empire ſhould take place, the parliament of Ireland might not, as it might naturally think itſelf entitled to do, proceed to inquire into treaties and alliances. And, on a ſuppoſed difference of local intereſt, was it impoſſible that the parliament of Ireland might take one ſtep in giving advice to the ſovereign, and the parliament of Great Britain another? If, in the preſent conteſt, the oppoſition were to have as much influence in Ireland as they formerly had, a vote for peace might be paſſed, and the efforts of Great Britain paralyſed? Ireland, in ſuch a caſe, might neutralize its ports, prevent the raiſing of recruits for the army and navy, and endanger the very exiſtence of the empire.—It was true that the influence of the oppoſition party in Ireland had been leſs prevalent than ever. The influence of the great patriot of Ireland was extinct, nearly in the ſame way that the reputation of the other great patriots here in England had expired. But if the houſe wiſhed to render the connection between Great Britain and Ireland perpetual, and to make the ties indiſſoluble, they would not do their duty to either country if they neglected to bring forward ſome propoſition, that might provide for the ſafety and proſperity of Ireland, and remedy the miſerable imperfections of the arrangement made in 1782.

Mr. Martin thought, that if, on the future diſcuſſion of the ſubject before the houſe, it ſhould appear that an union with Ireland was a meaſure which would contribute to the advantage of both countries, it ought to be agreed to. As the houſe ſeemed to acquieſce in the opinion, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried. Soon after this, intelligence was received by the Britiſh government, that the propoſal for an union, which had been laid before the Iriſh parliament, had been rejected.

On Thurſday, January 31, 1799, the order of the day, for taking

his majeſty's meſſage, relative to an union with Ireland, into conſideration, being read, Mr. Pitt roſe and ſaid, that when he propoſed to the houſe that meaſure the laſt time, in order to fix the preſent day for its farther conſideration, he indulged a hope that the reſult of a ſimilar communication, to the parliament of Ireland, would have opened a more favourable proſpect than at preſent exiſted, of its ſpeedy accompliſhment. But while he admitted and reſpected the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt, that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he alſo had a right to exerciſe, and a duty to perform. That duty, was to expreſs, as diſtinctly as he could, the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his conſcience, he thought would tend, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to enſure the ſafety and happineſs of both kingdoms. If parliament, after full explanation, and mature deliberation, ſhould be of the ſame opinion, he would propoſe that its determination ſhould remain recorded as that by which the parliament of Great Britain were ready to abide, leaving to the legiſlature of Ireland to reject or adopt it hereafter, upon a full conſideration of the meaſure. Mr. Pitt proceeded to expaitate, at great length, on the topics on which he had touched in his former ſpeech on this ſubject; the competence of the Iriſh parliament to accept or reject a propoſition of this nature, the neceſſity of an intimate and perpetual connection between Great Britain and Ireland, to the intereſts of both countries; the defects of what had been called the final adjuſtment of 1782; the impediments now exiſting to the proſperity of Ireland, and the advantages which that country would derive from an union with Great Britain. He then remarked that the union with Scotland had been as much oppoſed, and by much the ſame arguments, prejudices, and miſconceptions, creating the ſame alarms, and provoking the ſame outrages, as had lately taken place at Dublin: yet the advantages, which that part of the united kingdom had derived from the union, were abundantly apparent, from the general proſperity of the capital, manufacturing towns, and the country in general. The reſolutions, the principles and tendency of which he had now in general explained, but of which he wiſhed a more detailed diſcuſſion to be reſerved to a future day, were,

"First, That in order to promote and ſecure the eſſential intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, and to conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources of the Britiſh empire, it will be adviſeable to concur in ſuch meaſures as may beſt tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in ſuch manner, and on ſuch terms and conditions, as may be eſtabliſhed by acts of the reſpective parliaments of his majeſty's ſaid kingdoms.

"Second, That it appears to this committee that it would be fit to propoſe as the firſt article, to ſerve as a baſis of the ſaid union, that the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

"Third, That for the ſame purpoſe it appears alſo to this committee, that it would be fit to propoſe that the ſucceſſion to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the ſaid united

united kingdoms ſhall continue limited and ſettled, in the ſame manner as the imperial crown of the ſaid kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now ſtands limited and ſettled, according to the exiſting laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

" Fourth, That for the ſame purpoſe it appears alſo to this committee, that it would be fit to propoſe that the ſaid united kingdom be preſented in one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtyled the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that ſuch a number of lords ſpiritual and temporal, and ſuch a number of members of the houſe of commons as ſhall be hereafter agreed upon, by acts of the reſpective parliaments as aforeſaid, ſhall ſit and vote in the ſaid parliament on the part of Ireland, and ſhall be ſummoned, choſen, and returned, in ſuch manner as ſhall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland, previous to the ſaid union; and that every member hereafter to ſit and vote in the ſaid parliament of the united kingdom ſhall, until the ſaid parliament ſhall otherwiſe provide, take, and ſubſcribe the ſame oaths, and make the ſame declaration as are by law required to be taken, ſubſcribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

" Fifth, That for the ſame purpoſe it appears alſo to this committee, that it would be fit to propoſe that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, ſhall be preſerved as now by law eſtabliſhed.

" Sixth, That, for the ſame purpoſe, it appears alſo to this committee, that it would be fit to propoſe that his majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland ſhall at all times hereafter be entitled to the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing, in reſpect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all caſes with reſpect to which treaties ſhall be made by his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, with any foreign power, as his majeſty's ſubjects in Great Britain; that no duty ſhall be impoſed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there ſhall be eſtabliſhed, for a time to be limited, ſuch a moderate rate of equal duties, as ſhall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the reſpective parliaments, ſubject, after the expiration of ſuch limited time, to be diminiſhed equally with reſpect to both kingdoms, but in no caſe to be increaſed; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, ſhall be importable through either kingdom into the other, ſubject to the like duties and regulations as if the ſame were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are ſubject to any internal duty in one kingdom, ſuch countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforeſaid) ſhall be impoſed as ſhall be neceſſary to prevent any inequality in that reſpect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than ſuch others as may before the union be ſpecially agreed upon, for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the reſpective

kingdoms, ſhall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

"Seventh, That, for the like purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that the charge, ariſing from the payment of the intereſt or ſinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, ſhall continue to be ſeparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively. That, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenſes of the united kingdom, in peace or war, ſhall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to ſuch proportions as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the reſpective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be ſo limited, the proportions ſhall not be liable to be varied, except according to ſuch rates and principles as ſhall be in like manner agreed upon, previous to the union.

"Eighth, That, for the like purpoſe, it would be fit to propoſe, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, within the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain, as now by law eſtabliſhed, within the ſame, ſubject only to ſuch alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumſtances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

"That the foregoing reſolutions be laid before his majeſty, with a humble addreſs, aſſuring his majeſty that we have proceeded with the utmoſt attention to the conſideration of the important objects recommended to us in his majeſty's gracious meſſage:

"That we entertain a firm perſuaſion, that a *complete and entire union* between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution, and government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections, by promoting the ſecurity, wealth, and commerce of the reſpective kingdoms, and by allaying the diſtractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, muſt afford freſh means of oppoſing at all times an effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of our foreign and domeſtic enemies, and muſt tend to confirm and augment the ſtability, power, and reſources, of the empire.

"Impreſſed with theſe conſiderations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his majeſty ſuch propoſitions as appear to us beſt calculated to form the baſis of ſuch a ſettlement, leaving it to his majeſty's wiſdom, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as his majeſty, in his parental ſolicitude, for the happineſs of his people, ſhall judge fit, to communicate theſe propoſitions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we ſhall be at all times ready to concur in all ſuch meaſures as may be found moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of this great and ſalutary work. And we truſt, that, after full and mature conſideration, ſuch a ſettlement may be framed and eſtabliſhed, by the deliberative conſent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the ſentiments, wiſhes, and real intereſts of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inſeparably in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of our free and invaluable conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour and dignity of his majeſty's crown, and in the preſervation and advancement of

of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire."

Mr. Sheridan, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in reply to Mr. Pitt, went over the ſame ground on which he had expatiated formerly on the meaſure, when it was firſt announced to parliament. This ſpeech he prefaced by many compliments to Mr. Pitt, as an orator, and remarks on the power of eloquence, at the preſent period. The whole world, he ſaid, knew that there was never a time when fine ſpeeches more powerfully affected the public, or when from fancied ſecurity, or habitual indifference, it appeared leſs eager profoundly to examine any queſtion. Eaſy tempers were eaſily influenced by bold and ingenious ſophiſtry. It was not every one who could diſtinguiſh between the flowing and rapid elocution of an admired orator, and the ſteady and well-tempered voice of unaffected reaſon.* Seeing the manner in which the preſent ſubject was brought forward, and its fate in the Iriſh parliament, it might have been doubted whether the right honourable gentleman would perſevere in the meaſure: but he continued to ſet all experience at defiance, and, in the face of the Iriſh nation, to ſpurn the aſſertion of her rights, to fawn and flatter her guileleſs and pure mind, and, by ſeeming to reſpect her declared opinion, to lull her into inactivity, the more ſucceſsfully to enſlave her for ever. Let his majeſty's miniſters, he ſaid, grant to Ireland thoſe advantages of which they boaſted: they might be conceded to her without union: they might be improved by her without abjectly ſurrendering her independence. Mr. Sheridan vindicated Mr. Fox from the accuſation of not having followed up the reſolution of 1782. He remained but two months after in office. But did Mr. Pitt himſelf, when he ſucceeded him in power, attempt to bring forward the objections which he this night ſo triumphantly urged? Had he not now been fifteen years a miniſter without ever endeavouring to do that, which from the firſt he deemed to be indiſpenſably neceſſary? It was not Mr. Sheridan's intention to oppoſe going into a committee, but he would firſt move two reſolutions, which, in caſe of Mr. Pitt's propoſitions being carried, he would wiſh to have placed before them, for the purpoſe of taking off, in ſome degree, that jealouſy which the Iriſh parliament would be apt to entertain of their paſſing this houſe, after the meaſure of an union having been ſo decidedly rejected in the houſe of commons of Ireland. Mr. Sheridan then read the following reſolutions: "That no meaſures can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connection, now exiſting between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their baſis the manifeſt, fair, and free conſent and approbation of the parliaments of the two countries.

"That whoever ſhall endeavour to obtain the appearance of ſuch conſent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government, for the purpoſes of corruption or intimidation, is an

* We have, on a former occaſion, ventured to predict, that the abuſe of oratory, which has, on ſome occaſions, been carried the length of continuing a ſpeech for ſeveral ſucceſſive days, would, by and by, put long and flowery ſpeeches out of faſhion.

enemy

enemy to his majeſty and the conſtitution."

Lord Hawkeſbury remarked certain inconſiſtencies in the parliamentary conduct of Mr. Sheridan; but, as theſe, though ſufficiently authenticated, could not be urged with propriety againſt his preſent propoſitions, and as our limits confine us very much to points of importance, we forbear to enter into any details on that ſubject. Mr. Sheridan, lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, had ſomewhat more than inſinuated, that the people of Ireland were againſt an union. The people of Cork, and the people of Limmerick, had expreſſed themſelves in favour of it: and when it once came to be duly conſidered, the whole people would view it in the ſame light. His lordſhip, by the ſame arguments that had been uſed by Mr. Pitt, juſtified the vote he ſhould give for the preſent propoſitions being ſubmitted to a committee of the whole houſe, by way of recording what they were willing to do for promoting the intereſts of Ireland.

Dr. Lawrence conſidered the propoſed union in the light of a marriage: which was a matter of that delicate nature, that if the parties contracting it were not agreeable to each other, the cloſer they were drawn together by the bond, the farther, in fact, they were put aſunder as to every beneficial and happy effect which might be expected to reſult from ſo tender and intimate a connection. As the number of members propoſed to be introduced from Ireland was really very great, he could not help thinking that it might produce a very conſiderable degree of embarraſſment in the buſineſs and debates of the houſe. How, indeed, they were to diſpoſe of them, he was at a loſs to gueſs. The laſt debate in Ireland, on the preſent queſtion, had laſted for twenty-two hours. If a majority of the Iriſh members ſhould bring over their inclination for public ſpeaking, and their ſpeeches came to be added to thoſe of their countrymen and others who were in the habits of making frequent and long ſpeeches already, he could not avoid foreſeeing many embarraſſments which would neceſſarily attend ſo very conſiderable an addition to the numbers already poſſeſſed of ſeats in that houſe. He dreaded that, in the preſent ſeeming temper of Ireland, the propoſitions would add inflammation to a diſpoſition already teeming with far too much irritability. On a diviſion of the houſe, there appeared for the ſpeakers leaving the chair, ayes, 140; noes, 15. The reſolutions having been read in the committee, the houſe was reſumed, and the committee was appointed to ſit again on Thurſday next.

On that day, the ſeventh of February, Mr. Sheridan, obſerved, in the committee, that, according to the rules and ordinary proceedings of the houſe, Mr. Pitt could, undoubtedly, claim the privilege of moving the order of the day before he (Mr. Sheridan) could attempt to move the reſolutions, of which he had thrown out an idea and an intention of moving them, on a former occaſion. If, therefore, that motion was inſiſted on, he muſt poſtpone his motion for the preſent. Mr. Pitt waved his privilege, and gave precedence to Mr. Sheridan, who promiſed to the houſe to take up as little time as poſſible now; and only to urge a few of the many reaſons which might be advanced in

ſupport

ſupport of the reſolutions he intended to move. The queſtion now before the houſe was, whether they were willing to ſecond the pledge of devoting his life to this favourite project. That pledge would produce much irritation, and inflame all thoſe diſcontents, which had already occaſioned ſo much miſery in Ireland. If the houſe ſanctioned the preſent project, the two houſes of commons of Great Britain and Ireland would be placed in oppoſition to each other, and the ſituation of theſe nations would be more alarming and frightful than that in which any two countries profeſſing amity to each other. If Mr. Pitt did not ſucceed in his meaſure, on the preſent occaſion, the people of Ireland would be convinced that he only waited for a more favourable opportunity, when Ireland ſhould be more weak, to carry his favourite project, and that the engines he intended to uſe were intimidation and corruption. There was much to be done in the way of reform and improvement in Ireland: but, in order to do this, it was not neceſſary to pull down the credit and authority of parliament. He denied what had been ſo poſitively aſſerted, that we had no alternative but ſeparation or union. The real alternative was, the Iriſh government ſhould no longer continue to be a corrupt Engliſh job. Was it meant to be aſſerted that there is ſome innate depravity in the character of Iriſhmen which rendered them unfit to have a parliament of their own? No! the cauſe of the corruption that had been complained of lay not in the character of the worthy people of Ireland. But the government of Ireland had been made a job of, for the advantage of Engliſh miniſters. This was the corruption, this the will that had pervaded it from firſt to laſt. But, before Ireland ſhould be required to ſurrender her independence, it was fit that a trial ſhould be made of what could be done by an honeſt parliament: a parliament uninfluenced by a Britiſh miniſter, having the intereſt and happineſs of Ireland for its object, and looking to Iriſh proſperity and gratitude for its reward. Mr. Sheridan having moved the two reſolutions, already ſpecified,

Mr. Pitt obſerved that his only diſcuſſion had been upon general principles not now before the houſe, and already amply debated and decided upon. As to his particular motions, the firſt, as Mr. Sheridan himſelf had ſtated, was a truiſm. But that argument, which the honourable gentleman had adduced in favour of his motion, was a deciſive argument againſt it. If a thing was true, there required no declaration to give it effect, and all ſuch attempts were uſeleſs and nugatory. With regard to his ſecond motion, "that whoever ſhould, by corruption or intimidation, attempt to carry the queſtion, was an enemy to his country," it evidently inſinuated that ſuch a conduct had been purſued. It undoubtedly alluded to the caſe of a high officer in the ſiſter kingdom (ſir John Parnel, late chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland) who had quitted his ſituation on account of his diſagreement with his colleagues in an important fundamental meaſure of government. If many gentlemen were connected together with the honourable intention of acting for the ſervice of their country, it was neceſſary, in order to preſerve a unity of action, that they ſhould agree in their ſyſtem; and it

was an error to ſuppoſe that either the reſignment, or even the diſmiſſal of any one, was a ſyſtem of corruption.

Mr. Grey admitted that a difference of opinion, among perſons acting together on fundamental points of policy, muſt arreſt the progreſs of public buſineſs: yet this principle did not juſtify the diſmiſſal of a member of parliament from an office in the ſtate, on account of his vote on a particular queſtion, while he agreed, perhaps, with his colleagues in all other points. Was Mr. Pitt's doctrine, reſpecting diſmiſſals from office, now maintained, the uniform and unvaried opinion which ruled his public conduct? Was there not a time, when a queſtion, as important as the union with Ireland, and as eſſential in the opinion of the right honourable gentleman at that time, to the intereſts and well-being of good government, he meant parliamentary reform, which he brought forward, and which, he ſolemnly promiſed to exert all his influence, as a man and a miniſter, ultimately to bring into effect? Where, then, are his fair and honourable intentions? Has he manifeſted them in the removal of thoſe who oppoſed that meaſure? or of thoſe who oppoſed another meaſure, to which he had profeſſed himſelf to be a warm friend, the abolition of the ſlave-trade? Mr. Sheridan admitted that his firſt reſolution was a truiſm. But was it not alſo true that the parliament of Ireland could not give a free and fair conſent when he held out, that thoſe who voted againſt the meaſure would be turned out of their places? There were, in the Iriſh houſe of commons, one hundred and ſixteen placemen. Two great examples being made, in the diſmiſſal of the chancellor of the exchequer, and the prime ſerjeant, the others would remain ſtaunch and true out of fear. Mr. Sheridan ſaid that he ſhould certainly divide the houſe on the queſtion before them. But the previous queſtion, moved by Mr. Pitt, was carried by 141 againſt 25. A motion for the ſpeaker's now leaving the chair, and for the houſe going immediately into a committee, for the farther conſideration of the king's meſſage, was oppoſed by Mr. H. A. St. John. Many compariſons, he obſerved had been made, between the probable effect of this, and the certain effect of another union, he meant the union with Scotland. The union between England and Scotland, it was ſtated, had produced mutual ſtrength. But it did not appear, nor had any body attempted to ſhew that Scotland might not have improved, if the union had not taken place.

But this was a point he was not called on to diſcuſs. The queſtion before the houſe was ſimply this, whether, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the houſe of commons, in Ireland, having declared its ſenſe againſt conſidering the meaſure at all, any good could reſult from the agitation of it at this moment, in this country. To do this, in his opinion, might irritate the houſe of commons of Ireland, and induce them to adopt ſome meaſure for manifeſting their reſentment at ſuch a meaſure as this. It would be better to let the whole queſtion ſo reſt for the preſent calmly, and, the parties being left to cool on the ſubject, and to bring it forward hereafter, if it ſhould appear to be neceſſary at a proper ſeaſon.

Mr. Grey, in the courſe of a ſpeech on this ſubject, in which he conſidered

conſidered it in the ſame light, and oppoſed the meaſure of an union on the ſame grounds that had been taken by the members on his ſide of the houſe, made a diſtinction that tended more directly to a refutation of one of the moſt eſſential poſitions of the miniſters than any that had been made by any of the other ſpeakers, who had preceded him in the debates on the preſent ſubject. Mr. Pitt had affirmed, that there could not have been a final ſettlement or adjuſtment in 1782, becauſe it was even expreſſed, that ſomething was left to be done. But, ſaid Mr. Grey, "he knows well enough, and he ought to have the candour to acknowledge, that there may be a final adjuſtment of one thing, and another left to be ſettled, and which indeed was the caſe. The final adjuſtment, in 1782, referred to the political independence of the Iriſh legiſlature: but the point to be ſettled was one that related to trade." Mr. Pitt, in order to ſhew the inconveniency of two independent parliaments, had quoted the caſe of the regency. But what, Mr. Grey aſked, was the caſe of the regency? The parliament of Ireland veſted, in the heir apparent, the full power of a regent, without any reſtriction. The parliament of this country voted the ſame perſon, but with certain limitations and reſtrictions. But, were the ſituations of the two countries alike? By no means. In this country there is a vaſt deal of power and influence accompanying ſovereignty, independent of that which is properly called government: in Ireland there is none. When, therefore, the Iriſh parliament voted a regent, they had nothing but the power of government to give. The caſe was otherwiſe in this country, and, therefore, the one having given the whole without reſtraint, and the other reſtraining, did not, in reality, differ, as might have been thought, on the firſt view of the matter.

Mr. ſecretary Dundas obſerved, that the laſt honourable ſpeaker had dwelt with much minuteneſs on the diſcuſſions of 1782, and on the commercial and political ſituation in which Ireland was then placed, and had ſince, in conſequence of thoſe diſcuſſions, continued. But grants made to Ireland at that period had nothing to do with the queſtion now before the houſe. The preſent propoſition did not contain any ſuggeſtion derogatory to the acknowledged independency of the parliament of Ireland. It was a propoſition for the incorporation of the two legiſlatures into one, without infringing the liberty or independence of either. To put an end to all cavil, he was ready to admit, that, by the tranſactions of 1782, the Iriſh parliament was placed on the ſame footing of independence, in relation to Great Britain, as Scotland was, with regard to England, before the union of the two kingdoms. As to the propoſition itſelf, he undertook to prove, by a reference to the affairs of Scotland, at and after the union, that a ſimilar meaſure would be attended with ſimilar benefits to Ireland. He aſſumed it as a fact, that there exiſted in Ireland, at this time, a ſpirit of diſſention and clamour, of treachery and treaſon, which menaced the overthrow of the preſent government. Conſpiracies were ſo widely extended, their influence was ſo deeply infuſed into the minds of the people of Ireland, and the connection between the two

two countries thereby ſo much endangered, that without the immediate and active interference of government, the reſult might have been a total ſeparation of Ireland from this kingdom. It was the duty of his majeſty's miniſters, viewing Ireland in this perilous ſituation, to extricate her from the intrigues of the common enemy, by preſerving and improving the connection which had ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between that country and Great Britain. A more appropriate remedy for the diſeaſe, which poiſoned the peace and happineſs of Ireland, could not be imagined, than the incorporating union of the legiſlatures of the two kingdoms. The Proteſtants would lay aſide their jealouſies and diſtruſt, and the Catholics would be confident that their cauſe would be candidly and impartially conſidered by a united parliament: the great body of which would be relieved from apprehenſions, jealouſies, and inveterate animoſities, interwoven into the frame and conſtitution of the ſeparate parliament of Ireland. An incorporated parliament, partly Engliſh, partly Scotch, and partly Iriſh, would be better calculated for managing the affairs of the Britiſh empire, than ſeparate parliaments in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The powers of a parliament ſo conſtituted would be more extenſive and effectual than when acting ſeparately in different places. It ſhould be recollected, that the Iriſh parliament, with all its boaſted independency, could not give vigour or effect to its acts, till approved by the third eſtate, whoſe reſidence was in England. The controuling power was properly veſted in the ſovereign of this country, who was alſo the ſovereign of Scotland and Ireland; therefore the parliament of Ireland was not intirely independent. In ſupport of this propoſition, he referred to the authority of Mr. Grattan, the champion of Iriſh independence, who ſays, "The parliament of Ireland cannot act independently; for, in all caſes of peace or war, it muſt implicitly follow the parliament of Great Britain." The parliament, conſtituted by the union, had not deprived Scotland of any of the privileges enjoyed previouſly to its incorporation with England. The union had increaſed the privilege of the Scotch members: for, inſtead of confining their deliberations to the affairs of Scotland, they were empowered to take part in diſcuſſions reſpecting the affairs not only of England but of the whole Britiſh empire; and, ſo far as related to the third eſtate, had even an interference with the affairs of Ireland. The parliament of Ireland, incorporated on the ſame principles, would have the ſame privileges. It was a miſ-ſtatement of facts, to talk of deſtroying the parliament of Ireland; for an union would place the Iriſh members in the ſame ſituation as the members of the Britiſh parliament. He condemned the operations of perſonal vanity. He wiſhed that gentlemen would direct their pride and honour to acts of laudable ambition. They would evince greater patriotiſm, by a due attention to the intereſts of both countries. If conſiderations of perſonal vanity and ſelf-independence were to be allowed to operate on this ſubject, let gentlemen recollect, that if their genius were ever ſo acute, their eloquence ever ſo ſplendid, all theſe wonderful

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powers were confined to one little iſland. Let the Iriſh parliament accept of a participation of all the rights of the Britiſh parliament, and they would find, that their eloquence would not be confined to England or any other country. They would be heard not only in Europe, but in Aſia, Africa, and America. In conſidering the preſent queſtion, it was impoſſible not to turn our eyes to the ſtate of Scotland before and ſince the union, and to contemplate the advantages which had reſulted from it to that part of the united kingdom. Having exhibited a ſtatement of its augmented commerce and population ſince that period, he obſerved, that the increaſed improvements and the increaſe of trade, were not confined to any particular part of Scotland. They were experienced in every corner of it: and there was not now an inhabitant of any ſpot in all Scotland, who had not cauſe to rejoice at that event.

On that memorable occaſion, many melancholy pictures were preſented to the public view, in the ſhape of prophecies. Among other falſe prophecies, was a great part of that celebrated ſpeech of lord Belhaven's, on which Mr. Dundas requeſted permiſſion to make a few remarks. His lordſhip, in a kind of prophetic, or rather poetic viſion, fancied many evils, the very reverſe of which had actually come to paſs: as Mr. Dundas ſhewed by an appeal to facts. And, in oppoſition to the prophecies of lord Belhaven, and other opponents of the union, he brought under the recollection of the houſe the following paſſage in a letter from queen Anne to the Scottiſh parliament, recommending to them to take the articles of union, which had been agreed on at London, under their conſideration. "The union has long been deſired by both nations, and we ſhall eſteem it as the greateſt glory of our reign to have it now perfected, being fully perſuaded, that it muſt prove the greateſt happineſs of our people. An entire and perfect union will be the ſolid foundation of laſting peace. It will ſecure your religion, liberty, and property, remove your animoſities among yourſelves, and the jealouſies and differences betwixt our two kingdoms. It muſt increaſe your ſtrength, riches, and trade, and, by this union, the whole iſland being joined in affection, and freed from all apprehenſions of different intereſts, will be enabled to reſiſt all its enemies, ſupport its intereſts every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe." From this remarkable paſſage, ſaid Mr. Dundas, it was evident that her majeſty was a true propheteſs: for not one ſyllable of her predictions had failed. It had been aſked, Mr. Dundas proceeded, what right we had to impute all thoſe advantages to the union, and why it was not to be ſuppoſed that Scotland, like other nations, would have advanced in proſperity from the various cauſes which had contributed to the modern wealth of other ſtates? There were a multitude of anſwers that might be given to this queſtion, founded on the local ſituation of Scotland, her internal policy, and her relation to other nations, which muſt for ever have debarred that kingdom from participating in that proſperity which had marked the progreſs of other ſtates in Europe. But, in place of conſuming the time of the houſe by reaſoning to which

it might juſtly be imputed that it was influenced by ſubſequent events, he would give more ſatisfaction by uſing the words as well as arguments of a cotemporary ſtateſman, who was one of the commiſſioners for treating with England for an union. Here he read over Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden's ſpeech, on the firſt article of union being brought under the conſideration of the Scottiſh parliament, in which he conſidered the three different ways in which it had been propoſed to retrieve the languiſhing condition of the Scottiſh nation: which were, that the Scots ſhould continue under the ſame ſovereign with England, with limitations on his prerogative as king of Scotland; that the two kingdoms ſhould be incorporated into one; or that they ſhould be entirely ſeparated. Mr. Seton pointed out inſeparable objections to the firſt and the third of theſe modes. On the ſubject of the laſt, he concluded, from various conſiderations, "that the Scottiſh nation, by an entire ſeparation from England, could not extend its trade ſo as to raiſe its power in proportion to other traſficking nations in Europe; but, that thereby they might be in danger of returning to that gothic conſtitution of government, wherein their foreſathers were, which was frequently attended with frauds, murders, depredations, and rebellions." Thus, ſaid Mr. Dundas, ſpoke Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden, at the time when he had no reſources from which to draw his concluſions, but thoſe of his own enlightened underſtanding, and the view he could take of the exiſting ſtate of the other nations of the world. But his reaſoning was ſolid, and I ſhould only weaken its effect, by ſaying more on the particular points which he has ſo ably treated. I ſhall, however, add one fact, which, in my conception, proves beyond a doubt, that the rapid progreſs of proſperity in Scotland ſprung from the union. Where did the proſperity of Scotland make its firſt appearance, and moſt early progreſs? In the weſtern parts of the kingdom, owing clearly to the circumſtance of thoſe parts being locally the beſt ſituated for taking the benefit of the colonial trade.

A queſtion had been triumphantly aſked, "why not give all thoſe advantages to Ireland without an union?" without an incorporating union they would be of no avail: for the ſtrength and reſources of both countries muſt be conſolidated, in order to enable Ireland to reap the full advantage from ſuch conceſſions. It is from confidence in the ſtrength of government alone that a communication of capital and other advantages can ariſe. In addition to this it might be obſerved, that the Engliſh government could not, conſiſtently, with the duty they owed to their Britiſh fellow-ſubjects, make ſuch conceſſions to Ireland under its preſent conſtitution and ſeparate legiſlature. Conceſſions of ſuch a nature could not be ſafely granted until an imperial parliament poſſeſſed the control over the reſources of the empire at large, and the power of applying them to imperial purpoſes. Much, if not the chief ſtreſs of the arguments, by thoſe who oppoſed the meaſure under conſideration, had been laid on the oppoſition which was made to it by the parliament of Ireland. But, Mr. Dundas, when circumſtances were attended to, could not refrain

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from ſtating, that this view of the ſubject was given in very erroneous colours. Two eſtates of the legiſlature of Ireland, the king and the lords, had pointedly expreſſed their deſire that the ſubject ſhould be entertained and conſidered: and the contrary opinion had been carried only by a very narrow majority in the houſe of commons. Under ſuch circumſtances it was idle to talk of this as a ſolemn deciſion of parliament. Sound reaſon and good ſenſe would ultimately prevail: and he could not help auguring well, to the ultimate ſucceſs of the meaſure, when he contemplated the clamour and violence by which the conſideration of it had been reſiſted. Theſe were not the weapons by which truth and ſolid reaſoning maintain their empire over the underſtandings and hearts of men.

When gentlemen pretended to think highly of the ſacrifices of Scotland to the union, compared with thoſe of Ireland, they did not recollect that Ireland had not, for many centuries, been free, or independent of England; but that Scotland never was completely ſubdued or under the control of England: that Scotland gave up what Ireland could not give up, an independent legiſlature of king, lords, and commons; and that Scotland gave up, what Ireland could not give up, an independent and ſeparate crown. The Scots undoubtedly ſurrendered thoſe honours at the time with reluctance, and evinced the greateſt hoſtility to the union, until experience had made them acquainted with its bleſſings. Mr. Dundas could not help noticing the vaſt unpopularity of the duke of Queenſberry and other commiſſioners who favoured the union, while the zeal and activity of the duke of Hamilton, and lord Belhaven, were the theme of every tongue. The duke of Queenſberry, the nobleman who took the moſt active part in carrying the union into effect, and was her majeſty's commiſſioner for the purpoſe, narrowly eſcaped, in ſeveral inſtances, with his life. But the union ſoon became ſo popular, that the pretender, having pledged himſelf to a repeal of the act of union, excited ſuch a fermentation againſt him, that he was obliged to expunge this promiſe from his manifeſto. This change of ſentiment happened in the year 1715, eight years after the union. It ought to afford a ſalutary leſſon to thoſe falſe patriots who chuſe to reſt their character and fame on the ſhort-lived clamours of the day: and it ought alſo to afford a heart-felt conſolation to thoſe who have the magnanimity to diſdain ſuch mean and paltry arts, truſting that their real patriotiſm, founded on a conſideration of the real intereſts of their country, will not fail ultimately to ſecure them that ſolid and permanent fame, which is alone worthy of poſſeſſing.

With regard to the final adjuſtment of the year 1782, it was a miſapplication of terms to call it final. It was alſo to little purpoſe to the opinions, on that occaſion, of Mr. Grattan, who was only the mouth-piece of the volunteers.—The whole of the buſineſs was evidently done in a hurry, and could be conſidered only as a temporary expedient to ſerve the purpoſes of the moment. However that might be, the parliament of Ireland afterwards ſucceeded in obtaining every thing it deſired; and he was ſo far from denying a particle of its independence, that he admitted it in its fulleſt extent, and even founded

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thereon no ſmall part of his preſent arguments. Had the adjuſtment in 1782 not taken place, it might have been ſaid that the Iriſh parliament could not now treat fairly. But its preſent independence gave it the ſame competency to treat that was poſſeſſed by the parliament of Great Britain.

In various periods of our hiſtory attempts had been made to effect an union between England and Scotland, and till the beginning of the eighteen century, as often fruſtrated. Henry VIII. offered his daughter Mary to James V. of Scotland, holding out ſuch inducements as the Scottiſh king was inclined to liſten to. But the plan was defeated by the intrigues of the French and the popiſh faction. Edward VI. of England, in purſuance of his father's deſign, offered himſelf to Mary, queen of Scotland: and, though it was agreed to by the parliament of that country, the interference of the ſame faction rendered this treaty as fruitleſs as the former. Though, in the reign of James I. of England, articles of union were agreed to by commiſſioners of both countries, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and ratified conditionally by the Scottiſh parliament, yet the jealouſy of the high churchmen, at that time, cauſed them to be rejected in England. The plan of an union was again brought forward in the reign of Charles I. but ended in ſome unavailing conferences amongſt the commiſſioners appointed to manage it. In the reign of William and Mary, the propoſition for an union came from the Scottiſh convention; and, on a recommendation from the crown, the Engliſh houſe of peers paſſed a bill for appointing commiſſioners to treating of an union of the two kingdoms; which bill was thrown out by the commons. Thus the matter reſted till the reign of queen Anne, at whoſe acceſſion the project of an union alſo failed through the high church influence. But ſome reverſes in the progreſs of the confederate war, and ſome events, which took place in Scotland, made England take the alarm, and be as anxious for the accompliſhment of the union, as it was before forward in rejecting it. Now, Mr. Dundas, having glanced over the hiſtory of the attempts for an union between the two Britiſh kingdoms, wiſhed it to be recollected, that when propoſitions to that effect failed in Scotland, it always happened through French influence and French intrigue. What was then the ſituation of Scotland, had now become, by various accidents, that of Ireland. France laboured, by every means, to form a connection in that country, and had in a great meaſure ſucceeded, as recent and unfortunate events teſtified. An union was propoſed by Great Britain, as the ſureſt way to put an end to that dangerous conſpiracy, by a conſolidation of the whole powers of the empire. If ſuch a plan had been diſcuſſed and confirmed by the parliaments of both countries, in 1782, it was more than probable that we ſhould not now have had to lament the acts of outrage and rebellion which had ſo recently convulſed and deſpoiled the ſiſter kingdom. It was the lamentable deficiency of ſuch a principle of union, in the compact of 1782, that gave riſe to the moſt dangerous paſſions and animoſities. It, in fact, preſented Ireland with more reſentments to ſatiate, and leſs authority to control them. While then the houſe deplored the late abominable exceſſes,

exceſſes, it was their duty to prevent the return of the ſanguinary ſcenes, by an union of national intereſt, likely to reconcile and command the affections of the people. From every conſideration, Mr. Dundas was induced to vote for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Sheridan contended that the French had never built their hopes, in the ſmalleſt degree, on the ſeparation of the two legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland, as had been inferred by Mr. Dundas; but, on the contrary, had all along reſted their hopes on the deſires and diſcontents of the great body of the people; which the preſent reſolutions, puſhed forward at the preſent time, could only ſerve to heighten. With regard to the great point, the competency or incompetency of the Iriſh parliament to diſcuſs and decide on the matter in queſtion, he ſaid, there was a ſovereignty in abeyance in the people. If there was not, the preſent family on the throne were uſurpers. The practice of the revolution clearly ſhewed the force of this argument. When king James II. abdicated the crown, the parliament did not proceed to do any act itſelf for ſettling the crown, but expreſsly called a convention, which the lord mayor of London, and fifty commoners, were invited to attend. All the members who had ſat in the parliaments of Charles II. were alſo ſummoned; and every ſtep that could be taken, in the preſſing exigency of affairs, was actually taken, to ſhew, that the appointment to the crown was in the people, and in them only.

Mr. Windham ſaid, that Mr. Sheridan had all along proceeded on a miſtake, and appeared to imagine that union was ſought for the advantage of England and not of Ireland. He did not know what England had to wiſh from ſuch a connection, for ſhe commanded already all the commerce of the world, and amply poſſeſſed the means of defence. As to the meaſure propoſed being an innovation, Ireland was in a ſtate politically to require amelioration; it was right that ſomething ſhould be done to correct whatever was vicious in her ſyſtem. He maintained that the diſorders of Ireland grew out of the Iriſh conſtitution, eſtabliſhed near a century and a half. The government was ſituated, as it were, in a garriſoned town. Government regarded the people with jealouſy, and the people, in their turn, regarded government as an uſurpation, or worſe.—But the ſeeds of the miſchief were in the conſtitution itſelf; which contained not one principle by which the ignorance of the people could be removed, or their ferocity ſuppreſſed. The proximate or immediate evil, however, was French principles. This evil had withered the aged, vitiated the youthful, polluted the ſources of thought, and given to the whole ſyſtem of manners and morals a malignity of character, a groſſneſs and laxity, which had rendered the obligations between men little elſe than nugatory. The cure of the diſorders, with which Ireland was convulſed, could be found only in the improvement of the manners of the lower orders of the people, by the introduction of Britiſh cuſtoms and Britiſh commerce, which, in his opinion, an union bid fairer to do than any other means that could poſſibly be deviſed. He would not now diſcuſs the point which Mr. Sheridan had agitated towards the cloſe of his ſpeech. He thought it enough to ſay, that the people had

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no political right to change the government, or to reſiſt it: whatever might be the moral right that a people might be allowed ſpeculatively to poſſeſs. The right of reſiſtance was not a right acknowledged by, or known to, the Britiſh conſtitution.

Mr. Tierney did not think that the meaſure propoſed would prevent the attempts of the enemy, becauſe it was now ſeen that its effects would be to create ſtill greater diviſions than exiſt even at preſent in Ireland. It had been ſaid that there are many inſtances in which the competence of parliament had been tried, and the caſe of the Scottiſh union had been alluded to. Parliament could do every thing but deſtroy themſelves, and in the caſe of the Scottiſh union, the parliament did not deſtroy themſelves. This Mr. Tierney thought was a very obvious diſtinction.

Mr. W. Grant divided the arguments againſt the propoſed union, into three heads: 1. That the preſent was not the proper time, becauſe the free aſſent of the people of Ireland could not be obtained to the meaſure. 2. That the project of the union was not only nugatory now, but would be ſo at all times. And, 3. That after what had paſſed in Ireland, its diſcuſſion was unneceſſary and improper. Mr. Grant argued againſt all theſe poſitions with his uſual ingenioufneſs and preciſion. As to the grand queſtion of the competency of the Iriſh parliament to decide ſuch a queſtion. It was in fact but a treaty between two independent parliaments, who had a power to do whatever the conſtitution had not forbidden. The competency of the parliaments was not more a queſtion than the competency of their electors to whom in fairneſs the queſtion muſt firſt be referred. From the electors it muſt go to the people at large, who muſt be aſſembled in convention on Saliſbury Plain and the Curragh of Kildare. But even when there aſſembled, every individual vote muſt there be collected, and a majority muſt decide the queſtion. Gentlemen would ſee to what ridiculous lengths their theoretical dogma muſt be carried, and he muſt think that they ſaw its fallacy. He concluded with giving his hearty ſupport to the motion.—The houſe then divided, for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair, 149; againſt it 24. The houſe then went into a committee *pro forma:* but, as it was a late hour the committee on the union reported progreſs and aſked leave to ſit again on the fourteenth of February. The order of the day, for farther conſideration of his majeſty's meſſage, relative to the union with Ireland, being read, and a motion made, that the ſpeaker leave the chair, a debate enſued, in which a part was taken by Mr. Hobhouſe, Mr. J. Jones, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and one or two other members againſt the union, and by Mr. Peele, lord Belgrave, lord Temple, lord Morpeth, Mr. Rider, Mr. Hawkins Brown, and Mr. Sylveſter Douglas, for it. Mr. Hobhouſe contended with great energy againſt the union, as tending to take away former checks on the conduct of miniſters, and to furniſh them with new means of corruption.

General Fitzpatrick ſaid, that the union of Ireland with Great Britain was a conſtitutional point, and therefore ſo far inconſiſtent with the ſettlement of 1782. For fifteen years following the reſolutions there had no doubt been entertained upon the independence of the Iriſh legiſlature,

legiſlature, in a conſtitutional point of view. With reſpect to the terms of the propoſed union, he did not mean to ſay any thing, becauſe he looked on the whole buſineſs to be a flagrant breach of faith.

Mr. Ryder ſaid, there could be no doubt but that the ſettlement of 1782 was not conſidered as final by the parliament of 1783, who paſſed an act for completing what was left imperfect in the only point which was then not ſettled. Still leſs could it have been the opinion of the parliament of 1785, who adopted the commercial propoſitions, involving not only the regulations of trade, but the moſt important queſtions of navigation and revenue.

Mr. Pitt aſked the right honourable general whether he could maintain that any recognition of the independence of the Iriſh parliament in 1782, made Ireland more incapable of treating of the queſtion of union, or of any other grand political conſideration, than any other country whatever? The power aſſumed by the Engliſh over the Iriſh parliament being laid aſide, by the repeal of what was called the declaratory-act, paſſed in the reign of Geo. I. An addreſs was carried to his majeſty, praying him to take ſuch farther meaſures as might appear to him to be proper, for ſtrengthening the connection between the two countries. His majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer was, that he would take meaſures for that purpoſe. With this view the duke of Portland was ſent to Ireland, with the right honourable general as his ſecretary. Mr. Pitt wiſhed to aſk the general whether there were not inſtructions given to the duke for the accompliſhment of farther arrangements. And he maintained that the primary object of the duke, when at the head of the government of Ireland, was directed to the eſtabliſhment of a new ſyſtem, calculated to promote and perpetuate the connection between the two countries. From this conſideration, it was evident that the meaſure of the union grew out of what was improperly called the final adjuſtment.

General Fitzpatrick ſaid, that though he certainly had acceſs to the official diſpatches to the duke of Portland, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, it could not be ſuppoſed that, after a period of ſixteeen years, he could ſpeak with accuracy to their contents. But this he could aſſert, that the object, which the duke of Portland, at that period, actually had in view, as far as he was acquainted with them, did not relate to any imperial conſtitutional points. Mr. Dundas wiſhed to aſk the general whether, at a period ſubſequent to the addreſs alluded to, when a reſolution was taken to prorogue the Iriſh parliament, that meaſure had not been delayed, in conſequence of the duke of Portland's ſaying that he entertained ſome hope of being able to obtain a ſettlement of thoſe points, which the independence of Ireland made it neceſſary to arrange? General Fitzpatrick had no recollection of the circumſtance. Mr. Sheridan contended that the houſe had recognized Ireland to be independent by an act as ſolemn as the bill of rights. He concluded a ſpeech, in which he repeated his former arguments, placing them however in ſome new points of view, by urging the danger of agitating the preſent queſtion

at the preſent time.—On a diviſion of the houſe, there appeared for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair, 131—againſt it, 19. The houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee *pro forma*, and aſked leave to ſit again the next day,

February 12:—When the order of the day being read, for the houſe going into a committee on his majeſty's meſſage, reſpecting the union with Ireland, the ſpeaker left the chair, and the houſe went into a committee on that ſubject. The report of the committee was brought up on the fourteenth of February, when all the reſolutions, with ſome amendments, were agreed to: and ſent up to the houſe of peers. On the eighteenth of February, a meſſage from the commons was delivered, by earl Temple, to the lords, requeſting a conference, reſpecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two countries. The addreſs of their lordſhips, on the ſubject of an union with Ireland, was taken into conſideration on the twenty-ſecond of April. A motion was made by Mr. Pitt, "that the houſe do concur in the ſaid addreſs," which, after various obſervations by different ſpeakers, was agreed to. A meſſage was ſent to the houſe of peers, informing their lordſhips, that the commons had agreed to the addreſs, and filled up the blank with the words "and commons."

The meſſage from the king, relative to a cloſer connection with Ireland, was brought, on the ſame day, as already obſerved, to the commons and to the lords: by whom alſo, as well as by the commons, it was taken into conſideration, on the twenty-third of January. An addreſs was moved by lord Grenville to his majeſty, thanking him for his moſt gracious communication, and expreſſing their lordſhips readineſs to concur in any meaſure that might be found neceſſary or expedient towards the conſolidation of the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire. The addreſs was voted *nem. dis.*—On the eighteenth of February, the meſſage from the commons, deſiring a conference being read, and the lords informed that the members deputed by the commons waited for them in the painted chamber, they went thither, and immediately returned with a copy of the reſolutions voted by the houſe of commons, on the ſubject of the propoſed union with Ireland. Theſe, being read by the clerk, were ordered to be printed. Lord Grenville gave notice, that when the reſolutions ſhould be printed, and on the table, he intended to move that they ſhould be taken into conſideration on that day ſen'night.

Lord Auckland ſaid, there were certain papers, of which it would be neceſſary that the houſe ſhould be in poſſeſſion, previous to any diſcuſſion that might take place on thoſe reſolutions, that their lordſhips might be able to make up their minds on every part of the merits of ſo important a ſubject.—Theſe papers would ſhew how great were the ſacrifices in regard to capital and manufactures, which had been made by this country to Ireland, and what commercial benefits it was in the power of Great Britain to withhold from that country. He therefore moved "That there be laid before the houſe an account of the imports and exports of Great Britain during the four laſt years, ſpecifying thoſe articles, together with the amount of the ſame, exported

exported to and imported from Ireland in that period." The queſtion on this motion was put and agreed to.

On the 19th of March, lord Grenville moved the order of the day to be read, for ſummoning their lordſhips, for the purpoſe of taking into their conſideration the various papers before them, relative to the ſituation of Ireland. He entered at large into a recommendation of an union, and anſwered the objections that had been made to that meaſure. With regard to the ſuppoſed exiſting bond of connection between the two countries, he was not afraid to ſay it was *abſolutely null:* not that it was imperfect or inadequate but *abſolutely null:* if the two parliaments were ſuffered to remain in their preſent ſtate, if the countries clung together by no other bond than the preſent, the connection, he repeated, was abſolutely null. And if this was ſuffered, many evils would be neceſſarily entailed on their deſcendants, if they did not fall on themſelves. He ſhould move that the reſolutions of the houſe of commons be read *pro forma;* he ſhould then move that the houſe do agree with the reſolutions of the houſe of commons, and laſtly move that theſe reſolutions be read before his majeſty in the form of a joint addreſs from both houſes, with a humble requeſt, that his majeſty would lay them before the parliament of Ireland, at what time his majeſty ſhould deem moſt proper. Earl Fitzwilliam objected to the diſcuſſion of the ſubject under the preſent alarming ſituation of affairs, which he attributed to his never having received orders, when at the head of Iriſh affairs, from the government of Great Britain, to bring forward the queſtion of catholic emancipation.

The marquis of Lanſdown was ſorry that earl Fitzwilliam's ſyſtem for Ireland was not proceeded on. But he contended that there was no uſe in making a compariſon between the proceedings of 1782, relative to Ireland, and thoſe of the preſent time The former had for their object the ſeparation of the two parliaments; the latter had for their object the union of the two parliaments. He had no doubt but that both the landed and commercial intereſt would be benefited by an union, not only in ſome local reſpects, but on a general ſcale. For theſe reaſons, he was inclined to adopt all the reſolutions alluded to by the noble ſecretary of ſtate, except that for the addition of one hundred members for the houſe of commons. However, if others were ſatisfied, he ſhould have nothing farther to ſay.

Earl Camden reminded the houſe, that before the earl of Fitzwilliam left Ireland, there were diſturbances in the county of Cavan, and that the kingdom was quiet for nine or ten months after: a proof that the public mind was not affected by the recall of the earl.—Lord Hobart, thought that an union was eſſential to the preſervation of a connection between the two countries, becauſe, while three-fourths of the people of Ireland were catholics, a proteſtant parliament could never be a ſatisfactory government for the kingdom.

The marquis of Townſhend ſaid, he would give his vote for the union; but there were many other things to be done before Ireland could recover from its preſent diſtreſſed ſituation. There ought to be reſident

 magiſtrates

magiſtrates, in order to enforce a due obedience to the laws; one very great evil was, the itinerant clergy, who went about the country granting abſolution for the moſt enormous offences. But the grand and direful ſource of the calamities of Ireland, was, the exceſſive monopolization of the land, and the number of bankers, ſquires, ſtewards, tackſmen, and other perſons, between the landlord and the tenant.

Lord Moira ſaid, there was no perſon who would more heartily concur in the meaſure propoſed than himſelf, were he ſure that it was founded in the wiſhes of a majority of the people of Ireland. But the oppoſition to it was not limited to the Iriſh parliament only. It had been treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almoſt to a phrenzy. What could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame than our perſevering in the propoſal after it had been ſo ſtrongly reprobated?

Lord Holland, on the argument for an union, taken from the preſent proſperity of Scotland, remarked that it was forty years after the act of union before the commerce of Scotland began to revive from the ſhock it had received. There was another ſubject, on which he could not avoid ſaying a few words.—Nothing aſtoniſhed him more than the apathy with which the propoſition, for adding one hundred members to the houſe of commons, was received. This invaſion of the conſtitution was looked to with the moſt perfect indifference. This propoſition, he ſaid, was alſo incompatible with the opinion of all thoſe who wiſhed a parliamentary reform.

The earl of Kinnoull thought the proteſtant aſcendancy in Ireland was abſolutely neceſſary, as it was not to be ſuppoſed that a Roman Catholic parliament would not annul the forfeitures of the eſtates of their anceſtors. But that aſcendency would be beſt ſecured by an incorporating union. The earls of Carliſle and Weſtmoreland, both formerly lords-lieutenants of Ireland, did not conſider the arrangements of 1782, about which ſo much had been ſaid, as final, but merely as ſuited to the circumſtances of the times, and calculated to remove preſent grievances. The two countries did not intend to bind poſterity and to legiſlate for future generations. The duke of Portland, too, ſaid, that the ſettlement of 1782 had not been conſidered by him, or any of the cabinet, as a final ſettlement.

The reſolutions, moved by lord Grenville, were then read and agreed to. And their lordſhips, having been ſummoned, convened on the eleventh of April, when lord Grenville moved the addreſs to his majeſty.

Lord Auckland roſe with peculiar ſatisfaction to give his ſupport to an addreſs to his revered ſovereign of the two kingdoms, for the purpoſe of communicating their reſolutions to the lords and commons of Ireland. Before he proceeded to the commercial conſiderations, he examined the nature of that independence, which, as ſome adviſers of the people of Dublin aſſerted, would be ſubverted and deſtroyed by the conſolidation of the two legiſlatures. He thought it important to aſcertain the value of what Ireland was told ſhe would loſe, before he proceeded to appreciate what it was that ſhe would gain. He recognized the independence of the Iriſh

nation.

nation, abſtractedly conſidered, as ſecured by the arrangement of 1782. But we could not ſhut our eyes againſt the truths preſented by the map of Europe, and by the relative ſituation, ſize, and population of the two iſlands. What then was, in fact, the independence of a country, which had no means of defence, or ſecurity, or ſelf-preſervation, but through the protection and aid of its more powerful neighbour? If two countries, ſo circumſtanced, took adverſe lines of conduct, a ſtruggle muſt enſue, and either the weaker muſt be overruled, or confuſion and all the evils of war muſt follow. If, on the other hand, there ſhould prevail between the two an uniform ſyſtem of conduct, in leading points of common concern, the weaker muſt be preſumed thus far, virtually and habitually, to have ſacrificed its exerciſe of independent power. This delemma lord Auckland applied to the point in queſtion. Had Ireland, or could ſhe have, the power of negociating, controling, or even rejecting treaties? Had ſhe the means of protecting her own commerce, or of eſtabliſhing colonies, or of making and holding conqueſts? Had ſhe, or could ſhe have any naval force? And was not the direction of her military force conformably to the opinion of Britiſh miniſters, reſponſible only to the Britiſh parliament? Had ſhe, in ſhort, or could ſhe have any controul whatever, any interference, or even any concern, otherwiſe than in a viſionary and abſtract claim, reſpecting the imperial tranſactions of peace and war, alliances and confederacies? Had ſhe, even in the exerciſe of legiſlation, any acceſs to the royal ſanction, otherwiſe than through Britiſh miniſters, not amenable to her parliament, and under the great ſeal of the Britiſh chancellor? But waving all theſe conſiderations, and ſuppoſing Ireland to have every advantage poſſeſſed by Great Britain, and in an equal degree, ſtill however, with one executive power, and with ſeparate and independent legiſlatures: would any individual of a ſound mind aſſert, that the entire union of two countries, ſuch as now deſcribed, would be degrading or detrimental to either? It would be grating, lord Auckland obſerved, to the feelings of all their lordſhips to ſtate to Ireland that ſhe was chained down, though by her own prejudices, to a weak and inefficient independence, ſubject to inceſſant colliſions, and inſeparable from misfortune and humiliation. It would be ungenerous, he ſaid, to make ſuch a ſtatement, if it were not in his power to preſent to her, at the ſame time, a real and permanent independence, accompanied by a full participation of Britiſh opulence, Britiſh greatneſs, and Britiſh freedom, with its beſt companion, Britiſh ſecurity. It was impoſſible to open and contemplate the papers on the table without exultation of mind at ſo brilliant an exhibition of the increaſing proſperity of Great Britain, and of her unexampled pre-eminence among nations. Theſe papers would give their lordſhips, what had never before been attempted, the true valuation of our whole commerce, according to current prices and other documents, the accuracy of which was inconteſtible. It appeared that the total value of our exports and imports, in the year 1798, was ninety-five millions ſterling: above twenty-two millions higher

higher than the average value of the four laſt years of peace. But, notwithſtanding all the exemptions from duties and other encouragements indulged to Ireland, that country, with a population equal perhaps to one-third of the Britiſh population, had a trade equal to not more than one-ninth of the trade of Great Britain. It would be idle to imagine that, in a Britiſh parliament, this great queſtion could be debated with flattery, and complaiſance and reſerves, and on Iriſh intereſts only. The people of Ireland ought not to be kept in ignorance, that numerous and eſſential benefits are conferred on them without reciprocity: but that thoſe benefits, without union, remain liable, on any eventual diſagreement, to a ſudden exploſion, with the utter ruin of all the Iriſh intereſts dependent on trade and manufactures. Could it be expected, that capitals and commercial credit ſhould be tranſferred to a country, ſtruggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and diſturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt, at any time, adverſe connections and intereſts. Nothing leſs than an union could ſatisfy theſe queſtions. They would not, ſaid lord Eden, reſt on the flimſey and undefined proteſtation, ſo often repeated and ſo imperfectly realized, that "the affections of Ireland are unalienable, and that both kingdoms ſhall ſtand or fall together." Let the union take place, and all commercial diſtinctions, and all political jealouſies would be annihilated. What were the multiplied and ineſtimable benefits which the propoſitions and addreſs held out to Ireland? The preſervation of her actual advantages, the extenſion of capitals, the increaſed employments of her people, with the cultivation and ſoftening of their minds and manners; and, above all, the introduction of a middle claſs, one of the great wants of Ireland, and the moſt important link of ſecurity between the higheſt and loweſt orders: ſtill leaving to her the ſame conſtitution, the ſame liberties, the ſame laws, and the ſame privileges, which ſhe now enjoyed." "My lord," ſaid lord Eden, "in this awful period of crimes and calamities, amidſt the ſubverſion of ſtates and empires, the fabric of Britiſh liberty ſtands unſhaken and unmoved. We offer to Ireland the full ſecurity of our happineſs and ſecurity. And unleſs Providence ſhall have withdrawn from her all mercy and protecting influence, unleſs its diſpenſations are to be ſuch as to number her among the wrecks of nations, ſhe will gladly and gratefully receive our offers, and will become an integral part of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland."

The biſhop of Landaff, *multa de ſe predicans*, gave his hearty approbation and cordial ſupport to the propoſed union. He was afraid leſt he ſhould be conſidered by their lordſhips as a man vexing the reluctant ear with a dull repetition of a tale that had, as it were, been thrice told. But his heart was ſo much in that buſineſs, and his mind had ſo long been accuſtomed to contemplate it as an object of the firſt political importance, that he muſt intreat their lordſhips indulgence whilſt he explained his ſentiments upon it. From ſeventeen to ſixty-one, his life had been pleaſantly, and he hoped not unprofitably, ſpent

ſpent, in the purſuit of knowledge, and in abſtract reaſoning on a variety of topics. He had occaſionally and incidentally reaſoned on political ſubjects; but this, he preſumed, might be forgiven in a churchman, who, at the preſent advanced period of his age, could boldly and honeſtly declare, in the hearing of their lordſhips, that all his political ſpeculations were ever founded on what appeared to him the broad baſis of public utility. Many others underſtood the ſubject better than he did. But he was not ignorant of it. He had not conſidered it ſlightly. His opinion upon it was this: that a cordial union would be much more advantageous to Ireland than to Great Britain, but that it would be eminently uſeful to both countries. It would enrich Ireland without impoveriſhing Britain. It would render the empire, as to defence, the ſtrongeſt in Europe. The ſtrength of every ſtate principally depended on the number of its people. The lands of Great Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to their full extent, to the extent to which this meaſure would carry cultivation in half a century, would ſupport a population of thirty millions at leaſt: not to mention the unbounded increaſe of population that might ariſe from the improvement of our fiſheries. Thirty millions of people would afford five or ſix millions able to bear arms. We might then be more indifferent than we could hitherto have prudently been to continental politics. "I will ſpeak," ſaid biſhop Watſon, "my whole mind on this point. Ireland, as a graft inſerted into the ſtock of the Britiſh empire, may throw out branches in every direction, and bear fruit on every twig; but if you ſeparate it from this connection, and plant it in a ſoil by itſelf, it will neither ſtrike root downwards, nor bear fruit upwards, for a hundred years, though it ſhould be left to itſelf, free from the annoyance of its neighbours; but this Iriſh graft cannot be left to itſelf, it will either be ſtunted and overſhadowed by the mighty branching of the Britiſh oak, or it will be poiſoned by the peſtilential exhalations of the trees of liberty, which France will plant around it; trees which have hitherto produced no fruit in Europe, or in the world, except the apples of Sodom,—alluring to the eye, but bitter and poiſonous to the palate. Ireland cannot ſtand alone. Would to God! that there was moderation and juſtice enough, in great ſtates, to permit leſſer ſtates to enjoy their independence, and to proſecute their intereſts in a ſtate of ſeparation from them: but this is a ſyſtem of politics more to be wiſhed than expected, in the preſent condition of Chriſtian morality.

Ireland cannot ſtand alone; ſhe muſt, of neceſſity, be connected; nay, ſhe muſt, for her own ſafety, in the preſent convulſed ſtate of European politics, in the preſent progreſs of ſtrange political opinions, be united either to Great Britain or France. She is not, indeed, at liberty to make her choice, without withdrawing that allegiance, which the wiſeſt and beſt men in Ireland have not, I am convinced, any diſpoſition to withdraw; but if ſhe were unfettered by any bond of connection; at full liberty to make a choice; is there a man in all Ireland, of a good heart and a cool head, who could heſitate in preferring an union

 with

with Great Britain to one with France? United with Great Britain, Ireland will ſoon become a luſty, well-looking, well-fed, limb of the Britiſh body politic: united with France, ſhe would be a withered, ſhrivelled, palſied, ſtarved, excreſcence, which might be cut off and thrown aſide whenever intereſt or caprice ſhould render a ſeparation neceſſary.

I foreſee, with great ſatisfaction, the time when, if this union takes place, the whole ſtate of Ireland will be changed. The overflowing of Britiſh capital will, on a peace, inſtead of finding its way into France or America, ſettle in Ireland. It will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into cornfields; it will cover its barren mountains with foreſts; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics, explore new channels of commerce, and improve the old ones; in a word, by ſupplying labour, it will render the people induſtriouſly enlightened, contented, and happy. I, my lords, ſhall not live to ſee the effects of this meaſure, for great objects do not attain their full perfection at once, but our poſterity will ſee them, and will have cauſe to bleſs the enlarged policy of two legiſlatures, which, riſing ſuperior to petty jealouſies, which, ſacrificing partial intereſts on the altar of general ſafety, have coaleſced into one, for the benefit of both." There was a queſtion, biſhop Watſon obſerved, of great importance, whether the Britiſh conſtitution would or would not undergo ſome change, and if any, what change from the introduction of Iriſh members into our two houſes of parliament. On theſe and ſimilar queſtions, as well as on commercial advantages and diſadvantages attending an union, he could ſpeak at ſome length: but he purpoſely declined it, partly from a perſuaſion that his advice would not be needed, but principally to his diſlike to the appearing forward in obtruding his political ſpeculations on the attention of the houſe, having no ambition whatever to affect the character of a ſtateſman: a character, indeed, when wiſely and honourably ſuſtained, of the higheſt importance to human happineſs, but which did not befit a retired and unconnected churchman, who wiſhed to ſpend the remainder of his days in contemplations of quite a different tendency. When the late duke of Rutland, whoſe memory would ever be dear to the biſhop, was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he honoured him with his confidence, and converſed with him on ſubjects of political importance. In writing to the duke, about the time when the Iriſh propoſitions, as they were called, were under diſcuſſion, he perfectly well remembered having ſaid to his grace, "you and your friend, the miniſter of England, would immortalize your characters, if, inſtead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accompliſh, by honourable means, and on equitable terms, a legiſlative union between the two kingdoms. The duke's anſwer to this ſuggeſtion was ſo ſingular, that he ſhould never forget it. He wholly approved the meaſure, but added, that the man who ſhould attempt to carry it into execution would be tarred and feathered. Whether his repugnance to an union was at that time the general ſentiment of the Iriſh nation, or which he ſuſpected

of

of a few leading individuals only, he had no means of aſcertaining, nor was it now of any uſe to inquire. He mentioned this circumſtance to ſhew, that the vote he ſhould give this day was founded on an opinion not raſhly or recently taken up, but deliberately formed many years ago, when his mind was neither heated by reſentment againſt rebellion, nor diſturbed by the apprehenſion of danger, and when he was much more in the habit of conſidering ſuch ſubjects than he had been of late years. In detaining their lordſhips ſo long, he had probably done as much violence to his own feelings as their patience; for he felt a daily increaſing reluctance to the mingling in public political debate. But this great ſubject had compelled him to come forward.

Lord Boringdon, on the trite queſtion of the ſuppoſed *final adjuſtment* of 1782, referred to Mr. Fox's ſpeech on the commercial propoſitions of 1785, in which he declared, that the reſolution of the houſe of commons, on the ſeventeenth of May, 1782, in no wiſe referred to commerce, but ſolely to objects political and imperial.

Lord Minto ſaid, that it was not only for the advantage, but neceſſary to the ſecurity and preſervation of both countries, that there ſhould ſubſiſt between Great Britain and Ireland a cloſe connection of ſome kind: and the only mode of connection, that could perfectly remove the evils of ſeparation, and fully confer the benefit of union, was a perfect identity and incorporation of their governments. Federal connections were, in their nature, very inadequate to the purpoſes of union, and of very precarious duration. As to the competency of parliament to decide on the preſent queſtion; if parliament was not competent, where could there be found a more adequate authority. For whatever the whole nation could do, if there were no parliament, could be done by the regular and fundamental powers of parliament.

He analyzed the idea and ſentiment of true patriotiſm; which, he ſhewed, conſiſted not in a fond attachment to one nation, merely as it ſtood in a ſtate of diſtinctneſs from other nations, but in doing real and actual good to one's country.

Did our limits, which we have already ſomewhat tranſgreſſed, and were it our object to exhibit ſpecimens of logical reaſoning, and juſt and fine compoſition, we ſhould inſert in this ſketch the whole of lord Minto's ſpeech on this intereſting ſubject, which appears to us to be a happy medium between the ſpeeches of the laſt century, or rather the firſt part of it, drawn from hiſtory, the law of nations, and maxims of juriſprudence and philoſophy, but overloaded with quotation, and, in many inſtances, degenerating into an affectation of learning; and thoſe clumſy and deſultory, though ſenſible remarks, on one hand, and thoſe animated ſallies and effuſions on another, that characterize many orations well received in our times. At the ſame time, as we have been led to aſſume the province of the critic, it may be proper to obſerve, that lord Minto's ſpeech was not more conſolidated by a ſound and enlightened judgement, than enlivened by many delicate and pleaſing contours of a fine imagination. It was

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the oratory of *Fletcher, of Saltown*, employed in an oppoſite and more auſpicious cauſe. The queſtion on the addreſs being put, was carried *nem. con.* Lord Grenville, lord Auckland, the biſhop of Landaff, and lord Minto, were named as a committee, for drawing up an addreſs, conformably to the motion, which, after a conference with the commons, was preſented to his majeſty, as the joint addreſs of both houſes of parliament.

That the various proceedings in parliament, of moſt importance, might be contemplated with the more intereſt, as well as order, we have thought it proper to view them not in the connection of adjournments, from time to time, but under the four heads of finance, meaſures of external defence, meaſures of internal tranquillity, and meaſures of political economy.* The union with Ireland may be referred to either the ſecond or third of four general heads, or more properly to both. To both, alſo, may be referred a bill, propoſed in February, and paſſed in the courſe of the ſeſſion, for reducing the militia and regulating the proviſional cavalry. The ſupplementary militia was now almoſt trebled. If fully completed, under the preſent laws, it would amount to 106,000. It was, however, deficient of that number, and did not exceed 82,000. This laſt number of 82,000 ſupplementary militia, combined with our other forces, being conſidered as perfectly adequate to every purpoſe, was not to be increaſed, but continued as it now ſtood. The clauſe in the bill, relating to the proviſional cavalry, was founded on the ſame principle as that reſpecting the ſupplementary militia, viz. a wiſh not to increaſe our force beyond what was actually neceſſary. And it was judged the more particularly expedient to do ſo, at a ſeaſon of the year when ſo many hands would be wanting for the purpoſes of agriculture. The volunteer and yeomanry cavalry had riſen from 5,000 to 30,000. By this vaſt augmentation, the proviſional cavalry-act being ſuperſeded, it was thought unneceſſary to call forth that part of our intended force.

On the firſt of March, Mr. Wilberforce made his annual motion for the abolition of the ſlave-trade. A new and intereſting circumſtance varied the uſual topics and arguments, this year, in the debate on this ſubject: an army of negroes, under Touſſaint, in St. Domingo, and democratical, or, as they were at this time called, French principles, ſupported and encouraged by that ſtriking revolution, ſtriving hard to make their way into the very heart of the Britiſh colonies. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was loſt by 84 votes againſt 54.

* Finance might certainly be arranged under the head of political economy: but we here apply this term to meaſures for the improvement of the general ſtate or condition of the empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Treaty of Campo Formio ſuddenly formed.—Diſregarded and miſtruſted by both Parties.—Military Preparations.—General Jourdan receives Orders to begin the Campaign.—Immenſe Scale on which War is now carried on.—Force and Poſition of the French and the Imperial Forces.—Plans of the French.—Situation and Views of the Auſtrians.—The French Army occupies Manheim.—Lays the Palatinate under Contribution.—And advances into Suabia.—Contributions there alſo.—Jourdan appointed Commander-in-chief of the Armies in Germany and Switzerland. Poſitions of the Auſtrians in the Country of the Griſons and in the Voralberg.—Maſſena ſummons General Auffenberg, and attacks him at the ſame Time.—And takes him, with the greater Part of his Troops.—The French Maſters of Chur, and almoſt all the Valley of the Rhine.—Plan of the French to complete the Conqueſt of the Country of the Griſons.—Maſſena repulſed in the Voralberg with much Loſs.—The French General, Lecourbe, ſeizes on the Upper and Lower Engadine.—The French General, Deſolles, attacks and gains the Poſt at Bormio.—The Army of the Archduke Charles paſſes the Lech, and advances in Suabia.—Movements and Poſitions taken by the Auſtrian and French Armies.—Battle between the Auſtrians and French.—The French defeated, and forced to repaſs the Rhine.—The Auſtrians in Poſſeſſion of almoſt all Suabia.

THE treaty of Campo Formio proved, as was very generally foreſeen, no more than an armed truce, during which, the oppoſite parties were leſs animated by the hope or the deſire of permanent peace, than by thoſe of being in a condition to renew the war. That treaty, though favourable to France, was ſcarcely more favourable than what her ſplendid ſucceſs in arms, according to the criterion of political morality, might ſeem to juſtify. It was, in fact, ſuch, that if it had been formed after long and leiſurely diſcuſſion, and after the parties had duly reconciled their minds to it by habitual reflection, it might have been the baſis of a general pacification, and of a new ſyſtem of the political balance in Europe. But it appears to be an univerſal law, in nature, phyſical, moral, and political, that nothing ſudden is permanent. The preliminaries of Leoben were ſigned at a moment pregnant with danger to the French army, as well as with ruin to the houſe of Auſtria. The French and Auſtrian governments, in proportion as that moment of danger, was removed, and thrown into the background of the picture of Europe, recovered their habitual views and paſſions. The treaty of Campo Formio appeared as a dream, a preternatural intruſion into the great affairs and intereſts of nations. The French directory, by

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the moſt overt acts of the moſt violent injuſtice and oppreſſion, manifeſted ſtill a diſpoſition to extend their principles and conqueſts. The Cæſars of Vienna could not, without a ſigh, behold their long-loved Italy, as well as Switzerland and Savoy, a prey to French influence and domination; by which means, alſo, the Auſtrian dominions were ſtripped of that natural boundary and barrier, which they derived from their geographical ſituation, and a way was opened to the heart of the empire. Yet it is not improbable that the two governments had it in contemplation to avoid the dangerous conſequences of war, and to gain their reſpective objects by the magnitude of their preparations, and mutually preſenting to each other a front of defiance. By theſe, the Auſtrians eſpecially, after the march of the Ruſſians, for their aid, to Germany, hoped to reſtore the independence of Switzerland, Naples, and the papal territories: by theſe, alſo, the French hoped ſtill to retain them in ſubjection. Be this as it may, military preparations, during the congreſs at Raſtadt, were continued, with unremitting activity, by both parties; each of which had an intereſt in the gaining of time, by prolonging the negociation for peace. The directory had begun to loſe the confidence of the French nation. The recruiting of the French armies, by means of military conſcriptions, went on but ſlowly. It required ſome time to train the recruits, and incorporate them with the exhauſted battalions. Nor could the movements of troops, notwithſtanding the poſſeſſion of Switzerland, be made without delays, amidſt the rigours of winter. The directory, therefore, did not think it adviſeable to open the campaign till the ſpring, favourable, in all circumſtances, to the execution of great military plans, eſpecially in mountainous countries. The imperialiſts, on their part, had ſimilar motives for temporization. Their army, for the purpoſe of recruiting, was diſperſed in Bohemia, and other provinces, at a diſtance from Suabia and the Bavarian frontier; with the exception of thoſe ſtationed in Friuli, and the newly acquired Venetian ſtates, which were to be preſerved from the revolutionary fermentation, and retained in a ſtate of obedience and ſubmiſſion, only by the preſence of an army. The march of the Ruſſian troops, in different diviſions, and halting at different places for refreſhment, could not be other than ſlow. And beſides all this, a plan of co-operation, between the imperial armies of Germany and Italy, could not be carried into execution before the ſeaſon of communication by the Tyrol. Thus, in the negociation of Raſtadt, there were, on both ſides abundant motives for procraſtination. Towards its concluſion, it became a kind of diplomatical war, in which the reſpective plenipotentiaries were only ſpies on each other, and ſet themſelves only to conſider and determine the point to which party its rupture or prolongation would be of the greateſt advantage. On that point the directory had no longer any doubt, when they were certain that the Ruſſians were deſtined to co-operate with the imperial army in Italy, and when they ſaw the formation of a great Auſtrian army, under the command of the archduke Charles, between the Lech and the Danube. On the other hand, it became

came as little a queſtion to the court of Vienna, when they perceived the movements of four French armies, namely that of Italy, that of Switzerland, that of the Danube, and that of obſervation; and when the French, threatening to croſs the Rhine, peremptorily demanded the retreat of the Ruſſians from the confines of Germany.

For many centuries, the nations of Europe, as by a tacit compact, had occaſionally made war on one another, on a ſcale ſuited to their reſpective finances, and other regular reſources. And many ſpeculative men, concluding that the progreſſive complexity of the machinery of war, and of a concomitant ſpirit of calculation, as well as the advancement of civilization, would contribute to the intereſts of peace and the happineſs of the human race. But, towards the end of the moſt enlightened century, and in the moſt refined country in Europe, an exploſion broke forth, which falſified all thoſe auſpicious anticipations. The ardent genius of the French nation, rouzed to action by the revolution, incapable of repoſe, and finding aliment only in war, exhibited movements ſimilar to thoſe of barbarous nations, in former periods, when, quitting their native ſoil, and ſetting fire to their huts, they precipitated themſelves in queſt of new ſettlements on their cultivated, peaceable, and luxurious, neighbours. The very deficiency of their finances, and the impoveriſhed ſtate of France, impelled them, as in a maſs, to arms: for what they wanted at home, they ſought and found in other countries. It was a ſtrong proof of the ſtrength of the antagoniſt governments, when even a few of the European monarchies could make head againſt ſo numerous, accompliſhed, and energetic a people, become a military republic. The armies of France, inſtead of laying ſiege to particular forts and towns, attacked whole countries. Fortreſſes, which heretofore arreſted, occupied, and conſumed whole armies, were paſſed with unconcern; iſolated, as it were, by the enormous maſs of the French armies. To this extenſion of the naval theatre of war, they were invited by their numbers, by the ſuperiority of their artillery, and the proviſion that was made by their moveable columns, for the celerity of their motion; which, to ſpeak in the language of phyſics, being multiplied into the quantity of their matter, formed a lever fitted to ſubvert ſtates and empires. Yet the Auſtrians, ſeconded by the wealth of Great Britain, met the French with great courage and glory on the whole extent of that ample field. It will not be expected, that, in this brief ſketch of Europe, for 1799, we ſhould give any other than a very general account of military operations ſo vaſt and various. Nor were a full account permitted by the limits either of our plan, or capacity and information, would it be deſired, as we conceive, by the generality of our readers. Military men, to whom alone ſuch details could be intereſting, will not, for learning the art of war, we preſume, be diſpoſed to have recourſe to an Annual Regiſter. They will find much more ſatisfaction in the peruſal of ſuch books as the *Precis des évènemens Militaires*,* and the *Hiſtory of the Campaigns from* 1796 *to* 1799,

* Publiſhed by Debrett.

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*both inclusive,** to whose luminous views, we take this opportunity of making our acknowledgements, and to which we beg leave to refer the military reader, rather than to put them off with any compressed abridgement of their narratives. Our object, in this general history, is not to enter into a full detail of military operations, but rather to mark situations, designs, and results, and the principal means, whether prepared or accidental, by which plans were accomplished, on the one hand, or failed on the other.

Of the three hundred and twenty thousand, who, at this time composed the French army, forty-five thousand under the orders of general Massena, occupied Switzerland and the left bank of the Rhine, almost from its source, to the western extremity of the lake of Constance, and from that point, the two banks of the river as far as Basle. Between that town and Dusseldorf were stationed about 65,000 men, commanded by general Jourdan, and forming what was called the army of Mentz. They occupied the fort of Kehl, on the right bank of the Rhine, lined the left bank, from the frontier of Switzerland to Mentz, and from the latter town to Dusseldorf, possessed all the country upon the two banks. The corps, in the latter position, amounting to about twenty thousand men, was called the army of observation. The plan of the directory was the same that had been pursued in 1796, and 1797; namely, the invasion of the hereditary states of the house of Austria, and the junction of the French armies under the walls of Vienna. For this end it was necessary that the army of observation should take possession of Philipsburg, the only fortress remaining on the Rhine to the empire; that the army of Jourdan should cross that river, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, extend itself into Suabia, turn the lake of Constance, and the southern part of the Tyrol; that the army of Switzerland should drive the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, attack the Tyrol in front, and seize the vallies of the Lech and of the Inn, while the army of Italy should penetrate into Germany, either through the Tyrol or Friuli. Thus the Austrian troops, posted on the lake of Constance, in the country of Regentz and that of the Grisons, would have been encompassed by Jourdan's army, and that of Massena; and those which defended the Italian Tyrol and the Veronese, between Massena's army and that of Italy. The situation and the views of the Austrians were as follows:

More than sixty thousand were concentrated under the archduke Charles, on the Lech. Twenty thousand were collected in the Palatinate, in the environs of Auberg, or at Wurtzburg, under the orders of general Sztarray. A like number was under those of general Hotze, in the Voralberg, and the country of the Grisons. Near twenty-five thousand, commanded by general Bellegarde, were on the frontiers of the last-mentioned country and the Tyrol. The army of Italy, part of which was on the Adige, and the rest in Friuli and Carinthia, was reckoned to be more than sixty thousand strong. Thus the emperor had to oppose to the

* Published by Cadell, Egerton, Wright, and Gardiner.

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French, one hundred and eighty-five thouſand fighting men, ninety thouſand of whom were in a ſituation for acting againſt Jourdan and Maſſena. But, determined as the Auſtrians were to let the odium of recommencing hoſtilities fall on the French, their firſt operations could only be defenſive, and dependent on thoſe of their enemies. Generals Hotze and Bellegarde could do nothing but watch the motions of the French, and fortify and defend, as well as poſſible, the poſts occupied in Suabia, Tyrol, and the country of the Griſons, as likewiſe thoſe held on its frontiers, in the Valtelline and in Italy. It was the buſineſs of the archduke, on his part, to confine himſelf, in the firſt inſtance, to preparations for the paſſage of the Lech with all his army, the moment he ſhould hear that the French had paſſed the Rhine, and, in that event, to advance ſo rapidly as to come up with them, not only before they ſhould arrive on the Iller, but even before they could puſh beyond the lake of Conſtance.

On the ſecond of March, a detachment of the French army of obſervation took poſſeſſion of the town of Manheim, in conſequence of a capitulation. On the ſame day, general Bernadotte preſented himſelf before the town of Philipſburg, which, in conſequence of the treaty of Campo Formio, was garriſoned only by the troops of the empire, commanded by the rhingrave of Salm. To an inſolent letter of ſummons from Bernadotte, in which he ſtated that the garriſon was ready to revolt, and denounced the moſt terrible puniſhment to thoſe who ſhould oblige him to give orders for the aſſault, the rhingrave, neither deceived nor intimidated, returned a ſpirited though moderate anſwer, "Surely, general," ſaid he, "it muſt be your own opinion that I ſhould be culpable, were I to deliver up a fortreſs, the command of which has been intruſted to me by the commander-in-chief of the army of the empire. The ſituation of the fortreſs under my command is not ſuch as you appear to believe, nor do I know of any diſcontents among the garriſon. I muſt, therefore, declare to you that I will not receive a French garriſon into the place, nor commence hoſtilities, though I will reſiſt any attack." This ſoldierly, and gentlemanlike reply to Bernadotte, was juſtified by the conduct of the garriſon, compoſed of nearly two thouſand choſen troops of the empire, who had ſerved with diſtinction in the preceeding campaigns. The officers, imitating the zeal of their leader, proteſted with indignation againſt the diſhonourable views imputed to them by the French general. The inundations, which form the principal defence of Philipſburg, prevented the French from approaching near enough for the purpoſe of reducing the place in a ſhort time. Theſe local circumſtances, with events which took place about this time in Suabia, compelled him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and even that he was obliged to raiſe ſoon after.

General Jourdan's army, continuing to advance in the direction it had taken, was beyond the mountains of the Black Foreſt. Its right was at Rhinberg near Schaffhauſen, and its left at Rothwell. The army of obſervation, at the ſame time, ſpread itſelf into the country of Heſſe Darmſtadt, and the Palatinate, and was buſily employed in repairing the fortifications

at Manheim. The different corps of Jourdan's army met with no impediment in their march, as the Auſtrians were ſtill at a great diſtance, and the duke of Wurtemberg, the only prince who could have thrown any obſtacles in their way, obſerved the ſtricteſt neutrality; to which he was compelled by the armiſtice ſubſiſting between France and the empire, by his own military weakneſs, and ſtill more by the dread of giving the French a pretext for effecting a revolution in his ſtates: to which the French plenipotentiaries, taking advantage of their reſidence at Raſtadt, and of differences then exiſting between that prince and his ſubjects, had applied themſelves, with their uſual aſſiduity and addreſs, to diſpoſe them. That the entry of the French into the duchy of Wurtemberg did not produce a revolution in that ſtate, is to be attributed to the hope they entertained of being able to detach the princes of the empire from the cauſe of the emperor. They contented themſelves with preying on that country, notwithſtanding all the fine promiſes of general Jourdan, and treated it almoſt as badly as the Briſgaw, on which they levied all kinds of contributions. Their amity with the new elector of Bavaria did not protect even the Palatinate from their rapacity. The abſolute neceſſity, under which the French government lay, of ſubſiſting its armies, and the impoſſibility of doing this at their own expenſe, outweighed every other conſideration. The diſtrict of Raſtadt was alone reſpected: the circumſtances of its being almoſt ſeparated from Germany, by the advance of the French armies, and having, beſides, but a very precarious and limited communication with the reſt of the empire, enlivened the hopes of the directory of realizing its project of a partial pacification. The name of the army of Mentz, after it had penetrated ſo far into Suabia, was changed into that of the army of the Danube; and Jourdan was appointed commander-in-chief of the three armies of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and of Switzerland, under his ſuperior direction. The firſt of theſe armies was commanded by Bernadotte, the laſt by Maſſena.

In order to form a junction, according to the French plan, on the eaſtern ſide of the lake of Conſtance, between the armies of Jourdan and Maſſena, the former general had only to march through countries without defence, but the latter, in the very outſet, to encounter the Auſtrians, in ſpite of their oppoſition, to paſs the Rhine, to drive them from the country of the Griſons and the Voralberg, and to force them to retreat into the Upper Tyrol. The difficulties attending theſe operations, rendered it neceſſary for Maſſena to begin his attack before the archduke could oppoſe the march of Jourdan, and find time to ſend reinforcements to the lake of Conſtance. A body of Auſtrians, to the number of about ſix thouſand, under the command of general Auffenberg, and ſtationed in different poſts, communicated along the left bank of the Rhine, with the army of general Hotze, from which it had been detached, and which lay, part at Fieldkirk, and part at Bregentz, and the intermediate places. In this manner were the Auſtrians ſhut up in a narrow valley, having the Rhine before them, and behind them a chain of extenſive mountains, rendered impaſ-

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ſable, during almoſt the whole year, by ſnow. Although they had but an inadequate force, and the poſition afforded but few local reſources in caſe the paſſage of the river ſhould be effected, yet they ſtill poſſeſſed many means of impeding that paſſage, which was to be forced only through great difficulties and dangers. General Maſſena, with a great part of his army, took poſt on the evening of the fifth of March along the left bank of the Rhine, from the point where the two ſources of that river unite, as far as the lake of Conſtance. Before day-break, on the ſixth, he ſent a ſummons to general Auffenberg to evacuate the country of the Griſons within two hours; but, without waiting for an anſwer to this demand, and with which it was even phyſically impoſſible, had Auffenberg been willing to comply, he made a general attack through all the line, flattering himſelf, that by this mode of conduct, he ſhould avoid the odium of having begun the war without declaring it, and, yet ſecure to himſelf all the advantages of ſurprize. Maſſena, at the ſame time that he made a ſhew of an intention to attack the Auſtrians in the whole extent of their line, and threatened to paſs the Rhine in ſeveral places, threw a bridge over the river at Aſmooz, oppoſite the narrow paſs of the Lucien-ſteig, and marched to that point with 5000 or 6000 men. The poſſeſſion of this poſt being the principal object the French had in view, it was there that they united the greateſt force, and the engagement at that point was very obſtinate during the whole day. The Auſtrians had the ſuperiority in poſition, and their enemies in numbers, with the additional advantage of having concerted before hand all their meaſures. This circumſtance, in the end, turned the ſcale, and towards the evening of the ſixth, the French made themſelves maſters of the paſſage and fort of Lucien-ſteig, which commands the fort from Chur, called otherwiſe Coire, to Bregentz. While things were in this ſtate of progreſſion in the centre, the French had likewiſe gained ground on the right above Chur, and their left, commanded by general Oudinot, which had forded the Rhine at Hag, near Wordenberg, kept general Hotze in check near Field-kirk, and prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the troops which defended the country of the Griſons.

The loſs of the important poſt of the Steig having entirely interrupted the communication between the corps of general Hotze and Auffenberg, the latter had no other ſource than to concentrate his remaining forces for the defence of Chur.—After ſeveral combats, during the night and the morning of the ſeventh, he had reached the heights near Chur, when he found another column of the enemy advancing on his rear. Attacked on all ſides, he ſtill endeavoured, notwithſtanding his inferiority in number, and the fatigue of his ſoldiers, to defend himſelf in vain. He was obliged to ſurrender with all his forces. In the mean time, general Hotze, in order to carry aſſiſtance to general Auffenberg, made every effort to penetrate into the valley of the Rhine, but he was obliged to return to Field-kirk with the loſs of ſeveral pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable number of men. General Maſſena eſtimated the loſs of the Auſtrians in thoſe two days

at 5000 men taken. The Auſtrians computed that of the French, in killed, wounded, and ſeveral hundred priſoners taken by Hotze, at 4000. The Auſtrians had flattered themſelves that they ſhould receive from the Griſons powerful aſſiſtance, which had certainly been promiſed by their chiefs. But it was a very ſmall number of individuals only that took up arms in favour of the Auſtrians.

There is not a principle better eſtabliſhed in the ſcience of politics, if it may be called a ſcience, or in that of war, than that it is extremely dangerous to hazard any plan of operations in any country, or a reliance on the co-operation and ſupport of the inhabitants. Yet there certainly is a ſtrong and inveterate propenſity in human nature to place ſuch a reliance, though its ſlipperineſs has been ſo often experienced, and, in the preſent war, on one ſide almoſt uniformly. It is the paſſion for liberty alone, rightly or otherwiſe underſtood, or rather the ſpirit of innovation, and a fond expectation of ſome unknown good, that can animate a whole people to any general ſyſtem of conſtant exertion. The Griſons had invited the Auſtrians to ſave them from the tyranny of the French, but it is ſaid that the manners of thoſe Germans were by no means ſuch as to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants, who probably began to think that they had only exchanged one maſter for another. Maſſena tranſferred the government of the capital, and what he had ſubdued of the country of the Griſons, into the hands of ſome expelled patriots, whom he had brought back with him, and whoſe individual wiſhes were declared, as on former occaſions, to be the joint and collective wiſhes of the whole Griſon people.

However advantageous the poſſeſſion of the valley of the Rhine might be to the French, that ſucceſs could neither lead to others, nor even be ſecure, as long as the Auſtrians were maſters of the Voralberg, and of the upper country of the Griſons. It was neceſſary to drive them from thoſe poſitions, in order to attack the Tyrol with advantage, and to complete the execution of the great deſign. It was not permitted, by the ſituation and force of the army of Italy, that it ſhould act at the ſame time againſt the Voralberg, the country of Plundentz, and in the ſouthern parts of the country of the Griſons. It was determined, therefore, that the latter part of this taſk ſhould be undertaken by a body of troops detached from thoſe which occupied the Valtelline and the Italian Bailiwicks; that Maſſena himſelf ſhould attack the Voralberg, and that his right wing, under Lecourbe, acting between the two, ſhould attack the weſt ſide of the Tyrol: in a word, it was by the three vallies of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Adige, that the French hoped to penetrate into that Auſtrian province.

Maſſena, being neareſt to the enemy, began his attack on the eleventh, but he found the poſition of Field-kirk ſo well fortified, that all his reiterated efforts againſt it were fruitleſs. The diviſion, under Lecourbe, in twelve days made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the valley of the upper and lower Engadine, on the courſe of the Inn. Encouraged by theſe firſt ſucceſſes, he advanced in the valley of the Inn to the frontier of the Tyrol, and on the fourteenth in the morning at-

attacked the Auſtrians at St. Martinſbruck, and at Finſter-Munſter; but was obliged to retreat with the loſs of ſeveral hundred men. General Loudon, who had been beaten by Lecourbe three days before, with a loſs of about 2000 men, taken priſoners, reſolved to take advantage of the French general's line being weak, and ſo much extended, to beat the enemy, and on the ſame ſpot. Having procured reinforcements, partly of regular troops, and partly of Tyroleſe volunteers, having ſent a detachment to Zernetz, and concerted meaſures with the officer who commanded the poſt of St. Martinſbruck, on the fifteenth in the morning, he unexpectedly marched down the mountains, and fell upon ſome companies of grenadiers and light infantry who occupied the village of Schulz. Thus ſurprized, they were driven from the village and put to flight. General Mainoni and a great part of them were taken priſoners. This corps would probably have been deſtroyed, and the French expelled from the Engadine, if Lecourbe had not, at that moment, been accidentally on his way to Schulz, and very near it. He rallied the fugatives, and having ſupported them with a freſh battalion, again made himſelf maſter of the village. But he could not retake Mainoni and the horſes which had fallen into the hands of the Auſtrians, who had time to carry them off into the mountains. We come now to the detachment form the Italian army which occupied the Valtelline and the Italian Bailiwicks. Deſolles, who commanded this detachment, who had begun, on the thirteenth, his march in the Valtelline, vigorouſly attacked the Auſtrians in the morning of the ſixteenth near Bormio, without being able, however, even after repeated efforts, to diſlodge them from their poſition. Next day, the French having returned to the charge, in greater force, drove the Auſtrians from the important valley of Bormio, the poſſeſſion of which opened the road to the conquerors to that of the Adige. On the ſame day Lecourbe renewed an attack, which had failed on the fifteenth, on the Auſtrian poſt at St. Martinſbruck, while another column, by deſcending the mountains, between Finſter-Munſter and Neuders, endeavoured to turn it. None of theſe attacks ſucceeded. General Alciani, who commanded in thoſe parts, made ſo good a uſe of his poſition, of the ſmall number of regular troops that he had, and of the Tyroleſe peaſants who had joined him, that he made a ſucceſsful reſiſtance on every ſide. After a deſperate engagement of ſeveral hours the French were obliged to abandon the attack, leaving a great number of dead in the field, and 400 priſoners in the hands of the enemy. This check, though balanced by the ſucceſs of Deſolles, retarded the operations of Lecourbe, forced him to take new meaſures, and delayed for ſome days the invaſion of the Tyrol.

The archduke, whoſe head-quarters were at Friedberg, was informed of the paſſage of the Rhine by the French, on the night between the ſecond and third of March. He immediately, ordered the whole of his army, cantoned on the Lech, to prepare to paſs that river. On the very next day, 6000 men, part of the vanguard puſhed forward, by forced marches, and on the morning of the fifth reached Ulm, whi-

ther alſo the whole of the imperial army arrived on the ſixth. This was a ſtrong point of ſupport which the archduke wiſhed to ſecure on the Danube, and from which, as from an extenſive fortreſs, he meant to cover all the approaches to the hereditary ſtates. A military proclamation, by prince Charles, in anſwer to that of Jourdan, already noticed, inſpired one ſentiment of indignation againſt the French, and one deſire of fighting them. The head-quarters of the archduke were, on the ninth, fixed at Mammingen. His vanguard, 15,000 ſtrong, commanded by general Nawendorf, puſhed very far on, and, on the eleventh, took poſt near Ravenſberg, while the corps, which had occupied Ulm, was ſending detachments along the two banks of the Danube. The line poſſeſſed by the Auſtrians, between Bregentz, and Ulm, had already fruſtrated the firſt part of Jourdan's plan, which was, to gain the flank of the Tyrol by mere marches. The French general, with a view of concentrating the force of the armies of Switzerland and the Danube, and to give more concert to their operations, of which the common object was to drive the Auſtrians from the Tyrol, placed the right wing of his army on the lake of Conſtance, near Marchdorf, his centre and head-quarters at Pfullendorf, and his left at Mengen. In the mean time the archduke, with all poſſible celerity, brought up the main body of his army, that had remained conſiderably behind the vanguard, which had advanced with great rapidity to cover the Tyrol, and to ſupport general Hotze. It had already, on the ſixteenth, puſhed ſome parties as far as Stock-ach. The main body of the army, at this period, was not far diſtant from the vanguard. It occupied the ſpace between the Federſea and the lake of Conſtance, and like the French, had placed the greateſt part of its force on this latter point. This part of ſouthern Suabia was the ground which the French were the moſt intereſted in ſeizing, and the Auſtrians in defending. Jourdan's aim was to get between the archduke and general Hotze: the prince's to ſeparate Jourdan from Maſſena. Neither could attain his end without beating his adverſary. The ſpace occupied by the two armies, between the Danube and the lake being too confined for great manœuvres, and the advanced poſts almoſt touching each other, both ſides prepared for a battle, which had become unavoidable.

Not a ſhot had yet been fired in Suabia, and the French, acting in conformity to Jourdan's proclamation, but in direct oppoſition to the attacks in the country of the Griſons, continued to aver, that they had no other view than to take poſitions of ſafety. The directory, however, ſeeing that there no longer remained any hopes of reaping freſh advantages from its groſs artifices, had thrown off the maſk, and, on the thirteenth of the ſame month, had cauſed war to be declared by the legiſlative body againſt the emperor and grand duke of Tuſcany. General Jourdan, informed of this, on the nineteenth, diſpoſed his army in order of battle, the very day after, and poſted it on the two ſmall rivers of Aſek and Oſtrach: thus occupying all that ſpace which lies between the lake and the Danube, from Buckhorn to Mengen. Having taken theſe meaſures, he ſent

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an officer to general prince Schwartzenberg, who commanded a part of the Auſtrian vanguard, to aſk whether the anſwer expected from the court of Vienna, relative to the ſending back of the Ruſſians had been yet received. That officer, being told that no anſwer had been ſent, announced that the armiſtice was at an end, and declared war, on the part of the directory, againſt the king of Bohemia and Hungary. No ſooner was he returned than an attack, by orders of Jourdan, was made on the Auſtrian vanguard, which was obliged to fall back; but, which meeting with reinforcements, repulſed the French in its turn, and regained the ground it had loſt.—On the ſame day, the main body of the archduke's army had arrived near to Salgau and Altzhauſen, being then diſtant only one day's march from the French army. This conſideration induced the archduke to concentrate his force, in an encampment on the heights adjacent to theſe two places.

General Jourdan, encouraged by the ſlight ſucceſs of his van-guard, and by the nature of the ground, determined to come to action on the twenty-firſt. The archduke, wiſhing to take the advantage of the enthuſiaſm of his troops, and not to give his adverſary time to reinforce himſelf with the corps on the other ſide of the Danube, was before hand with Jourdan. He divided his army into three columns: that of the right, commanded by the prince of Furſtemberg, was to march along the Danube towards Mengen, and to diſlodge the left wing of the French army from that place, or at leaſt to keep it in check. General Wallis, with the left wing or diviſion followed the road to Altzhouſen, and directed his march upon Oſtrach, while the archduke, with the centre, advanced on the ſame point, along the cauſeway of Sulgau. The united columns of the Auſtrians overthrew the advanced poſts of the enemy in their march, though in this they ſuffered very conſiderable loſs from the batteries erected on the heights and commanding the roads by which they were obliged to advance, attacked the bridge of Oſtrach in front, which was at length forced, after a brave defence. The centre of the French army, having thus loſt its principal ſupport, was obliged to fall back, ſuffering greatly in its retreat, from the Auſtrian cavalry, to Pfullendorf, where it took up a poſition on the heights in front of that place. The right wing, which had not been attacked, followed the motion of the centre, and fell back to Salmens-weiler. The left wing, which, from the very beginning of the day, had been hotly engaged with the Auſtrians, and had defended itſelf well, alſo in the end retreated along the Danube, placing itſelf in a line with the reſt of the army. The Auſtrians calculated the loſs of the French as amounting to 5000 killed, wounded, or priſoners. The latter eſtimated the loſs of the victors at 4000 men.—This day was very honourable to the archduke, who again diſplayed the bravery and military talents of which he had given ſuch repeated proofs three years before. The firſt ſucceſs in all campaigns is of great importance. But it was of more than uſual importance in a war depending ſo greatly on public opinion; and by which, in its turn, public opinion muſt be powerfully influenced. The engagement of the

twenty-firſt, to which no name has as yet been appropriated, and which we ſhall therefore call the battle of Oſtrach, ſtopped, in the very outſet, the execution of the plan adopted by the French; repaired the bad effects which the misfortunes in the country of the Griſons had produced in the minds of the people; increaſed the confidence of the Auſtrian army in its chief, and formed to Europe a preſage of events yet more fortunate. The French commander aſſured, from the poſition which the Auſtrians had taken on his right, that it was their intention to attack him on the morrow, in the night, between the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond, retired from a poſt which he did not conſider as ſufficiently ſtrong for ſuſtaining an attack, towards Stock-ach, where he fixed his head-quarters: the right of his army being on the lake of Conſtance, near Fridingen. Retiring again from this poſition, the day after he eſtabliſhed his right at Hohen-Tweil, his centre in front of Engen, where he had his head-quarters, and his left on the heights of Tuttlingen, near the Danube.

The archduke, in purſuit of Jourdan, drove the republicans every where before him. On the twenty-fourth he puſhed his vanguard to the very line of the enemy, who were forced, with loſs, from ſeveral poſts on their right and centre. On the ſame day, the whole of the Auſtrian army had taken up a poſition in the rear of Stock-ach. However well choſen this poſition might be, in the preſent circumſtances, and courſe of action, it was not without its diſadvantages, and was far from being ſecure, as the Danube, being nearer to the lake of Conſtance, towards its ſource, than in the reſt of its courſe, Jourdan could more eaſily occupy the ſpace, lying between that river and the lake, than the archduke, who, although obliged to have a more extended front, was yet unable to turn his adverſary, while the latter could eaſily turn the poſition of the Auſtrians.

Whilſt the archduke, by the diſpoſition of his cavalry, and directing attacks to be made on certain poſts of the enemy, was employed in correcting the unavoidable defects of his poſition, Jourdan was conſidering how he might take advantage of them. All the efforts which that general and Maſſena had ſucceſſively made to effect a junction of their forces, beyond the lake of Conſtance, had miſcarried. There remained, therefore, no other means of realizing the plan adopted for the campaign by the French than to gain a deciſive victory over the archduke: and Jourdan accordingly determined to hazard a battle. The plan, which he formed, was to bring his left againſt the right flank of the Auſtrians, in hopes that they, ſeeing themſelves in danger of being turned, might weaken their centre, and thus enable him to break through this, and ſeparate the archduke from the lake of Conſtance. Having formed his army into three principal columns, he directed theſe, at break of day, on the morning of the twenty-fifth, to three points of attack. The archduke, who had proceeded to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, and was then in the village of Aach, ſeeing that the attack on his army became general, inſtantly made the beſt diſpoſitions that the circumſtances would admit. Having placed ſome battalions and artillery on the heights of Nellemberg, a central point, which he intended

tended to make the principal ſupport of his whole poſition, he ſet out himſelf, with reinforcements, drawn from that wing, to aſſiſt the right, which the enemy had begun to attack on two ſides, while another column was endeavouring to turn it by Moſs-kirk, and to cut off its communication with Pfullendorf. On that ſide fortune had favoured the French ſince the beginning of the day, and victory ſeemed already within their graſp. Nothing remained to be done, but to diſlodge the Auſtrians from ſome heights which they ſtill occupied. The archduke loſt not a moment to extricate himſelf from ſo critical a ſituation. He directed an attack on the right and left ſides of the road of Tuttlingen, at the ſame time. The prince of Furſtemberg, while bravely conducting the ſecond attack, in the midſt of a moſt deadly fire, was killed by a grape ſhot, and colonel prince Anhalt Bernburg was mortally wounded. Theſe commanders were replaced by general Hapſchütz, who was alſo wounded, and by prince Anhalt Coethen, who, diſmounting from his horſe, offered to lead the infantry to the charge. The excellence of the new diſpoſitions, made by the archduke, and the heroiſm of ſome regiments, ſtopped, for a while, the progreſs of the French, who retreated occaſionally, only, however, to return with additional fury to the charge. The infantry of the two armies ſtruggled, a long time, with unſpeakable obſtinacy; and the carnage was great on both ſides. Still, however, the victory remained undecided, till the archduke ſent ſome battalions of grenadiers, which had juſt arrived from the left wing, to make another attack on the left of Tuttlingen road. Theſe battalions, advancing to the wood occupied by the French, took them in flank, and made a demibrigade priſoners. This well-timed manœuvre, executed with vigour, and ſupported by the co-operation of the other columns already engaged with the enemy, decided the fortune of the day in favour of the imperialiſts. The French, driven from the wood, ſoon gave way on all ſides, and were purſued on the road to Lyptingen, till victors and vanquiſhed were overtaken by darkneſs. While victory was thus ſnatched, though with difficulty, from the centre of the republican army, the column that had advanced to Moſs-kirk, with the deſign of turning the right of the Auſtrians, was vigouroufly repulſed by the prince of Wurtemberg, and eſcaped certain deſtruction, only by croſſing the Danube, over the bridge of Sigmaringen. The right of the republican army was not ultimately more ſucceſsful. In ſpite of ſeveral vigorous attacks, firſt upon Nellemberg, and afterward on the village of Wallenwies, it could make no impreſſion on the Auſtrian poſition, but was held in check the whole day by general Staader, who commanded that wing of the imperialiſts. In that quarter alſo night put an end to the battle, which had laſted along the whole line from break of day, with an unexampled obſtinacy, and great loſs to each of the armies. General Jourdan, whether he ſtill retained a hope of being able to force the archduke's poſition, or, what is more probable, that he wiſhed to diſguiſe his defeat, by continuing to act on the defenſive, again attacked, before break of day, the right of the imperialiſts, on the twenty-ſixth,

near Wallenwies; but his reiterated efforts were unſucceſsful. Seeing all his projects fruſtrated, having been twice beaten in the ſpace of five days, and finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the attacks which might be expected from the archduke, he commenced his retreat in the night, between the twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh, and, after ſome ſharp encounters with the Auſtrians, by whom he was followed and obſerved, rather than purſued, in the vallies of the Necker, the Kintzigg, and Hell, repaſſed the Rhine, with his centre and right, in the firſt week of April. His left alſo was driven from Schaffhauſen, acroſs that river, on the thirteenth.

The archduke, at firſt, occupied the places abandoned by the French army, fixing his head-quarters at Stock-ach. But, on the ſeventh of April, the Auſtrians advanced beyond the mountains, into the valley of the Rhine, and puſhed their left as far as Weill and Raichen, before Baſle, and their right nearly to Raſtadt. Suabia was thus almoſt entirely freed from the French, who, after having remained ſix weeks in that part of Germany, again ſaw themſelves very nearly in the ſame poſition which they had occupied before their invaſion. Jourdan proceeded from *Straſburgh for the reeſtabliſhment of his health*, to Paris; where, meeting with the reception that is uſually given by popular governments to unſucceſsful commanders, however blameleſs, and even worthy of praiſe their conduct, he was ſtripped of the command of the army. He would have been a juſt object of reſpect, as well as ſympathy, had he born this with a digniſied ſilence; inſtead of attributing his defeats to the generals ſerving under him; devoting himſelf more and more to the jacobins, the uſual reſource of the republican malcontents; and extenuating, in an apologetic publication, his own force, while he greatly exaggerated that of his adverſary. In that publication, entitled, *An Abſtract of the Operations of the Army of the Danube*, he did not ſcruple to affirm, that he had only 34,000 men, and that the archduke had 80,000: whereas, it is well known, that the republican army was about 40,000 ſtrong, and that the imperial troops, which had any ſhare in the action, amounted, at moſt, to 45,000. He complained bitterly, not only of ſeveral of his generals, but of the miniſter of war, and of the directory. Jourdan certainly proved, what every one was already convinced of, that the military means of the directory were far from being adequate to its projects.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The French pass the Rhine.—Positions of the Austrians in the Country of the Grisons, and in the Voralberg.—Complete Conquest of the Country of the Grisons, by the French.—The Austrians, under the Archduke Charles, pass the Lech, and advance into Suabia.—Nearly the whole of which falls into their Possession.—The French fall back to Stock-Ach and Engen.—Are forced to repass the Rhine.—Make themselve Masters of the Vallies of the Inn.—The Inhabitants of the Tyrol take up Arms against the French, who, being defeated, are obliged to evacuate that Country.—Proclamation of the Archduke Charles to the People of Switzerland.—Massena appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Rhine, the Danube, and of Observation.—Breaking up of the Congress at Rastadt.—Insult offered to Bernadotte, French Ambassador, at Vienna.—Conferences at Seltz.—Assassination of the French Deputies to the Congress at Rastadt.—General Situation of the Allies.—The French are entirely driven out of the Country of the Grisons, and the Austrians take Post on the left Bank of the Rhine.—Massena evacuates the Eastern Parts of Italy.—General Bellegarde, having reduced the Valtelline, embarks, with the greater Part of his Army, on the Lake Como.—The French driven from St. Gothard.—Strong Position taken by Massena, in Front of Zurich.—Situation of the Archduke, and Causes of his Inaction.—Respective Forces, and Forces of the opposite Armies in Switzerland.—Political Measures of the Allies.—The Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Wurtemberg enter into the Coalition.—Plan of a general Attack on the Allies formed at Paris.—Particular Plan of Massena.—The Austrians attacked on the whole Extent of their Line.—And entirely driven from the Cantons of Schwitz and Uri.—The first Division of the Russian Auxiliary Army arrives at Schaff-hausen, and proceeds to Zurich.—Measures taken, by the Archduke, to stop the Progress of the Republicans.—The French Army of the Rhine passes that River on several Points.—The Archduke, with his Army, quits Switzerland.—After obtaining some Successes, obliged to fall back, and return to Mentz.—The Allies, on the 25th of September, attacked on the whole of their Line the Linth and the Limatt.—Zurich surrounded.—The Russian General, Korsakaw, who succeeded to the Archduke in the Command of the Allied Forces, in Switzerland, retreats.—Marshal Suwarrow marches from Italy, into Switzerland.—His March, Progress, and Retreat to the Country of the Grisons, one Series of Battles, or a continued Engagement.—Action at Constance.—The French, on the 4th and 5th of October, pass the Rhine.—Take Possession of all the Country between the Maine and the Lake.—They are compelled to withdraw into the Angle, formed by the Necker and the Rhine, and completely to repass this River.

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THE archduke, ſetting proper bounds to the deſire of profiting by his victory, with mature judgement, did not make it his firſt object, immediately to drive the French beyond the Rhine, but remained for ſome time, with the greater part of his force, near the lake of Conſtance, rightly judging, that if he abandoned that point, and advanced into the Briſgau, his left and rear would be expoſed to the incurſions of Maſſena. All his thoughts were now bent on the invaſion of Switzerland. The French had made that country a kind of ſtrong hold, from whence they intended to fall on Germany. It was neceſſary to drive them from it, in order to be able, in his turn, to menace their own country. Switzerland was a two-edged ſword, which could be made uſe of either againſt France or Germany. This prince Charles reſolved to ſeize, and commenced his preparations for that great purpoſe. But the time that elapſed, before he could execute his deſign, permits us to look back on the central war which was carried on, in the country of the Griſons, and the frontiers of the Tyrol.

It has been already ſeen, that the French, on the ſeventeenth of March, were almoſt entirely maſters of the Griſon country, and that their plan was, to advance along the three vallies of the Inn, the Rhine, and the Adige. That this plan might be completely executed, it was abſolutely neceſſary that Maſſena ſhould drive the Auſtrians from the Voralberg. The French general Oudinot, ſeized on a height, which commanded the Auſtrian poſition at Field-kirk, guarded only by ſix thouſand regulars, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh a battery upon it. The Auſtrian artillery rendered that impoſſible, and the Auſtrian general Jellacheick, who commanded there, having attacked him, ſword in hand, drove him from the height which he had occupied. As Field-kirk might be conſidered as the key of the Tyrol, Maſſena renewed, in perſon, the attack, next day, with the brigade of general Oudinot, reinforced with ſix thouſand grenadiers, the flower of the army. After a very obſtinate and bloody battle, which laſted all the day, he was not only obliged to relinquiſh the attempt, but to repaſs the Rhine, with the loſs of three thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners. The Auſtrians, who had not loſt above one-third of that number, advanced to the Rhine: while general Oudinot took poſt at Rhein-neck, and Maſſena entrenched himſelf on the other ſide of the river, having his head-quarters at Chur. This general, having in vain made an effort for penetrating into the north of the Tyrol, determined to ſend his left wing into the weſt of that province. The generals Deſolles and Lecourbe, on the twenty-ſixth of April, attacked the Auſtrians, in the vallies of the Inn and the Munſter, reduced them under their power, and took a great many priſoners. Theſe ſucceſſes, which rendered the French maſters of two of the principal entrances of the Tyrol, occaſioned great alarms in that province, the ſouth of which was threatened, at the ſame time, by the French army in Italy. General Bellegarde, with the aſſiſtance of the Tyroleſian peaſants, who, at his call, roſe in a maſs, obliged the French, on the

the fifth of April, to evacuate the Tyrol.

The short stay of the French, in that country, was marked by the most horrid excesses. They profaned the churches, insulted the women, distressed the inhabitants in general, wasted the fields, pillaged the houses, and even reduced several villages to ashes.

The retreat of generals Lecourbe and Desolles, the bad season, and, above all, the defeats which the French had met with in Germany, and in Italy too, as shall, by and by, be related, left no longer any fears for the Tyrol, and therefore general Bellegarde, thought less of regaining the country of the Grisons, by force of arms, than of promoting the success of operations, which would reduce the French to evacuate it, or which, at least, would render an attack much easier. The formidable line of the French, on the Mincio, had just been broken, and the superiority of the Austrians, soon to be augmented by Russian auxiliaries, enabled them to attempt every thing in the plains of Lombardy. But, so long as the French were in possession of the Valtelline, and of that part of the Upper Alps, which commands the passages into the Brescian and Bergamese, they could send reinforcements to their army in Italy, or attack, in flank, that of the Austrians. General Bellegarde, therefore, detached three columns, which, under the orders of generals Vukassovitch and Alciani, and colonel Strauch, were commissioned to dislodge the French from the upper parts of the Brescian and the Bergamese: in a word, from all the country between the lakes of Garda, Jaro, and Ilco.

After fifteen days of inaction, which had been imitated by Lecourbe, and which was rendered necessary by the snows, which covered all the valley and passages of the Julian Alps, general Bellegarde resolved to attempt the attack of the country of the Grisons, in order more and more to facilitate and secure the progress of the allies, in Italy, and at the same time pave the way for the execution of the designs which they had formed against Switzerland. He therefore, on the twenty-second of April, sent several small columns to reconnoitre the passages on the frontiers of the Engadine, and the Brettigau. One of these, pursuing with too much ardour the out-posts of the enemy, whom they put to flight, was overpowered, and the greater part, with major Schmidt, who commanded it, taken prisoners. This small check, but still more the impassable state of the vallies, obliged general Bellegarde to delay the attack of the country of the Grisons.

To the Swiss nation the archduke addressed a proclamation, calculated to destroy the effect of those absurd views, which the French had never ceased to attribute to the Austrians, and by which they were enabled, in some measure, to revive the former hatred of the Swiss against them. It had, likewise, the more secret object of exciting insurrections among the inhabitants of Switzerland, and of preventing their arming in favour of the French. Twelve months of servitude had not yet extinguished the love of liberty in the hearts of the Swiss; the strong passions of hatred and vengeance, not being yet succeeded, by the indifference and cowardice which follow corruption. Scarcely had the law for forced enrolments been proclaimed,

proclaimed, when insurrections broke out in several cantons, and particularly in the smaller ones, in which the French had not been able to establish their dominion so firmly as those which lie nearer France. This state of things, however, did not discourage the French from proposing to the Helvetic directory, to declare war against the emperor: but the councils, subjected as they were to the will of the directory, and the bayonets of Massena, could not be induced to accede to their proposal. They consented however to a decree for arming all the unmarried men, without distinction, from the age of twenty to that of forty-five, and of all the married men under thirty. The punishment of death was enacted against all who should refuse to enrol themselves, or who should oppose the measures of government either by actions or words. The national troops, which were at the disposal of the directory, were employed for the execution of these laws. A vast number of persons were arrested in the principal towns, and that of Berne was put in a state of siege. Such was the state of things when the archduke announced his intention of entering Switzerland, and followed up his declaration by reducing the town of Schaffhausen, and forcing the French, in those parts, to retire entirely to the left bank of the Rhine, as above related.

The Austrians, the day after that on which the town of Schaffhausen fell into their hands, drove the French from the small town of Petershausen, situated opposite, and on the narrowest part of the lake of Constance. Some entrenchments were forced by general Pissack, while a flotilla of gun-boats, fitted out at Bregents, and commanded by colonel Williams, * aided his attack by their fire. Petershausen being taken, the French were summoned to evacuate Constance, their refusal was followed by a cannonade, which had no other effect than to injure the town, and to sink part of the boat which the French had collected on the left bank of the lake. The Austrians having, about the same time, got possession of the posts of Stein, and of Eglisau, the Rhine, from Bregentz to Basle, became the line of division between the two armies. These events, with some skirmishes, in Suabia, and on the banks of the Neckar and the Maine, where the inhabitants, to the number of some thousands, took up arms against the French, about the middle of April, were the only military occurrences which took place in that month, between that of the archduke and those of the French in Germany, and Switzerland. This inactivity on both sides, occasioned much speculation, and various conjectures.

Jourdan, having lost the command of the army of the Danube, Massena was appointed, first, *ad interim*, and then finally, to the chief command of that army, which

* Colonel Williams, a native of England, and at first employed in the naval service of his country, entered into that of Austria, at the beginning of this war. He was charged with setting up all the flotillas, either on the Rhine, or the lakes of Constance and Garda. This able and active officer is at the head of the new imperial marine, in the Adriatic gulph.

united

united with thoſe of obſervation, and of Switzerland, formed altogether but one, under the name of the army of the Danube. Thus inveſted with the full power of generaliſimo over all the French forces, from the frontiers of the Tyrol and Italy to the palatinate, Maſſena repaired, early in April, to the reorganization and the movements of that great machine. He left about 3000 men at Manheim, placed two diviſions in front of Kehl, forced the left bank of the river, from Straſburg to Baſle, with ſome light troops, and marched two other diviſions into Switzerland to increaſe his force there, and to replace ſome troops which he had ſent into Italy by the St. Gothard. On the twelfth of April he fixed his headquarters at Baſle, as the central point of that long line which he had to defend. A new campaign, if we may call it ſo, now opened on the whole theatre of the war. Maſſena had then, from Manheim to the ſource of the Adige, about 100,000 men; and the archduke, on the ſame, but a leſs regular line, above 110,000. It was from this time that the war aſſumed a more decided character, and that all the hopes, which the French directory and ſome princes of Germany had founded on the congreſs of Raſtadt, vaniſhed. The victories of the archduke had confirmed the deputation of the empire in their reſolution to refer to the diet of Ratiſbon, for an anſwer to the categorical demand of the French deputies, in conſequence of the march of the Ruſſians into Germany. On the ſeventh of April, the imperial commiſſioner announced officially, to the congreſs, that he had orders to quit it, to revoke all the conceſſions which he had made, but with the reſerve, that they ſhould not be valid till ratified by the emperor, and to declare that matters ſhould thenceforth be conſidered as being in the ſame ſtate in which they were before the opening of the congreſs. This declaration, which was ſoon followed by the departure of the imperial commiſſion, and of the greateſt part of the deputies of the empire, notwithſtanding the efforts of the French plenipotentiaries to continue the conferences with the deputies of the empire, gave a mortal blow to the congreſs at Raſtadt.

It may here be proper to take notice of ſome events, which, in the hiſtory of that ridiculous and fatal council, the ſport of France, and the diſgrace of Germany, may be conſidered as a kind of epiſodes.

On the thirteenth of April, 1796, the maſs of the people of Vienna had voluntarily taken up arms to defend their city, and the palace and perſon of their monarch, againſt the attack of the French army, then ſuppoſed to be on its march towards Vienna. This mark of loyalty and attachment was recorded among the public acts of government, and orders were given, by the emperor, that its anniverſary ſhould be celebrated with ceremonies of civil pomp and religious ſolemnity. On the evening of that day, 1798, and during the ferment of thoſe ſentiments among the people, the three-coloured flag was diſplayed, for the firſt time, in triumph, on the balcony of general Bernadotte's,* the

* The conduct of Bernadotte, as well as that of his ſuite, was marked by an uncommon degree of inſolence, from the day of their arrival in Vienna. Bernadotte imitated the

the French ambaſſador's hotel.—The populace demanded, with loud and repeated cries, that it ſhould be taken down. The flag was torn to pieces, and the ſtandard, to which it was attached, burnt. The reſentment of the people, once excited to action could not ſtop here. They burſt open the gates of the hotel, threatening to ſacrifice the ambaſſador and all his ſuite to their vengeance. Every thing they found on the ground floor of the hotel, they demoliſhed, laying hold of two of the ambaſſador's carriages they dragged them, the one to a neighbouring ſquare, the other to the court of the palace, and broke them to pieces. While they were thus employed, a conſiderable detachment of military arrived, and availing themſelves of the abſence of the mob, who had gone to attend the public ſacrifice of the carriages, occupied the entrances into the ſtreet in which the ambaſſador's houſe is ſituated, and prevented their return. At the ſame time, the baron Dagelman was diſpatched to Bernadotte, by the miniſter baron Thugut, to expreſs the concern with which the Auſtrian government had learnt what had happened. Next morning, he diſpatched one of his ſecretaries with a letter to the emperor, requiring as conditions of his continuing at Vienna:—1ſt. The diſmiſſal of the miniſter Thugut. 2. The puniſhment of the mayor of Vienna. 3. The eſtabliſhment of a privileged quarter in the city of Vienna, for the French miſſion, and its compatriots. 4. That the emperor ſhould repair, at his own expenſe, the flag, and flag-ſtaff, and the picture of the French arms. Theſe demands being peremptorily refuſed, Bernadotte quitted Vienna.

For the oſtenſible purpoſe of explanation, and preventing any diſagreeable conſequences that might ariſe from this popular exploſion, though it was evidently not chargeable on the court of Vienna; a ſecret conference was opened at Seltz, on the Rhine, oppoſite Raſtadt, between the count Cobentzel, on the part of his imperial majeſty, and Francis Neufchateau, on that of the directory. The count declared that, although his imperial majeſty was ready to grant ample ſatisfaction for what had happened in regard to Bernadotte, yet, from a due regard to the ſentiments of the people of Vienna, it was neceſſary to conduct this buſineſs without precipitation, and without noiſe. The intereſts of both countries, he ſaid, ſeemed to require that the conferences at Seltz ſhould be chiefly devoted to the ſettlement of ſome more material points, which called for a definitive arrangement. Neufchateau having acquieſced in this propoſition, count Cobentzel went a ſtep farther, and propoſed that, as the congreſs of Raſtadt was a mere farce, acted on the part of the empire under the imperial cabinet and eccleſiaſtical courts, the negociation for peace ſhould be carried on entirely, and brought to an iſſue at Seltz, at the cloſe of which it

the conduct of Joſeph Buonaparte, at Rome, by demanding that the quarter of the city where he reſided ſhould be free, and that all Frenchmen, reſiding in Vienna, ſhould be amenable to him only for their conduct. He was in the habit of converſing with the Auſtrian private ſoldiers and non-commiſſioned officers, and remarking to them that it was only under a republican government that a man could riſe from the ranks, as he had done, to be a general officer, and an ambaſſador.

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would be easy to force Prussia and the empire to submit to what had been agreed on between Austria and France. By command of the directory, Neufchateau rejected the latter proposition, but entered into the discussion of other proposals, the first of which was, "that, as the cession of Bavaria, stipulated in the secret articles of Campo Formio, seemed to meet with great obstacles, even in regard to the guarantee promised by the directory, Austria would, for the present, desist from this cession, on the condition that such parts of the borders of Bavaria, and the upper Palatinate, as were necessary for the conveniency and safety of the Austrian frontiers, be ceded to Austria, together with Saltzburg, Passau, and Betchtoldsgaden, and all the possessions, without exception, formerly belonging to the Venetian republic." This being also rejected, the count offered a second proposition, wherein "he demanded, once more, the cession of the remainder of the ancient Venetian dominions, together with the three Roman legations, and the duchy and fortress of Mantua. The treaty of Basle to be rescinded; and neither Prussia nor the house of Orange to receive any indemnification in Germany: on which condition, Austria engaged also to relinquish her claim of being indemnified by a part of the German territory." This being also declared to be inadmissible, a variety of other propositions were made, in none of which, the cession to Austria, of all the Venetian territories, and the duchy of Mantua, was forgotten. But after the negociations had been continued for six months, Neufchateau was directed to confine his negociation, to the sole point of satisfaction, for the insult offered to Bernadotte, and to declare, that, as all the propositions made on the part of the imperial court, tended merely to aggrandize Austria, at the expense of other powers, unless count Cobentzel could and would agree to give the promised satisfaction, the conferences at Seltz should be broken off: which, as the count declined all satisfaction of any kind, they were accordingly.

After the French ministers had notified, to the deputation of the empire, that they should depart in three days from Rastadt, the baron d'Albini, one of the imperial ministers, wrote to the colonel Barbaczy, commanding the cordon of the Austrian advanced posts, demanding escorts for the deputies of the empire, who were ready to depart, and safe conduct for the French plenipotentiaries. The commander, in a note dated at Gernbach, the twenty-eighth of April, said that, as it did not accord with military plans, to tolerate citizens of the French republic, in countries possessed by the imperial and royal army, they should not take it ill if the circumstances of the war, forced him to signify to them to quit the territory of Gernbach and the army in the space of twenty-four hours. At the same moment, four hundred hussars, entered Rastadt, and took possession of the posts and gates of the town, with an order to suffer no person to enter in, or go out. At night, in the evening of the twenty ninth, the French ministers were in their carriages: but on coming to the gate of the town, they were surprized to find the passage refused them. But at length permission was obtained

tained to leave the town with two huſſars for an eſcort. The gate being opened, the miniſters began their route, but the two huſſars remained in the town: it was then nine in the evening. At about five hundred paces from the gate, a troop of huſſars on foot as well as on horſeback, burſt out from a wood that ſkirted the road, and ſurrounded the firſt carriage, in which was Jean Debrie with his wife and children. Thinking it was ſome patrole to viſit his paſsport, he held it out at the window, mentioning his name and quality. He was immediately dragged out of his carriage, and fell, covered with blood from ſtrokes of ſabres, which he received on his arms, head, and ſhoulders: but he was ſtill able to crawl unobſerved into the ditch, on the ſide of the road. In the ſecond carriage were Jean Debrie's ſecretary and valet de chambre, who cried out that they were domeſtics. They were ordered to alight, and received a few blows, but no other harm was done them. Their carriage was pillaged. In the third carriage was Bonnier alone. They aſked in French if he was the miniſter Bonnier? On his anſwering in the affirmative, a huſſar opened the door of the carriage, took him by the collar, dragged him out of the carriage, and cut off his hand, head, and arms. His carriage was likewiſe pillaged. The fourth carriage was Roſenſtiel, the ſecretary of legation, who ſeeing, by the light of a flambeau, what was paſſing, ſaved himſelf by jumping out of his carriage, and got clear off. In the fifth carriage was the miniſter Robert Jott and his wife. The huſſars had ſome ſtruggle with this victim to get him out of the carriage; his wife holding him ſtrongly locked in her arms. They murdered him in this poſition, cutting off the back part of his head with a ſabre. The huſſars now went off: and the carriages, with the ladies and ſervants, turned round and went to Raſtadt; whither Roſenſtiel alſo came about eleven the ſame evening, and Jean Debrie, after paſſing the night in the wood, the next morning.

The Pruſſian miniſters wrote immediately a letter to Barbaczy, to demand an eſcort and ſafeguard, more ſure for what remained of the French legation. The commander expreſſed his ſorrow for what had paſſed. Jean Debrie, and the other French miniſters, left Raſtadt on the following day, under an Auſtrian eſcort, and a ſtill ſtronger eſcort of the prince of Baden, accompanied by the Ligurian miniſter, who had followed them on the night of the 29th, but who, obſerving what was paſſing in front, eſcaped back to Raſtadt, leaving his carriage, which was pillaged, like that of the French miniſter's.

Various were the conjectures reſpecting the motives which could have urged this aſſaſſination. However, the court of Vienna might have been inclined to overlook it, when committed, it is by no means credible that they could have been its inſtigators. It appears to us, in general, to have ſprung, like the inſult to Bernadotte, from a popular and lively indignation, whether on the part of the Auſtrians or French loyaliſts, or both, at the arrogant pretenſions of a new and upſtart government, which had cemented its power, by the blood-royal of Auſtria, as well as of

France, and among its deputies to Raſtadt, had ſent the regicide, Jean Debric, as well as the ruſtic, Bonnier. Barbaczy, and another officer, Bourkhendt, were arreſted, by orders of prince Charles, in order to undergo a trial by a court-martial: but, as it was afterwards declared, that the aſſaſſins were not Auſtrians, but French emigrants, under the aſſumed appearance of huſſars, headed by one Danicou, this trial did not take place. The French government had not the ſame candour or forbearance. For, whoever were the aſſaſſins, or by whatever orders the aſſaſſination was committed, the court of Vienna was peremptorily charged with the murder, by the directory, who ſent a meſſage to the councils, with official notice of the event. The councils adopted a reſolution, the principal articles of which were, "that this act ſhould be denounced, in the the name of the French nation, to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as commanded by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops; that funeral ſolemnities ſhould be performed in honour of the murdered deputies, throughout the republic; that the government, guilty of this aſſaſſination, ſhould be conſigned to the vengeance of nations, and the execrations of poſterity; that, in the place of ſitting, of every municipal adminiſtration, in tribunals, ſchools, and public eſtabliſhments, an inſcription ſhould be put up, ſtating, that the Auſtrian government had cauſed this aſſaſſination to be committed by its troops; that a banner ſhould be ſent to every army by ſea or land, with an inſcription provocative of vengeance againſt the Auſtrians, for this murder; which banners were to be carried at the head of each army; and that indemnities ſhould be given to the widows and children of the deceaſed miniſters." His imperial majeſty, in an Aulic decree to the German diet, after expreſſing the utmoſt abhorrence at the barbarous and atrocious deed, declared, "that an inquiry had been inſtituted, according to the preſcription of the laws, and which was to be conducted with every degree of rigour, that the horrid act might be traced in all its circumſtances, its authors and accomplices diſcovered, and the imputation of the offence be properly fixed; and charged the diet to appoint deputies of their own to be preſent at the inquiry; thus, by giving its conjoint advice, to convince the whole impartial world, that both the emperor and empire were animated with the ſame uniform ſentiments, for the execution of the moſt rigorous juſtice." After a long examination, there did not appear ſufficient evidence to bring home the charge and guilt of aſſaſſination to any party. Myſtery ſtill hangs about this dark tranſaction: which, like Gouwrie's conſpiracy againſt James VI. of Scotland, may, perhaps, even for centuries, remain a ſubject of curioſity and inveſtigation, to antiquaries and hiſtorians. Nevertheleſs, it excited a very lively ſentiment of horror and reſentment throughout France, and diverted, for a moment, the public indignation, which was every where poured down on the directory, on account of their profuſion and rapacity at home, and their neglect to recruit and ſtrengthen their armies abroad. This ſuſpenſion and diverſion of the public attention

and diſſatisfaction, was probably the preciſe object that the directory had in view when they penned the piece juſt quoted. Whether any thing very proſperous or adverſe happened to the nation, it was ſure, for a ſhort time, to afford ſome relief to the directory, by turning the keen edge of the French genius to ſomething elſe than the former conduct of adminiſtration. But, it would appear that, haſty and precipitate as the French are in giving way to their imaginations and paſſions, the ſentiment of horror and reſentment, inſpired by the accounts they received, with many comments and conjectures from their own countrymen, who had come from Raſtadt, were not of long duration. Their paſſion cooled, they began firſt to doubt; and then, very probably, to diſbelieve what had been ſo peremptorily charged againſt the imperial cabinet. Certain it is, that it did not render the decrees, which had paſſed eleven days before, for making the military conſcription general, more popular or effective. It was, on the eighteenth of April, a few days before the final rupture of the negociation at Raſtadt, that the French government, from a deſire of exciting odium againſt the emperor, for his ſelfiſh ambition and inattention to the intereſts of the Germanic body, and alſo of augmenting the jealouſy entertained of the views of that prince, by the court of Berlin, publiſhed a ſtate paper, which they ſtyled, "The Secret Articles and additional Convention of the Treaty of Campo Formio." By this agreement, his imperial majeſty was to be aſſiſted by the influence of France, in the acquiſition of the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh and other territories. In return, the emperor conſented to the ceſſion of the left bank of the Rhine, and promiſed the evacuation of Mentz, Manheim, and other conſiderable towns and fortreſſes. From this political digreſſion we return to military operations.

The French, in the outſet of the preſent campaign, had not contented themſelves with tracing out a particular plan of each of their three armies; but combined every partial operation, ſo as to direct the whole to the attainment of one common object. The caſe was now the ſame with the Auſtrians, who, after victory had ſuddenly enabled them to act on the offenſive in Germany and Italy, found themſelves obliged to regulate each operation, giving the idea of a military manœuvre, in which the different corps, advancing dependently on each other, would regulate, by their left, their march, and direction. A plan was combined between general Hotze and Bellegarde, for a general attack on the country of the Griſons. General Bellegarde, after ſeveral engagements, gained poſſeſſion of the upper and lower Engadine. On the firſt of May, general Hotze, whoſe army, reinforced by the archduke, conſiſted of more than 20,000 men, advanced through the valley of the Griſons againſt the fort of Lucienſteig, whilſt another column marched towards the ſame point by the defiles of Langwart; and other detachments, in order to keep the French in check upon all points, penetrated by correſponding vallies. General Hotze's plan was to attack Fort Lucienſteig, on two ſides at once, and thereby prevent it

ſt from being relieved. But the column, coming by the way of Langwart, did not come out of the defiles at Flaiſch and Mayenfield, till ſeveral hours after general Hotze had appeared before the Lucienſteig, which, for want of the co-operation, on which he had relied, he could not carry. The French general, Menard, who commanded in thoſe parts, had already reſiſted general Hotze, with ſucceſs, when he ſaw the ſecond column coming upon him. At firſt he retired, but, being ſpeedily reinforced by ſome troops, which had ſet out from Chur on hearing the fire, he found himſelf ſtronger than the Auſtrians, attacked them at the moment when they were iſſuing out of the defile, beat them, and killed, or took, the greateſt part of the corps.

The failure of this attack was the more to be regretted by the Auſtrians, that, if it had ſucceeded, they might at once have gained poſſeſſion of the whole of the Griſon league, and even of part of the leſſer cantons. General Hotze, a native of Switzerland, had collected the emigrants from that country, and had formed them into a corps of Infantry, about 1000 ſtrong. The confidence which his countrymen repoſed in his talents, enabled him to promote the diſpoſition to inſurrection, manifeſted by the inhabitants of the leſſer cantons of the Griſon country, and of the Valais, who, being informed of the general attack projected by the Auſtrians, took up arms, and occupied at once the vallies of the higher Rhine, of the Ticino, of the Reuſs, the Mutten, and the Rhone; forming a chain of inſurrection upon the line of the great Alps, in the rear of the two French corps, poſted in the valley of Chur, and at the head of that of the Inn. The failure of general Hotze's expedition enabled the French to unite their whole force againſt the inſurgents. A part, in the canton of Schwitz, laid down their arms: the reſt, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, were cut to pieces in two battles which they fought in the valley of the Rhine, and near Altdorf. Theſe cruel diſaſters ſtifled in its birth the general inſurrection, by which the Auſtrians had hoped to be ſupported.

The poſition that had been taken by general Bellegarde, upon the chain of the Alps, which covers the principal valley of the Griſons, greatly favoured an attack on that territory. General Hotze, therefore, prepared to make a ſecond effort, and arranged his meaſures with general Bellegarde in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch a force, as to render ſucceſs almoſt infallible: and, the better to ſecure, and afterwards improve it, the archduke had ſent to general Hotze freſh reinforcements, including the fine regiment of light-horſe, of Kinſky. The fort of Steig, aſſailed on both ſides by Auſtrian columns, the one under the command of general Hotze, in perſon, the other under that of general Jellacheik, on the fourteenth of May. The reduction of this place was quickly followed by the total expulſion of the French from the country of the Griſons, and the Auſtrians, under the command of Hotze, took poſt on the left bank of the Rhine. In the mean time, ſeveral detachments of French, which had retired out of the Valtelline into the Rhetion Alps, afraid of being ſhut in by the

different Auſtrian corps, that already occupied the paſſes of Splugen and Gunkels, endeavoured to traverſe the mountains and reach St. Gothard. They were purſued by the corps of general Bellegarde, who went himſelf to Chiavenna, his co-operation being no longer of uſe to general Hotze; with whom, however, he left ſome troops, and his preſence becoming more and more neceſſary every day to the army of the allies in Italy.

In conſequence of the ſurprize, defeat, and loſſes, which the diviſion of general Menard had ſuffered, in the country of the Griſons, on the fourteenth of May, the French in the Foggenburg, in the canton of Appenzel, and ſome other places, could not maintain themſelves in thoſe territories, or even beyond the Thur, without recovering the poſt at Wallenſtadt. This they attempted to do on the nineteenth, a few hours after the advanced guard of the Auſtrians had taken poſſeſſion of it; but were repulſed, towards the cloſe of the day, as far as Murg, on the ſouth bank of the lake of Wallenſtadt. It was no longer in Maſſena's power to keep poſſeſſion of the eaſtern part of Switzerland. The generals Hotze and Bellegarde had gained his right flank, and even his rear, and, therefore, he could not, without much danger, longer delay to ſtrengthen his centre, and ſhorten his line. He ordered the Foggemberg, the canton of Appenzel, the country of St. Gall, and the Tongaw, to be evacuated on the twentieth, and withdrew all his forces behind the Thur.

But the ſucceſs obtained by general Hotze would not have been ſufficient to induce Maſſena to evacuate ſo great an extent of country, had he not been certain that the archduke Charles would alſo very ſoon paſs the Rhine. The hoſtile appearances in Suabia had not induced the archduke to change the concentrated poſition which he had taken between Stock-ach and Schaffhauſen, and as little did the entrenchments, made along the river, hinder him from paſſing it. That prince had reſolved not to enter Switzerland till its ſouth and eaſt quarters ſhould have been previouſly invaded: which being done, he loſt not a moment in executing an enterprize, too long delayed, and anxiouſly waited for by all Europe. As ſoon as the retreat of the French was known, the advanced poſts of the Auſtrians, which guarded the Rhine from Field-kirk to Rheineck, paſſed that river, and the flotilla of colonel Williams had landed ſome troops on the weſt ſide of the lake of Conſtance. On the twenty-firſt, the main body of the archduke's army marched from Stock-ach to Singen, and on the twenty-third, from that place to Schaffhauſen: where it began, the ſame day, to paſs the Rhine on bridges of boats, and to occupy a camp marked out near Paradiſe. A junction was formed on the twenty-ſixth: and, on the ſame evening, it was determined to take advantage of this for attacking the poſition of the enemy at Winterthur. The French, on the twenty-ſeventh, were forced to abandon their ſituation, retired in good order, and with little loſs, beyond the river Toſs, their retreat being greatly favoured by the woody and mountainous nature of the country. The Auſtrians had now the advantage of reſuming offenſive operations, and of being firmly eſtabliſhed in Switzerland with

with about fifty-five thouſand men, while Maſſena, on account of the length of his line, and the neceſſity of ſending ten thouſand men into the Valais, could not oppoſe to them quite that number. Though the country, bordering on the Toſs, preſents many advantageous poſitions, for oppoſing the paſſage of that river, yet Maſſena, fearing to be out-flanked, reſolved to draw nearer to the central poſition of Zurich, where alone he could ſtop the progreſs of the Auſtrians. He decamped, therefore, in the night, between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, and retired to the Glatt. The archduke, in conſequence, puſhed on his advanced guard, on the right to Balach, and on the left to Baſſendorf; on which account, the French, on the following day, falling back ſtill farther, put the Glatt between them and the enemy, and occupied the poſition before Zurich, which, for two months, they had been carefully entrenching. Their right, at the ſame time, evacuated Rapperſchwill, leſs, from any apprehenſions of danger in their front, than by the progreſs already made on their rear, by the left wing of general Hotze's army. General Bellegarde, who had ceaſed to co-operate with general Hotze, and, on the eighteenth of May, gone in purſuit of the different corps of the enemy which had defended the ſources of the Rhine, having on the ſixteenth puſhed on a column to Chiavenna, advanced, on the eighteenth, with the reſt of his army, in three columns, towards the valley of the Adda. Two of theſe did not direct their march againſt the enemy, but towards the lake Como, on which they embarked on the town of that name, whence they were conducted by general Bellegarde, acroſs the Milaneſe to the ſiege of Tortona. The reſt of that army, under the command of general Haddick, drove the French from St. Gothard, and forced them to retire behind the Reuſs. The loſs of St. Gothard, and the progreſs made by the imperialiſts, in the cantons of Glarus, Schwitz, and Uri, threatened the whole poſition of the French in Switzerland. Repeated attempts were made to regain a part of the territory they had loſt. General Lecourbe, on the thirtieth, forced the Auſtrians to yield a little ground in the vallies of Reuſs and Schagen: and, on the ſecond of June, in a very obſtinate battle, which ended in his favour, he killed, wounded, or took one thouſand men. This affair obliged the Auſtrians to fall back to Urſeren.

The poſſeſſion of St. Gothard was ſo important to the allied armies, that they neglected nothing that could contribute to its defence. And general Lecourbe, through movements by the Auſtrians, fatigue, loſſes, and the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence in a ravage country, was obliged to give up every hope of recovering the St. Gothard. He embarked his troops, part on the lake of the Four Cantons, and part on that of Zug, and took a poſition behind theſe, to cover the town and lake of Lucerne. The Auſtrians occupied the valley of the Reuſs to the lake of the Four Cantons, and Allorf, Fluelen, Brunnen, and Schwiltz; from which they communicated with the reſt of the army, acroſs the Sihl and the lake of Zurich.

Thus the upper *plateau** of the Alps, ſo often diſputed in the courſe of this campaign, was, for the firſt time, reduced by force of arms. By the poſſeſſion of this pre-eminent military poſt, and of the valley of Urſeren, the Auſtrians completed the communication between their two grand armies, and formed the central link of their vaſt military chain, extending from the banks of the Maine, to thoſe of the Bormida, acroſs the mountains of Suabia, the Rhine, Switzerland, the Alps, Lombardy, and the Appennines. It was from this time that their ſyſtem of operations became more ſimple and better combined: it was at this time, too, that they ſhewed greater force, a more active ſpirit, and decided ſuperiority, than at any other period in the whole campaign. They kept the French in check on the Mayne, the Necker, and the Kintzing, drove them from the half of Switzerland, ſeized or ſhut up the paſſages from that country into Italy, occupied the town of Turin, beſieged its citadel, and blockaded, at the ſame time, the fortreſſes of Alexandria, Tortona, and Mantua.

Maſſena having reaſon to fear that the Auſtrians would very ſoon invade Switzerland on all ſides, and that it might, in conſequence, be impoſſible for him to preſerve the ſemicircle, formed by the Rhine, from the ſource of the Linth to the mouth of the Glatt, wiſhed, at leaſt, to defend its diameter. He therefore fortified that chain of mountains, which lies in the front of Zurich, between the Limmat and the Glatt. Thrown back behind the Glatt, by the affair of Winterthur, he went to occupy that poſition, and completed its entrenchments. His right, entirely compoſed of infantry, was poſted on the Zurichberg, the moſt elevated part of all that chain of mountains. Acceſs to it was rendered almoſt impoſſible by a thick wood, by ſeveral ranks of abbatis and redoubts, and by a formidable artillery. Between his right and the lake of Zurich there was no point through which it was poſſible to penetrate. His left was placed on the ſame chain of mountains, and the approaches to it. Between theſe two wings, on ground gradually ſloping, open, and cut by the roads from Schaffhauſen and Conſtance, to Zurich, Maſſena placed his cavalry. This poſition was ſo well choſen, that the archduke could not make any eſſential progreſs until he had diſlodged the French: which could be done only by either attacking them in front, or by turning their flank on the left bank of the Limmat, which would have been arduous, long, and even dangerous. On the fourth of June, the Auſtrians advanced in ſeveral columns againſt the Zurichberg, and attacked it on ſeveral points, at the ſame time. The approaches to the Zurichberg were ſo formidably entrenched, and the fire of the batteries ſo commanding, that the generals Hotze and Roſenburg, who conducted the two principal attacks, were unable, for ſome time, to make any progreſs, although two columns, acting on their flank, had already penetrated to the foot of the abbatis. Prince Charles ordered four battalions to aſſault the Zurich-

* A French term, ſignifying a ground at once high and flat.

berg

berg with fixed bayonets. The Auſtrian grenadiers made their way through the abbatis, and carried the firſt line of the entrenchments, but could not advance a ſtep farther. Nevertheleſs, the Auſtrians did not give ground, but kept the French within their works, and gave time to the other attacking columns to reach the foot of the entrenchments. Night overtook them here and put an end to a conteſt which had raged with deadly obſtinacy during the whole day. Each party loſt two thouſand five hundred men at leaſt. On the fifth, the archduke took an exact view of the poſition of the enemy, and reſolved to aſſault it: but, as the fatigue of the preceeding day rendered it neceſſary that the ſoldiers ſhould take ſome reſt, he put off the execution of his deſign till the ſixth. But, on the night between the fifth and ſixth, Maſſena abandoned his poſition, and retired to the other ſide of the Limmat, where he took poſt on the chain of mountains called *Abis*, which lies between the lake of Zurich, the Limmat, and the Reuſs. The archduke, after taking poſſeſſion of Zurich, diſtributed his troops along the right banks of the lake of Zurich, of the Limmat, and of the Aar. The archduke, deſirous of extending his right on the weſtern ſhores of the lake, and to remove a little the centre of the enemy, on the eighth of June, attacked the French advanced poſts only half a league from Zurich, and drove them from the village of Albiſrieden, and of ſome heights, on which two points the Auſtrians poſted themſelves. On theſe points the archduke confined himſelf on the firſt days after the capture of Zurich, from whence he ſoon after removed his head-quarters to Kloten. His army, which from the twenty-firſt, and part of it from the fourteenth of the preceeding month, had been continually under march and fighting, required ſome repoſe. Beſides, the new poſition, taken by Maſſena, was too ſtrong to admit of a chance of ſucceſs in any attempt to force it. It was neceſſary to conquer almoſt the whole of Switzerland before Maſſena could be compelled to abandon his poſition, and retire upon the Aar. On the whole, the archduke was determined not to attempt any thing important in Switzerland, in the preſent circumſtances, for the following reaſons: the ſtrength of the poſition occupied by the French; the ſmallneſs of the aſſiſtance which he either received, or could expect, from the inhabitants of Switzerland; the weak ſtate in which his army had been left by the departure of general Bellegarde for Italy, whither, it was already reſolved, that general Haddick ſhould follow him; the expected arrival of thirty-five thouſand Ruſſian auxiliaries who were on their march to join him; and above all, the ſecret orders of the cabinet of Vienna. He had then no longer any other object than to prevent Maſſena from profiting by his inaction. And this object he could not better effect than by giving the French general employment in the Briſgaw, the Margraviate of Baden, and the Palatinate, where nothing worthy of notice had paſſed during the month of May, except the capture of Heidelberg, by the Auſtrians, on the nineteenth. A courſe of movements and actions followed in theſe countries, which in any other war, and even in any other campaign of the preſent war, would

have fixed the attention of the public and the hiſtorian. But the intereſt, which theſe might have inſpired, is in a manner abſorbed by that which Italy and Switzerland, the two great theatres of the war, have conſtantly commanded. It is loſt in the unprecedented multiplicity of the operations, movements, and actions of this aſtoniſhing campaign. The war carried on, on the left bank of the Rhine, from the month of May to that of September, however fit a ſubject for military deſcription and obſervation, in the political hiſtory of Europe, on the ſcale of this Annual Regiſter, is to be regarded as merely epiſodical.

On the third of July, Maſſena attacked the left wing of the archduke in the cantons of Schwitz and Zug. He gained ſome poſts, but on the ſame and ſucceeding day loſt them. There was not, at the beginning of July, any great diſparity between the effective forces of the two contending generals. Maſſena, it is true, had a greater number of troops in Switzerland than the archduke; but then he could not make uſe of them all in the field, as he was under a neceſſity of leaving ſtrong garriſons in the principal towns, for enſuring the obedience of the country, and of reinforcing the diviſion which had been ſent for ſuppreſſing the inſurrection in the the Valais. That inſurrrection, which had employed for near two months many thouſands of republicans, intended for the army in Italy, would have been of ſtill greater utility to the allies, if their plan had been to make the conqueſt of Italy go hand in hand with that of Switzerland. Though determined to effect that of the former, before they ſhould in good earneſt attempt that of the latter, they nevertheleſs judged it neceſſary to make ſome ſhew of military deſigns in the Valais, which might keep up the inſurrection, and detain in that country the body of the French, by which it was occupied. General Haddick, who, ſince the taking of St. Gothard, had ſucceſſively received orders, ſometimes to enter into the Valais, ſometimes to remain in Switzerland, and ſometimes to repair to Italy, which he finally did, on the ſixteenth of July, ſent an advanced guard into the valley of the Rhone, where it was joined by ſome companies of inſurgents. Some ſkirmiſhing enſued, in which ſome priſoners were made on both ſides: after which, each party reſumed its poſition. Although the month of July and the half of Auguſt were not marked by any great enterprize, it was during this lapſe of time, that moſt preparations were made, and moſt political and military meaſures taken for future operations. The French preſſed the levy of their *conſcripts*, of which they formed two new armies. One of theſe was deſtined to act on the Rhine, and invade Franconia and Suabia. The other, under the name of the army of the Alps, was to cover France on the ſide of Dauphiny and Provence, to act offenſively in Piedmont, and and alſo to co-operate with the army, which occupied the Genoeſe. They likewiſe marked out a camp, near Geneva, to defend the entrance of France, by the way of the Valais and Savoy.

The Auſtrian forces, which till then had been ſufficient to conquer, but part of whom had fallen a ſacrifice to victory, were now no longer adequate to that which remained

mained to be done; whether to keep what had been already acquired, or to purſue the career of beginning conqueſt. The court of Vienna inclined to the former of theſe alternatives, but thoſe of London and Peterſburgh to the latter. To accompliſh this laſt end London preſented money, and Peterſburgh troops. But it was neceſſary, and it was naturally expected, that the German empire, in a cauſe, which was more immediately its own, ſhould alſo make ſacrifices and efforts The emperor, in an imperial aulic decree, dated the twelfth of July, called on the ſtates and princes of the empire, to pay the Roman months, and furniſh the quintuple contingents, agreeably to the laſt *concluſums* of the diet of Ratiſbon; in conformity to which the king of Sweden had, about two months before, in his quality of duke of Pomerania, declared himſelf ready to act. But the characteriſtic ſlowneſs of all the reſolutions of the diet of Ratiſbon * induced the allies to ſeek for auxiliaries among the princes who had troops to diſpoſe of. The king of Pruſſia perſiſting in his neutrality, and having won over to his own ſide all the northern princes of Germany, except the king of Sweden, who contented himſelf, however, with making the above declaration, the allied courts addreſſed themſelves, and with more ſucceſs, to the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wurtemberg. The former, who, before his ſucceſſion to the electoral dignity, had conſtantly ſhewn himſelf the partiſan of France, and dependent on Pruſſia, changed all on a ſudden his apparent ſyſtem, and engaged not only to march his contingent of troops, but even to furniſh beſides ten thouſand men, whom England propoſed to take into her pay. The duke of Wurtemberg engaged to furniſh 6000 men, including his contingent, amounting to one half, on the condition, which was accepted, of his being ſubſidized by England.—Of the 45,000 men agreed for, by a treaty of ſubſidies above noticed by the Ruſſian emperor and Great Britain, more than 10,000 had already been ſent to reinforce, in Italy, the 23,000 who had been there ever ſince the ſpring, with marſhal Suwarrow. The remaining 35,000 had been on their march many months, and were expected to join the archduke in Switzland, towards the middle of Auguſt.

In the beginning of that month the archduke and Maſſena found themſelves in the ſame poſitions, which they reſpectively occupied in the month of June. If the inactivity of the archduke could be accounted for, by his expectation of the Ruſſian army, it was not ſo eaſy to conceive why Maſſena, who had received great reinforcements during the month of July, and who, at the beginning of Auguſt, had at leaſt 20,000 men more than that prince, did not make haſte to attack him before he ſhould receive any ſupport from the Ruſſians. The inaction of Maſſena was matter of aſtoniſhment to all Europe.

* The imperial decree, of the twelfth of July, was not taken into conſideration till the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and was not adopted as a *concluſum* till the fixteenth of October. Nor is it probable that, had the French reached the very walls of Vienna, matters would have been carried on with more diſpatch.

In the midſt of all the embarraſſments of the French government, political, military, and financial, at a moment when it did not ſeem capable of even defending itſelf, it determined to reſume the offenſive, and combined a plan of general attack on the whole line of the theatre of war acroſs the Alps, through Switzerland, Piedmont, and the ſtates of Genoa, from the Maine to the Mediterranean. General Joubert, with 30 or 40,000 men, aſſembled in the ſtate of Genoa, was, if poſſible, to force the ſiege of Tortona, and to drive the allies beyond the Po. About 15,000 men, collected by Championet, on the frontiers of Dauphiny and Piedmont, were to annoy the allies by penetrating through the vallies which connect theſe two countries, to ſupport Joubert's left on the maritime Alps, and to form a central army between the armies of Switzerland and Italy. This laſt, the moſt numerous and moſt advantageouſly poſted, was deſtined to drive the archduke from the whole of Switzerland, if poſſible; at any rate to confine him within narrow limits, and by all means to interrupt or impede his communications with marſhal Suwarrow. Maſſena, guided by theſe views, reſolved to make an attack on the whole Auſtrian line. On the fourteenth of Auguſt, the whole French army marched on all ſides againſt the enemy. While general Chabran, with that diviſion of the right of the corps which was immediately under Maſſena's orders, extended himſelf in front of the mountains of the Albis, and got poſſeſſion of almoſt all the country between theſe mountains and the weſtern bank of the lake of Zurich: general Lecourbe, who had nearly 20,000 under his command, divided into ſix columns, attacked all the poſitions of the Auſtrians from mount St. Gothard to the northern extremity of the canton of Schweitz. The operations, intruſted to this general, embracing a great extent of country were to be carried on, ſome upon mountains almoſt inacceſſible, others in deep vallies: the different columns could neither act in concert, nor communicate with each other, nor could they effect a junction till after each of them had penetrated by the point of attack aſſigned to it, and that the object of the expedition was accompliſhed in all its parts. This was no leſs than to drive the Auſtrians from the ſummits of the moſt elevated country in Europe.

On the ſixteenth, Lecourbe found himſelf maſter of the canton of Schweitz, of almoſt the whole of that of Uri, and of the moſt elevated points of the great chain of the Alps, which bounds Switzerland to the ſouthward. Generals Jellacheik and Simbſchen, who commanded in the cantons of Schweitz and Uri, had retreated, the former as far as the canton of Glarus and behind the Linth; the latter into the Grey League, on the mountains of Criſpalt, which cover the paſſage of the Griſon country. But from this commanding poſition they were driven by Lecourbe, and forced to fall back as far as Tawetſch.

If the French had met with this great ſucceſs, which diſpoſſeſſed the Auſtrians of the ſmall cantons, ſome days ſooner, the archduke, being inferior in numbers, and on the point of having other affairs on his hand, would probably have been forced to evacuate almoſt the whole of Switzerland, or could not have maintained

maintained himself there but by great skill, and at the expense of much blood. But the day on which Massena began his general attack, the first division of the Russian army of general Korsakow, followed, at a small distance, by five others, arrived, by forced marches, at Schaff-hausen, from whence it marched two days afterwards to Zurich. The timely arrival of this reinforcement allowed prince Charles to diminish the force of his principal position of Zurich, and to send general Hotze with several thousand men to support the two Austrian corps, which had retired into the cantons of Schweitz and Glarus, and which, after having been posted beyond Rapperschwill and the Linth, retook these two positions. The Linth, the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat, were, properly speaking, the limits of the two armies. On the following days, the whose Russian army, with the exception of the cavalry, which would have been useless in Switzerland, and which remained on the right bank of the Rhine, joined the Austrians near Zurich.

A great battle, which the French had lost at Novi, in Italy, had entirely deranged their offensive plans. The part assigned to Massena depended in a great measure on that which was, at the same time, to be acted in Germany and Italy, by the republican armies, which might be considered as the two wings of his It was necessary that both, or at least one of them, should advance, in order that the centre might do so, without danger, and indeed that it might with safety preserve its position. It wanted a point of support, and not being able, since the battle of Novi, to find this on its right, it was necessary to look for it on the left: and the army, which the directory had been busy in forming on the Rhine, received orders to advance on the Maine and the Neckar. The object of this expedition was, by a powerful diversion, to prevent the archduke from turning against Massena the mass of force which he had at his disposal, since the arrival of the Russians, to preserve Switzerland by threatening Germany; to procure in this latter country money and provisions, and to employ, for the benefit of the republic, the rich granaries, which the harvest had just filled, of the Palatinate. On the twenty-fifth of August the republicans, 10,000 in number, under general Muller, passed the Rhine at Manheim, and near that town, reduced Heidelberg and Heibron, and extended themselves into the countries lying between the Rhine and the Neckar. Another division, under the command of general d'Hilliers, proceeding from Mentz, levied contributions on the town of Frankfort, notwithstanding its agreed neutrality; pushed an advanced post towards Aschaffenberg, marched towards the lower Neckar, where it arrived on the second of September, and joined itself to the centre of the army of the Rhine, which enabled general Muller, on the twenty-sixth to invest Philipsburgh.

The incursion of the French upon the Maine, and their march towards Suabia, furnished prince Charles with a pretext for avoiding a co-operation with field-marshal Suwarrow in Switzerland, which he had probably received orders to elude. This young prince, the unwilling instrument of Austrian policy, alarmed, or pretended to be so,

ſo, at the danger which threatened Germany, and that part of his army which was on the right bank of the Rhine, and profeſſing to feel the deſire, as well as obligation, of reſcuing, from the ravages of the French, the eſtates of the elector palatine, and the duke of Wurtemberg, ordered his army to hold itſelf in readineſs to quit Switzerland, and immediately marched part of it towards Schaff-hauſen. He intruſted general Hotze with the defence of the ſmall cantons, and ſent him ſome reinforcements, which raiſed his force to about 29,000 men. During the laſt days of Auguſt, the Ruſſians, in number about 30,000 effective men, replaced the Auſtrians along the brooks of the Limmat and the Aar, and in front of Zurich, where general Kroſakow, with whom the command now reſted, fixed his head-quarters. General Nauendorf was left with about 10,000 men, on the right bank of the Rhine, to form there a body of obſervation and reſerve.—Theſe were the arrangements which prince Charles, before his departure, made for the defence of the conquered part of Switzerland. He left behind him 55,000 men, of whom more than 40,000 were oppoſed to Maſſena, from the Griſon country, as far as the mouth of the Aar, reduced Manheim and Neckerau, and driven the French back into Mentz, he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, on the nineteenth, at Schwetzingen; where, on the twenty-ſeventh, he received news of the events which had taken place, two days before, in Switzerland.

The reputation of ſuperiority which the Ruſſians had acquired, and which they had not forfeited in Italy, and all that the imagination of ſoldiers, no leſs then that of other men, adds to what is unknown to them, impoſed on the French army under Maſſena. They did not even attempt any thing worthy of notice from the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, when the Ruſſians relieved the Auſtrian advanced poſts before Zurich, till the eighth of September. On that day they renewed the attack, which they had often made, on the poſt of Walliſhoffen, but were obliged to return to their poſition, with ſome loſs. This affair, however, had no other object, on the part of the French, than to bring the Ruſſians to the teſt, and to familiariſe themſelves with their manner of fighting. The original plan of the allies, as above obſerved, was to turn Switzerland on the north and ſouth.—The departure of prince Charles from Switzerland made it neceſſary to ſubſtitute to the former a plan of attack of leſs magnitude, which required a leſs conſiderable force, and which ſhould be purely military. The plan propoſed was, to recover immediately the poſſeſſion of the ſmall cantons, and to turn the poſition, ſo long held by Maſſena, on the lakes of Lucerne and Zug, and on the Albis, which would have obliged him to retire on the Aar, the whole line of which it would have been abſolutely impoſſible to preſerve. Maſſena knew this project, and having learnt that the generals Korſakow and Hotze had reſolved to begin the execution of them on the twenty-ſixth; he determined to be before hand with them. Bridges thrown over the Limmat, and various movements and actions, in one of which general Hotze fell, and on which general Petrarch, to whom rank and

ſuperiority

ſuperiority gave the command, on his death, fearing to be turned on his right, precipitately retreated to the Rhinthal:—theſe meaſures and accidents enabled the French, on the twenty-fifth to inveſt the town of Zurich, on the eaſt, north, and weſt. General Korſakow, embarraſſed how to act, paſſed the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth, in preparing for battle, and ſtill more for a retreat. Maſſena, judging that the Ruſſian general, ſurrounded as he was almoſt on all ſides, could not think of maintaining himſelf in the town; but, at the ſame time, knowing what he had to fear from the bravery of Ruſſian ſoldiers, if reduced to the neceſſity of cutting their way with the bayonet, and not being himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to occupy, at the ſame time, the roads of Winterthur and Egliſau:—Maſſena, under the influence of theſe conſiderations, withdrew his troops from the former, and contented himſelf with guarding, in force, the heights which command the latter. At the ſame time, he ſent an officer with a flag of truce to the Ruſſian general, to offer conditions for the quiet poſſeſſion of the town, and for his retreat to the Rhine; but the Coſſacks robbed this officer of his diſpatches, and he was kept in the town till the following day. On that day, while it was expected that the Ruſſians would make a capitulation, general Korſakow, taking with him all the troops that he could collect, began his retreat, having his baggage and artillery diſpoſed in the intervals of his columns; but, inſtead of taking the road to Winterthur, which the enemy had left open to him, he ſten that way only a ſmall part of his troops and of his baggage, and directed his march, with the body of his army, towards Egliſau. The French had no expectation of being called into action; but, ſeeing the Ruſſian army approach, they concluded that it was coming to attack them. Advantageouſly poſted on the heights which command the road, they ſuffered the Ruſſians to approach, and then opened on them a terrible and commanding fire of artillery and muſquetry. Thus the battle began, but partially and irregularly. The Ruſſian regiments, in order of retreat rather than of battle, fought individually, without concert or object. Overwhelmed, along the whole of their column, by the grape ſhot of the French, whoſe flying artillery manœuvred on this occaſion with great effect, they ruſhed repeatedly with fixed bayonets on the enemy, and forced them, for ſome moments, to give way. But, as the prodigies of valour, performed by the Ruſſian infantry, neither were, nor indeed could be turned to any account by the ſuperior officers, in their preſent circumſtances, they ſerved only to render the defeat more complete as well as ſanguinary. General Korſakow, with all that eſcaped from the enemy, forced his way to Egliſau, where he haſtened to paſs the Rhine.

Marſhal Suwarrow, conformably to the plan of which the outline has been above ſtated, intended to have ſet out from Aſti on the eight of September; but the French having ſhewn a diſpoſition to relieve Tortona, which had engaged, if not ſuccoured, to ſurrender on the eleventh of the ſame month, deferred his departure till that day.—Anxious to regain the time he had thus

thus loſt, he marched his army, compoſed of 17,000 effective men, the remains of the 30,000, which had been ſent into Italy, with ſuch rapidity, that in five days it had advanced 116 miles, and reached Teverna, near Bellinzona on the fifteenth; that is to ſay, on the very ſame day on which he had propoſed to be there, before the delay took place. But he unfortunately experienced another delay, which he had it not in his power to prevent. For, inſtead of finding the neceſſary beaſts of burthen ready for him at Taverna, as had been promiſed him, he was obliged to loſe three days in endeavouring to obtain them in the country; and, not being able to procure a ſufficient number, he was obliged to diſmount his Coſſacks, and to employ their horſes in tranſporting the baggage. The impoſſibility of making uſe of carriages in the road of the Great Alps, had obliged him to ſend his artillery by the lake of Como, and the route of Chiavenna, from whence it afterwards rejoined him in the country of the Griſons. Every thing being ready for the paſſage of the Alps, general Roſenberg, with the Ruſſian advanced guard, twelve battalions ſtrong, began his march on the nineteenth, and arrived on the ſame day at Bellinzona. Field-marſhal Suwarrow ſucceſsfully croſſed the Alps, drove the French from Mount St. Gothard, and forced the diviſion under Lecourbe, on the twenty-fifth, to retreat to Altorff, the capital of Uri, in which canton is St. Gothard. On the twenty-ſeventh, he puſhed his advanced-guard acroſs the Colmerberg, as far as Mutten, whither the remainder of the army alſo arrived on the twenty-eighth. Agreeably to arrangements previouſly concerted, the Auſtrian generals Lincken and Jellacheik were to have advanced into the canton of Glarus, in order to join themſelves, on their right, to general Hotze, and on their left to marſhal Suwarrow. Jellacheik having, on the twenty-ſixth, penetrated as far as Miollis, from which he drove the republicans, having learnt the misfortunes of the preceding day, and the retreat of general Petrarch, returned towards Sargens, where he arrived on the twenty-ſeventh. General Lincken, after he had, on the twenty-ſixth, beaten a French column under general Soult, near Rettarn, and made himſelf maſter of Glarus, not learning that any corps, either Auſtrian or Ruſſian, had penetrated into that canton, and not being able to communicate with any one, either on his right or left, retired alſo, and returned into the country of the Griſons. Marſhal Suwarrow, who had entertained the hope of being joined at Mutten by general Lincken, learnt, by a diſpatch from that officer, the events which had taken place on the Linth, and the Limmat; and it may be a well conceived with what bitter regret he ſaw the hopes vaniſh, through the miſconduct of others, which had brought him into Switzerland. It was excuſable in him to receive this blow of fortune with ſome impatience. In circumſtances ſo critical, however, inſtead of falling back on St. Gothard, or retiring into the country of the Griſons, he reſolved to paſs by the Mutten and Clonthal, into the canton of Glarus, there to join general Lincken; flattering himſelf that, on the news of his arrival, and of the departure of general Maſſena to engage

gage him, generals Korſakow and Petrach having a leſs force againſt them might be enabled to turn about, and that every thing might be retrieved. It was in this hope, ſo glorious for him to have ſtill retained, that he wrote to the Ruſſian general Korſakow's army "You will anſwer with your heads for every farther ſtep that you retreat. I am coming to repair your faults." On the thirtieth, marſhal Suwarrow put himſelf in motion, by the Muttenthal, and through a ſeries of bloody combats, the whole march being in a manner one engagement, puſhed on through the narrow valley of Muttenthal. On the ſame day he was purſued by Maſſena, who had joined Lecourbe at Altorfhauſſen, as advanced guard, 4,000 ſtrong came up, on that day, with general Roſenberg, and attacked him, but was repulſed with loſs.—On the next day, the firſt of October, Maſſena came in perſon, with 1000 men againſt general Roſenberg, who was left at Mutten to guard the entrance of that valley, and to ſecure the march of the reſt of the army. Maſſena attacked him in three columns, one keeping the centre of the valley, and the two others occupying the two ſides of the mountains. General Roſenberg charged Maſſena's centre with three battalions, and forced it to take to flight; an example which was followed by the other two columns. The Ruſſians purſued the enemy beyond Schmitz, after having killed or wounded 5 or 6000 men, and taken more than 1000 priſoners.—Theſe advantages, gained at the ſame time by the advanced and the rear guard, gave the Ruſſians peaceable poſſeſſion of the road from Schmitz to Glarus, in which laſt town they collected their ſick and wounded. The field-marſhal had flattered himſelf that he ſhould there be joined by ſome Auſtrian corps. But general Petrarch having already retreated into the Voralberg, and generals Jellacheik and Lincken into the country of the Griſons, the Ruſſian general had no other ſupport to expect but that of one Auſtrian brigade, under general Auffemberg. He was obliged, therefore, notwithſtanding an ardent deſire to maintain himſelf in the ſmall cantons, to renounce it, and to think of his own ſafety, already greatly endangered. Having allowed his army to repoſe three days he began his march, on the fifth of October, toward the Griſon country, leaving his wounded at Glarus. After an arduous and fatiguing march, through the vallies of Zernaff and Ileim, where he was ſometimes obliged to cut away along the ſides of rocks, and in which he loſt part of his beaſts of burthen and baggage, and a pretty large number of ſoldiers, not able to follow him, it reached the valley of the Rhine; and, on the eighth, was reunited in the environs of Chur, ſtill amounting to near 14,000 men; having thus loſt, in this ſhort, but terrible campaign, 3000 men, in killed, wounded, or miſſing. In killed, wounded, and priſoners, the French loſt at leaſt 4000.

The archduke being informed, on the twenty-eighth of September, at his head-quarters at Schwetzingen, of the diſaſters of the allies, haſtened to their relief, with a part of his army, leaving the remainder under prince Schwartzenberg, for the protection of the Neckar and the Maine. He arrived, on the fourth of October, and fixed his head-quarters at Donaweeſchingen. Being made acquainted with the firſt ſucceſſes of

marſhal

marſhal Suwarrow, and with the inconvenience which thence reſulted to Maſſena, he was delivered from all apprehenſion of an eruption beyond the Rhine, on the part of the French, and reſolved to carry the war again into the canton of Zurich, with the intention of making a diverſion, at leaſt, in favour of the Ruſſian general, and thus to enable him either to derive advantage from his firſt ſucceſſes, or to ſecure his retreat into the Griſon country. This diverſion, however, ſo much wiſhed for by Suwarrow, and rendered neceſſary by circumſtances, was reſolved on too late. The field-marſhal was already in the valley of the Rhine, and Maſſena already returned with his troops into the canton of Zurich.

The Ruſſian army, under prince Korſakow, after the retreat from Zurich, took a poſition extending from Egliſau to Conſtance. On the ſixth of October, the French, in force, came to reconnoitre, and retired in the evening; but, as ſuppoſed, not far, and therefore an immediate attack was expected. General Korſakow the next morning croſſed the Rhine, to ſeek the enemy, and found him ſtrongly poſted. Notwithſtanding ſuch a ſituation, the general of the Ruſſians attacked him immediately, with the greateſt intrepidity, and with fixed bayonets. The French fled to the woods, by which their right was covered, and endeavoured to take a freſh poſition, from which they were likewiſe driven, as they were from a third, which was nearly more unfortunate than the two others. Two of their battalions had thrown down their arms, and were on the point of ſurrendering, when their cavalry, and a large body of infantry, headed by Maſſena, in perſon, came up and ſaved them. It being no longer prudent to continue the engagement againſt a force now become greatly ſuperior, and which might be ſtill farther reinforced, general Korſakow withdrew his corps, and arrived in his camp at ſix in the evening. At the ſame time, the French attacked the town of Conſtance, where the prince of Condé was ſtationed with his troops, amounting to 4 or 5,000. The prince being too weak in numbers to oppoſe the enemy, and defend the town, after ſome unſucceſsful efforts, was obliged to retreat; and finding the town in poſſeſſion of the enemy, and no other means of bringing off his troops, was forced upon the meaſure of fighting his way through the ſtreets; in the execution of which deſperate meaſure, his corps diſplayed the greateſt gallantry, particularly the grenadiers of Bourbon. The prince encamped on the other ſide of the lake, and on the ninth fixed his head-quarters at Stachingen, near Stock-ach. It may be expected, that ſomething ſhall be ſaid with regard to the loſs of men, on both ſides, in Switzerland, from the twenty-fifth of September to the ninth of October. According to the moſt ingenious and accurate computation, it appears, that the void occaſioned in the ranks of the allies, in the courſe of three weeks, was about 15,000 men; and that the loſs of the French, in the ſame period, did not exceed 9,000.

The poſition taken by the two Ruſſian armies, behind the lake of Conſtance, obliged prince Charles to put his troops in motion. He reinforced generals Linoken, Auffemberg,

emberg, and Jellacheik, in the Voralberg, and the the country of the Griſons. Several companies of chaſſeurs were formed of the inhabitants of that diſtrict, and many more of thoſe of the Tyrol. Theſe meaſures, together with the ſeaſon, put the Griſon country out of danger, and enabled prince Charles to employ his forces in Franconia and Suabia, till he ſhould receive the new regiments, which were haſtening to him, out of Auſtria and Bohemia. After reſting his army two or three days in the environs of Thur, marſhal Suwarrow proceeded on his route to operate with the other Ruſſian army on the banks of the lake of Conſtance: a junction which he had hoped to form on the Reuſs. On the thirteenth, he arrived at Fieldkirk, and on the ſixteenth at Lindau, where he was joined, on the eighteenth, by general Korſakow's corps, which had re-aſcended the Rhine, and been ſucceeded on that river by the army of the archduke. The two Ruſſian armies, united, formed one of about 25,000 effective men, the remains of 70, nominally, who, in the courſe of the campaign, had been ſent into Italy and Switzerland, but who, in fact, amounted to no more than 50,000 in the field. Marſhall Suwarrow, and general Korſakow, had nearly the ſame number of men under their command: and the former, during more than ſix months of the moſt active and eventful campaign, loſt no greater number in killed, and not near ſo many priſoners, as general Korſakow loſt in the ſpace of fifteen days. The firſt has enjoyed the honour of victory; the ſecond has ſuffered the diſgrace of defeat. Such is the difference reſulting from the choice of generals, and ſuch the importance of that choice!

Marſhal Suwarrow, who had his head-quarters at Lindau till the thirtieth, without having had an interview with prince Charles, quitted the banks of the lake of Conſtance, with his whole army, and that of the prince of Condé, and marched towards Augſburg, where he arrived on the eighth of November, with all his ſtaff, and fixed his head-quarters. A few days afterwards, he received orders from Peterſburgh, to re-conduct his army into the ſtates of his ſovereign; and theſe orders he put in execution about the end of the month. The Ruſſian troops traverſed Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. Freſh orders ſtopped them on the frontiers of Bohemia: and marſhal Suwarrow placed his head-quarters at Prague, from whence he continued his march towards Ruſſia ſome time thereafter.

The French, ever ſince the retaking of Manheim, by the Auſtrians, had kept on the defenſive, guarding, with attention, the left bank of the Rhine. But general Ney, at this time commanding the army of the Rhine, had no ſooner learnt the victories of Maſſena, and the departure of the archduke, than he thought of again reſuming the offenſive. His army amounted to about 25,000 men, and ſome reinforcements were on their march to join it. On the morning of the fourth of October, the French, ſetting off, in force, from Mentz, advanced rapidly on the route towards Frankfort, which they entered, and on which they attempted to levy, as they had done but lately, a ſevere contribution. But

this was redeemed by the magiſtrates, at the expenſe of only a few hundreds of louis. Having made themſelves maſters of Manheim, between the Maine and the Lahn, they proceeded in their career, and drove the imperial troops from Manheim and Heidelberg, to the Enz. Towards the end of October, the archduke found himſelf in a ſituation attacked in the Palatinate and in Franconia, and threatened in the Griſon country and Suabia: he ſaw the Ruſſians abandoning the theatre of war. The two armies oppoſite to him conſiſted of more than 100,000 men, and he had himſelf ſcarcely 70,000 to line the banks of the Rhine, from its ſource as far as Kehl, to defend Suabia, and ſupport the armed peaſants, who covered Franconia.

In theſe critical circumſtances, the poſts of the archduke were ſo well choſen, that on whatever points the enemy might wiſh to paſs the Rhine, a large body of troops might immediately unite againſt them. The archduke, who overlooked the whole from his excellent central poſition at Donawee Schwingen, was enabled to ſend ſome reinforcements to the Neckar, which arrived there on the laſt days of October. On the tenth of that month he addreſſed a proclamation to the ſtates and inhabitants of the German empire, recapitulating the efforts made, and the expenſes incurred by the emperor, for the defence of the former, and renewing his ſolicitations for the arming of the contingents, and the payments of the Roman months. It was alſo about this period that the declaration of the emperor of Ruſſia to the members of the Germanic empire, (alluded to in our fifth chapter, and to be found among the State Papers in this volume), was preſented to the diet of Ratiſbon.* The ſolicitations of the two emperors had no effect on the principal powers of Germany. Pruſſia, Saxony, and all the north, perſiſted in their nutrality, and in the treaties by which this was guaranteed to them by France. The ſouth, more threatened with danger, not being included within the line of demarcation, and in ſome meaſure dependent on Auſtria, made ſome efforts. The elector of Bavaria contributed not only his contingent, but all the troops he had in the Palatinate: the duke of Wurtemberg about 2,500: the circle of Suabia reſolved on the future armament of 10,000 men. Wurtzburg and Bamberg thought alſo of contributing to the defence of Franconia, and formed ſome companies of peaſants.

The imperialiſts and the French, at the end of October, were oppoſed to each other on the banks of the Maine, the Neckar, the Enz, and the Rhine. The object of the French was to cover the ſiege of Philipſburgh, which they bombarded, and hoped to carry, by the weight of their fire: that of the Auſtrians was to raiſe it, and, at all events, to ſhelter the duchy of Wurtemberg. The Auſtrians, be-

* This declaration has not proved in any reſpect vain: for, as the emperor of Ruſſia, throughout the whole campaign, contributed powerfully to the ſafety of Germany, ſo he likewiſe, according to his word, abandoned that country to itſelf, and re-called his troops, as juſt ſtated.

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ing reinforced on the third and following days of November, compelled them to withdraw into the angle formed by the Neckar and the Rhine, and raise the blockade of Philipsburgh. This fortress, still resolutely defended by the heroic rhingrave, of Salm, was again attacked and again relieved; and the French, under the command of Lecourbe, forced to retire to Manheim. The French general proposed an armistice, which was accepted, on condition that it should be ratified by the archduke, who, for the best military reasons, refused to do it. The French were therefore obliged to evacuate Manheim and Neckerrau, and completely to re-pass the Rhine.

CHAP. XV.

Situation and Force of the French and Auſtrian Armies, in Italy, at the Beginning of 1799.—*The French driven, with great Loſs, from the left Bank of the Adige.*—*Operations of the Auſtrians on the Flanks of the French Army.*—*The French, on the Fifth of April, defeated with great Loſs.*—*Retire to the Mincio.*—*And afterwards to the Chieſa.*—*The Auſtrian General, Melas, paſſes the Mincio with all his Army.*—23,000 *Ruſſian Auxiliaries arrive with Marſhal Suwarrow, who takes the chief Command of the Troops of the two Emperors.*—*Peſchiera and Mantua inveſted.*—*Breſcia taken by the Allies.*—*Who march to the Oglio, which the French abandon.*—*Moreau ſucceeds in the Command of the French Army to Scheerer, who was become the Object of public Animadverſion.*—*The Allied Army encamps on the Adda.*—*Diſtribution of the French Forces on that River.*—*Diſlodged therefrom on the Twenty-ſeventh, by Marſhal Suwarrow.*—*Battle of Caſſano.*—*The French compelled to fly towards Milan.*—*Which is entered by the Auſtrians on the Twenty-eighth.*—*Embarraſſing Situation of Moreau.*—*The Plan he determines to purſue.*—*Reduction of the Fortreſſes of Peſchiera and Pizzighetone.*—*Plan of Operations purſued by Marſhal Suwarrow.*—*Capture of the Cities of Tortona and Turin.*—*Moreau paſſes the Bormida, and retreats towards Coni.*—*Reduction of the Citadels of Milan and Ferrara.*—*The French driven from Ravenna.*—*General Macdonald, with all his Army, evacuates the Kingdom of Naples.*—*Croſſes the Appenines.*—*Makes himſelf Maſter of Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia.*—*But is defeated in a Series of Battles, on both Sides of the Trebbia, by Marſhal Suwarrow.*—*Moreau, who had croſſed the Appenines, with a View of drawing near to Macdonald, and gained ſeveral Advantages, on the Approach of the Ruſſian Commander, retires to Genoa.*—*Reduction of the Citadel of Turin.*—*Inſurrection of the Inhabitants of Tuſcany.*—*Macdonald accompliſhes his Retreat and Junction with Moreau.*—*Alexandria and Mantua ſurrender, by Capitulation.*—*Cardinal Ruffo, on the Twentieth of June, makes himſelf Maſter of the City of Naples.*—*Complete Deliverance, by the Engliſh Fleet, of the Kingdom of Naples.*—*Military Meaſures taken by the new French Directory.*—*The Command of the Army of Italy reſtored to Joubert, who puts his Troops in Motion on the Eleventh of Auguſt.*—*Battle of Novi.*—*Victory long doubtful at laſt decided in Favour of the Allies.*—*Enormous Loſs on both Sides.*—*Conditional Capitulation of Tortona, which falls on the Eleventh of September.*—*General Suwarrow ſets off for Switzerland.*—*Coni becomes the ſole Object of the Campaign.*—*March of the Neapolitans and the Aretines againſt Rome.*—*General Garnier, French Commander, in Rome, ſurrenders the Roman Territory, by Capitulation, to Commodore Trowbridge.*—*Siege and Capture of Ancona.*—*And of Coni.*—*Other Places taken by the Auſtrians.*—*Genoa*

and its small Territory, the only Poſſeſſion remaining to the French, in Italy, at the Cloſe of 1799.—*Eſtimate of the Advantages gained on both Sides in the whole of the Campaign or Campaigns in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy.*—*Maritime Affairs.*

THE republican forces in Italy, at the commencement of 1799, conſiſted of nearly 80,000 French ſoldiers, and more than 50,000 Poles, Swiſs, Piedmonteſe, Genoeſe, Romans, or Neapolitans, diſperſed from the frontiers of Piedmont. They were formed into two armies: one of which was called the army of Italy, and the other that of Naples. The army of Italy, conſiſting of 90,000, occupied the Modeneſe, the ſtate of Genoa, Piedmont, the Milaneſe, the Valtelline, and the countries of Breſcia, Bergamo, and Mantua. This diſperſion of force, which a general hatred of the French rendered neceſſary, reduced the number of men, who could be employed in active operations, to about 50,000. They were in cantonments to the banks of the lake of Garda, of the Minico, and of the Po, from the frontier of the Tyrol to the mouth of the laſt-mentioned river. The army of Naples, conſiſting of about 40,000, occupied the capital and the conquered part of his Sicilian majeſty's dominions, as alſo Rome, and the different provinces of the church. Though it had not to contend with regular troops, yet it was not without enemies, nor free from danger. On one hand, it had to guard againſt the fiery population of Naples, while, on the other, it had to combat the inhabitants of Calabria, Baſilica, Tarenteſe, Puglia, and, in a word, of all the provinces ſituated to the ſouth; and Abruzza and Benevento, which, conducted by cardinal Ruffo, at once a prieſt, a politician, and a warrior, had taken arms in favour of their lawful ſovereign. On a third ſide, the ſame army had to defend itſelf againſt the inſurrections, in a great part of the ſtates of the church, often checked, but never totally ſuppreſſed. The French army of Naples was diſtinguiſhed by an inſatiable thirſt of plunder, and a ſpirit of inſubordination. Officers and ſoldiers all thought of nothing but plunder, not for the republic, but for themſelves. The commander-in-chief, Championet, wiſhing to put a ſtop to thoſe diſorders, at leaſt to make the plunder more ſyſtematic, and leſs under the wanton arbitrement of civil commiſſaries, equally ignorant and regardleſs of military deſigns, was deprived of his command, as has been ſeen, in chapter ninth, recalled into France, and threatened with the loſs of his head. His ſucceſſor, general Macdonald, knew better how to ſubmit to the deſpotiſm of the directory, to the pride of their pro-conſuls, and to the inſubordination of his army. About the ſame time, and nearly for ſimilar reaſons, general Joubert had loſt the command of the army of Italy, which had been given to Scheerer, commonly called *The Peculator*, who poſſeſſed the confidence of the directory in the ſame degree that he had loſt that of the nation, and who, in order to accept that command, had quitted the place of miniſter of war. Scheerer arrived in Italy about the end of

February. The Auſtrian army, at a ſhort diſtance from the French army of Italy, occupied the parallel line of the Adige, from the Italian Tyrol to beyond Rovigo. About 30,000 men were diſtributed along this line, while the army of reſerve, amounting to nearly the ſame number, were cantoned in the Treviſano, Carniola, and Fruili. All theſe troops were under the command of general Kray, until lieutenant-general Melas ſhould come to take the chief command. From this ſtatement it appears that the French had a vaſt ſuperiority, in point of number, but that the Auſtrians had their forces concentered on a ſhort line, and that they could not be attacked on that line while the French and their auxiliaries were ſcattered over the ſurface of Italy, from the foot of the Alps to the gulphs of Naples and Manfredonia, had conſtantly to keep in ſubjection, and often to combat, a population of above ten millions of ſouls, and were obliged to guard the coaſts of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, on which hoſtile troops might, at any time, be landed by the Engliſh, Ruſſian, and Turkiſh fleets, which held the dominion of the two ſeas, blocked up the ports of Corfu, Ancona, and Malta, and frequently appeared before thoſe of Leghorn, Civita-Vecchia, and Naples.

The taſk allotted to the army of Italy, was, to pierce through the line of the Adige, to drive the Auſtrians behind the Brenta, and even, if poſſible, out of Italy, and at leaſt to penetrate into the ſouthern parts of the Tyrol, while Maſſena ſhould attack it on the eaſt, and Jourdan on the north: in a word, to ſurround and conquer that province, at once the ramparts of the hereditary ſtates, and the key of Germany and Italy. The Auſtrians had taken three principal poſitions on the Adige, which were well fortified, and well choſen. The firſt was an entrenched camp at Paſtrengo, near Buſſolengo; the ſecond poſition was oppoſite to Verona, and conſiſted of entrenchments thrown up on all the avenues to that place. It was intended as a point of ſupport, both for the right and left, and therefore it was the moſt important: for which reaſon a camp had been eſtabliſhed behind it, on the road of Vicenza, to be occupied by the troops of reſerve quartered in Treviſano and Fruili. The third and left hand poſition was, the fortified town of Legnago. Nothing material happened between the two armies till the twenty-fifth of March. On the twenty-ſixth, general Scheerer, his army formed in ſix diviſions, and conſiſting of about 45,000 men, marched againſt the three principal poſitions of their opponents. The battle was very obſtinate during the whole day.—Several poſts were taken and retaken. The Auſtrians acknowledged, in the conflict of that day, 2,800 killed and wounded. The French ſuffered as ſeverely, but they loſt only 300 men in priſoners.—Scheerer had complete ſucceſs, and maintained his equality in the centre: but his right diviſion, which was ordered to take and burn Legnago, twice repulſed by the Auſtrian advanced poſts, were completely routed, and obliged to fly towards Mantua, leaving above 2000 men killed and wounded, with 600 priſoners, and eleven pieces of cannon. The Poliſh legion of Dombrouſky, compoſed almoſt entirely of Auſtrian deſerters, having

ving been at this affair, the Auſtrian ſoldiers, to whom their officers called out *parce ferro*, as much in vain as Hannibal did to his at Thraſymene, would give no quarter, but exterminated with their bayonets, and the but-ends of their muſkets, all the men of that legion who fell into their hands. The engagement ſeemed ſo deciſive in favour of the Auſtrians, that general Kray was on the point of puſhing on to Mantua, when a courier brought him intelligence of the diſaſter experienced on his right, from the ſucceſsful attack by Scheerer's left.—Notwithſtanding the fatigue of his troops, he marched them the ſame evening to the aſſiſtance of the centre and of the right, leaving, however, a ſufficient corps of obſervation between Mantua and Legnago. A part of theſe re-inforcements arrived at Verona on the twenty-ſeventh, and the reſt on the twenty-eighth. During theſe two days, Scheerer, diſconcerted with the ſevere check on his right, attempted nothing deciſive againſt Verona. The two armies were ſtill ſo near to each other, that, on the twenty-ninth, they were obliged to agree on a ſuſpenſion of arms, to bury their dead, who lay on the field ſince the twenty-ſixth, and began already to infect the air. On the thirtieth, two hours before the expiration of the truce, according to the Auſtrians, the half of the troops, commanded by Moreau, that is, about 10,000 men, having paſſed the Adige, by the bridge of Polo, attacked the poſts of the Auſtrians, which guarded the left bank, overcame them and advanced till within half a league of Verona, while another column endeavoured to gain the heights, which flanked the right of the Auſtrians, and the road of Vicenza, on which general Kray had wiſely poſted his reſerve, or, more properly ſpeaking, the main body of the army. Three Auſtrian columns came up with them on their march, and attacked them with ſuch ſpirit, that they could not reſiſt, but were obliged to retire towards their bridge, full three leagues diſtant. Their retreat was nothing but a continued engagement. They continued it for a long time in good order; but, when the left Auſtrian column ſaw that they approached the bridge, two battalions of grenadiers, detached from it with the greateſt rapidity along the bridge, without firing, and uſing only the bayonet, overcame all reſiſtance, ſeized the bridge, and thus all who had not already paſſed were cut off. The French column, which had been ſent by the mountains, and which, in order to arrive at the bridge, had more ground to traverſe, met with a like fate. A party of it immediately laid down its arms, and the reſt, in endeavouring to eſcape acroſs the mountains, were likewiſe almoſt all taken. Two thouſand men fell into the hands of the Auſtrians on this day, and the French loſt all the advantages they had gained on the twenty-ſixth. On the firſt of April, general Scheerer, abandoning all his poſts which he occupied between the Adige and the lake of Garda, and placing a ſtrong garriſon in Peſchiera, took a poſition, with his left and centre, beyond the Taſtaro, at Magnan, between Villa Franca, and Yſola-della-Scala, his right wing being before Legnago. On the following day the Auſtrian army encamped on the right bank of the Adige, before Verona, and on the road to Villa

Franca. These first days of the campaign cost the French the immense loss of 10,000 men in killed, wounded, taken, or deserted. And that of the Austrians to half the number.

Scheerer seeing that the Austrians already acted partially on the offensive, and perceiving that they would attack him with an irresistible superiority, when they should be joined by the Austrians, who had left Austria on the twentieth of March, and were rapidly advancing, judged that but little time remained to give the campaign a favourable turn. He resolved, therefore, to make a new effort to drive the Austrians over the Adige, and to establish himself on the other side of that river. At the same time general Kray formed on his side the project of driving the French from their grand camp of Magnan, and driving them beyond the Tartaro, or, if possible, behind the Mincio. It was on the same day, the fifth of April, that the two generals resolved to attack each other. The French army, already reduced to 36,000 men, moved from their camp in three columns, exclusive of the advanced guard. Similar reasons influencing general Kray, his plan was similar. His army, amounting to 45,000 men, advanced in order to attack the French. The two armies were too near each other, as they were marching forward, to be long in meeting. The engagement was soon begun, and by ten o'clock was general along all the front of the line. For the first two hours it was favourable to the French, who gained ground, on all sides. General Serrurier got possession of Villa-Franca and maintained himself there. The centre and the right pushed on to Verona. At this critical moment, nine battalions of the Austrian reserve, led by general Latterman, march rapidly against the enemy, to the sound of Turkish music. The French, hitherto victorious, attacked both in flank and rear, were at once stopped, broken, and put to flight. To prevent the Austrians from following up this success, Scheerer and Moreau, with their central column, reinforced by some troops that had remained in reserve, rushed so vigorously on the centre of the Austrians, that they compelled it to give way; and general Kaim, notwithstanding this brave resistance, was repulsed till within half a league of Verona.—General Lusignan having then come up to his assistance, with three battalions of grenadiers, still kept in reserve, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, and long maintained with equal success. The obstinacy of the Austians at last prevailed, and the French on this point likewise were broken, routed, and pursued with the bayonet at their backs. Defeated on the right and in the centre, the French could not think of drawing any advantage from the success they had had on their left. Serrurier followed the retrograde movement of the rest of the army, which it executed with great confusion, leaving behind them cannon, ammunition, waggons, and wounded. The trophies of this victory were seventeen pieces of cannon, and near 3000 prisoners. It cost the victors in killed and wounded 2500 men. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was at least 3500 men.

On the day after the battle of Magnan, general Scheerer abandoned Villa-Franca and Hola-della-

Scala,

Scola, and concentrated his army between Mantua and Goito. Continuing his retreat, on the seventh, he passed the Mincio, near Goito, at the same time throwing a reinforcement of men and provisions into Peschiera. The Austrian vanguard occupied the extent of country abandoned by the French, and pushed on to Valeggio, where it seized the bridge over the Mincio. In the mean time, a flying corps, under general Klenau, either sunk or took the armed and provision boats of the French on the Po, and gained possession of the countries of Ostiglia and Governovolo on the seventh, thus cutting off the communication between the Lower Po, and Mantua. The long suppressed detestation of the Italians for the French now broke forth. The inhabitants of the two banks of the Po took up arms for themselves, cut down the trees of liberty, abjured all revolutionary insignia, and compelled the French troops to disperse about the country, and to shut themselves up in Ferrara and Bologna. Affairs were equally prosperous at the other extremity of the line formed by the imperial army. General Wuckassowich, with different small columns, after driving the enemy from the valley of the Chiesa, and the two shores of the lake of Idro, had taken possession, on the eighth, of the important defile of Rocca d'Anfo, which opened the entrance of the Brescian, and placed him in the rear of the French army. This threatening circumstance determined Scheerer to quit the Mincio entirely, and to retire behind the Chiesa, leaving Peschiera and Mantua to their fate.

General Melas, who had arrived on the eighth, to take the command of the Austrian army, sent his vanguard, on the tenth, beyond the Mincio, to occupy the approaches to Peschiera; whilst, on the left, general Klenau pushed on to the vicinity of Mantua. On the thirteenth, the first columns of the Russian auxiliary army, which were immediately followed by the others, arrived at Verona, and the day after, general Melas, having no longer any thing to fear for his rear, passed the Mincio with all his army, which on that day he encamped near to Campagnola, his head-quarters being at Valleggio. In this position he was joined by the Russian army, estimated at 23,000, but not much exceeding 20,000 fighting men, and by marshal Suwarrow, who took the chief command of the troops of the two emperors. The marshal immediately took measures for pushing forwards, and made the necessary arrangements for the double blockade of Mantua and Peschiera. Between 18 and 20,000 men were allotted to that service, and the command given to general Kray, who hastened to invest the two fortresses. On the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, Scheerer, with his army, reduced to less than 20,000, pursued his retrograde movements. On the last of these days, his right passed the Adda: his rear-guard remained on the left bank of the Rhine; his left in front of the Oglio, behind Brescia: his head-quarters were at the famous Lodi on the Adda. Two days afterward his head-quarters were transferred to Calao on the Oglio; and the right of the army, by an oblique movement, approached the left of that river and of Brescia. The allied army, followed close on the footsteps of

Scheerer, reduced the town and citadel of Breſcia, and forced the French to abandon the Oglio. On the twentieth, general Kaim ſeverely beat the rear guard of the enemy's right, at Cremona, and took four hundred priſoners. In this action the Ruſſians, for the firſt time, were engaged with the French.

The French had ſcarcely ſuffered a firſt defeat, when the hatred felt, and the revenge reſerved for them broke forth with Italian heat. In a moment, the inſurrection ſpred itſelf on the two banks of the Po. The French, diſperſed about the country, fell under the blows of thoſe Italians, who were a few days before ſo obedient, or were obliged to take refuge in the towns in which they had garriſons. Even ſome towns, and among others Mirandola, were taken from them by the armed peaſants, ſupported by ſome light imperial troops. The ſparks of this fire paſſed, as it were, over the heads of the French, and lighted up the Breſcian, the Bergameſe, and Piedmont. The people aſſembled in ſeveral places, and where it did not burſt it threatened. The fear of ſeeing a numerous population arriving behind him, and the impoſſibility of making head at once againſt this and the Auſtrians, contributed not a little to determine Scheerer to retire, that he might concentrate his force, ſecure the fortified places of Piedmont, and receive thoſe reinforcements ſooner, which were on their way from France, and from Switzerland. But the reverſes, and retreat of this commander, though the former do not appear to have been owing to any thing that could be much, if at all, blamed in his conduct, and the latter, in his circumſtances, was manifeſtly prudent, heightened the deteſtation in which he had been held in Paris; where the people, according to the natural exaggeration of their impetuous minds, did not ſcruple to ſay, that, during his adminiſtration, he had intentionally prepared the ruin of the French army. A court martial was talked of. The cries of the army, and of the jacobin councils, compelled the directory to ſtrip Scheerer of his command, which was given to Moreau, who was not in their favour, and who was inveſted with the command on the banks of the Adda; where the French army was reinforced by ſome troops from Piedmont, from Genoa, and from the interior of France, which, in part, made up for the ſacrifices of men it had been obliged to make, in forming the garriſons of Mantua, Peſchiera, Breſcia, and Pizzighetone.

The poſitions taken by the French were theſe: the left wing of the French army, commanded by Serrurier, defended the upper Adda from Lecco, on the lake of Como, to Trezzo, where it joined to the centre, where Moreau took his ſtation, compoſed of the diviſions of generals Victor and Grenier. All the place comprized between Trezzo and Caſſano was occupied by theſe two diviſions. At their right, and behind Caſſano, was placed the main body of their cavalry. The bridge-head of Caſſano was ſtrongly entrenched, and protected by the artillery of the caſtle. It was protected likewiſe by the canal between the Adda and Milan, lined with riflemen, and defended by a great number of batteries raiſed along the banks of the river. The right of the French army, guarded by general Delmas, had its principal

cipal force at Lodi and Pizzighetone.

On the twenty-third, the allies continued their march without impediment, and encamped on the banks of the Adda, taking their positions along that river, and leaving those occupied by the French. Their head-quarters were placed at Treviglio. General Kaims' division held Pizzighetone in check, observed the Lower Adda, and advance parties beyond the Po, to Placentia and Parma. One of these parties was sent into the latter place to carry off the Pope, whom the French were conducting into France. But the Austrians, who were not informed of this circumstance, before it was too late, did not arrive at Parma till twenty-four hours after the unfortunate Pius the sixth, had been torn from thence. *

The line occupied by the French on the Adda, though they were only 25,000 strong, was of more than fifty miles. Marshal Suwarrow, unable to turn this line, and unwilling to be impeded by it, resolved to force it on the twenty-seventh, and to make attacks, at the same time, on its centre and left points, on which it was best defended. In the night, between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, general Wuckassowich made himself master of a flying bridge, which the enemy had been negligent enough to destroy but imperfectly. Having quickly repaired it, he marched four battalions and two squadrons across the river, and took up a position at Brivio, an important point, situated at the end of the road leading to Milan, from the lake of Como, on the centre of the allied army: to reach the opposite banks of the Adda, was not so easy. It was strongly guarded, its course rapid and sinuous, and its banks steep. This passage could be effected only by a concurrence of boldness, activity, and good fortune. This concurrence marshal Suwarrow hoped to find and obtain in the marquis de Chasteller, his quarter-master general. The marquis having sent an officer of pontooneers, on the night of the twenty-sixth, to reconnoitre the banks of the river opposite Trezzo; and having received a report that it was impossible to throw over a bridge at that place, repaired to the spot himself. He employed some hundreds of the troops almost all night, in carrying the pontoons and planks necessary to the construction of a bridge, to the edge of the water. At half after five the next morning the bridge was completed. All the light troops belonging to the centre of the allied army, having made haste to pass the bridge, fell upon that part of the division which had occupied Trezzo, drove it from thence and repulsed it to Pozzo. A battle ensued between Pozzo and Brivio, the French were driven out of the village, and some hundreds made prisoners. General Melas threw a flying bridge, which he had in readiness, over the

* The aged and infirm father of the catholic church, as he passed to Valence, through Dauphiny, was every where received, by multitudes of people, with sentiments and expressions of sympathy, respect, and veneration. They fell on their knees and demanded his blessing: which he bestowed with great goodness and grace in a very affecting manner. After an indisposition of several days, he expired at Valence, on the nineteenth of August, in his eighty-second year. He was elected pope, February 15, 1775. Unslacked lime was thrown into the grave to consume his body.

Adda,

Adda, paſſed it with his two diviſions, and rejoined, on the ſame night, marſhal Suwarrow, at Gorgonzello. The enemy who retired towards Milan were purſued: but the obſcurity of the night, and the fatigue of the allied troops, favoured their retreat. On the morrow, general Melas's diviſions, leſs fatigued than thoſe of the Ruſſian marſhal's, marched towards Milan, where they arrived without any obſtacle. The imperial troops were received, in that populous capital of Lombardy, with the ſame demonſtrations of joy they had laviſhed on the French three years before. On the ſame night, marſhal Suwarrow arrived at Milan with his whole ſtaff.

General Wuckaſſowich, by ſurprizing the paſſage of the Adda at Brivio, and poſting himſelf at that place, had cut off the line of communication between the centre and the left of the French. This diviſion, commanded by Serrurier, was on the point of being ſurrounded, on the twenty-eighth, by a body of Auſtrians and Ruſſians under Wuckaſſowich, battered in every direction with his artillery, and charged with his cavalry: when the general, whoſe force was now reduced to three thouſand men, demanded to capitulate, which was granted to him. The conditions were, that the whole troops ſhould lay down their arms and be made priſoners of war. The generals and officers, however were permitted to return to France, on their parole, not to ſerve again until exchanged. This laſt condition was a mark of reſpect ſhewn to the bravery of old general Serrurier, and to the probity of his conduct.* The battle of the twenty-ſeventh, and the actions to which it led, on the upper Adda, coſt the republicans five thouſand men made priſoners, beſides four thouſand wounded or killed. The loſs of the allies, on theſe different heads, amounted at leaſt to two thouſand five hundred men, and thirty-two pieces of cannon on the field of battle, and a much greater number at Milan. Thus it appears that the imperialiſts fought for the ſafety of Verona under its walls, on the twenty-ſixth and even thirtieth of March, and that eight-and-twenty days after, they were eſtabliſhed in Milan, having, in the interval, inveſted two fortreſſes, forced the paſſage of a river lined with entrenchments, obtained two brilliant victories, killed or wounded more than fifteen thouſand men, made a like number of priſoners, and taken more than one hundred pieces of cannon.

After the battle of the Adda, Moreau, compelled to yield the Milaneſe to the conquerors, found himſelf in a very embarraſſing ſituation. He had with him ſcarcely fifteen thouſand; and what remained of his forces, on his right and left, hardly amounted to ten thouſand more. With this ſmall number, he had at once to preſerve his communication with Switzerland, to defend the approaches of Turin, to cover the fortified places of eaſt-

* This old gentleman, preſerving, under the republican ſtandard, that ſenſe of honour which had raiſed him to the rank of lieutenant under the old government, kept himſelf ſo pure, in the midſt of the extortions committed by the other generals, that he was called the VIRGIN OF THE ARMY.

ern

mont, to secure the preservation of the passes of the Appennines, to leave to the army of Naples the means of effecting its retreat, and to suppress the insurrections, which were breaking out against him on all sides. To endeavour to face so many duties, calls, and dangers, he made his right fall back from the Adda to the Po; his centre from Milan to Pavia; and his left to Novara. He quitted this latter town, where he had his head-quarters, and repaired to Turin, to put it in a state of defence: not the city, for which his whole army would hardly have sufficed to form a garrison, but the citadel, which required a much smaller one. Having made the arrangements necessary for this purpose, and stifled some little insurrections, which disturbed his communication with France, by the vallies of Piedmont, he rejoined his army. Too weak to be enabled to protect equally well Turin, Tortona, and Alexandria, he determined to leave Piedmont to its fate, to dispute the rest of Italy inch by inch, and by gaining time to save the campaign. On the seventh of May, he chose a position, by which his right rested on Alexandria, and the Tanaro; and his left on Valentia and the Po. By this position, on one side, he supported Tortona, and on the other, by the course of the Po, gave some protection to Turin. He preserved, at the same time, if not the shortest, at least his most important communications with France, as well as with the Genoese territory, and consequently with the army of Naples. And, what he had principally in view, he hoped thereby to fix the attention of the allies in the centre of Italy, to oblige them to waste the campaign in a war of posts and sieges, and thus to retard, or even prevent, any project of invasion they might form against France, and give the republic time to collect new armies.

Marshal Suwarrow, after entering Milan, contented himself with sending out some light troops in pursuit of the retreating enemy. As soon as the different directions they had taken were known, after leaving four thousand men, under general Latterman, to blockade the castle of Milan, he put his army in motion on the first of May, and, on the fourth, established his head-quarters at Pavia. General Kray, who had remained on the Mincio, with twenty thousand men, to besiege Peschiera and Mantua, made himself master of the latter on the fifth. The grand duke Constantine, son of the emperor of Russia, who was at that time on his way to join the army of marshal Suwarrow, was present, as he passed, at the taking possession of this fortress, which, though small, is advantageously situated. On the same day, the fifth, general Latterman invested, in form, the castle of Milan, and general Kaim that of Pizzighetone. This last place, surrendered on the ninth, after an explosion of a small magazine of powder. The garrison, consisting of six hundred men, were made prisoners of war.

From the time that marshal Suwarrow perceived the defensive plan adopted by Moreau, he reduced his own to three principal points: to interrupt, as much as possible, Moreau's communications with Switzerland and France; to cut off that which he had with Tuscany and with the army of Naples; and to oblige him to quit the

advantageous poſition which he had taken. General Wuckaſſowich, taking poſſeſſion of the whole of the left bank of the Upper Po, abandoned by the French, puſhed his advanced poſts as far as Chiavaſſo. A ſtrong detachment of his corps, under the command of prince Charles of Rohan, entered the valley of Aaſti, and took poſſeſſion of Jorea. The centre of the Ruſſian army, under general Roſenberg, occupied the Lummeline, preſenting a front againſt the French army. The left wing traverſed the duchy of Parma, and occupied Bobbio. The right puſhed its advanced poſts as far as Vaghera. On the rear of the army, colonel Stranch gained more and more ground in the Valtelline, and took the important poſt of Morbegno. Prince victor of Rohan, with two thouſand men, aided by the inhabitants of the country, after taking poſſeſſion of Como, purſued the enemy, who had retreated to Chiavenna. Another corps, ſent from Milan, proceeded as far as Arona, on the lake Maggione. Such is the condenſed picture of the multiplied operations which the allied army undertook at the beginning of May: operations which divided it into a great number of corps, and thus, very much reducing the principal body of the army, afforded Moreau the hope of being able to maintain his ground. The allies were acting on a line almoſt circular round the baſon, formed by the Alps and Appennines, and interſected by the Po. Of the great variety of objects which this campaign, in Italy, embraced, and the multiplicity of actions going on, at the ſame time, in different places, it is utterly impoſſible, in any other than a hiſtory profeſſedly and ſolely military, to give a detailed account. All that can be done in the political hiſtory of Europe, on our ſcale, is to keep an eye on the principal bodies of the contending armies; to record the moſt ſtriking circumſtances, and the principal events of the campaign; and to mark the moſt critical periods, and the final iſſue of the whole.

Conformably to the plan already mentioned, marſhal Suwarrow determined to attack, at the ſame time, both Moreau's flanks. On the fourteenth of May, the allied army paſſed the Scrivia, and encamped at St. Juliano, thus taking a poſition on the right flank of Moreau. Neither this movement, nor another by general Wuckaſſowick on the other ſide, ſhaking the firmneſs of Moreau, marſhal Suwarrow, hoping to weary him out by a new movement, gave orders to his army, in the night of the ſixteenth, to fall back and to go and paſs the Po, near Caſa Tiſma, and from thence to proceed towards the Seſia. Moreau, informed of this order, or for ſome other reaſon, in the night of the fifteenth, threw a bridge of boats over the Bormida, and on the ſixteenth, in the morning, paſſed that river with ten thouſand men. He overthrew the advanced poſts of the allied army, and drove them by Maringo, towards St. Juliano. An action enſued, in which, after ſeveral viciſſitudes, he was forced to retreat, and at the fall of the night, to draw back all his troops acroſs the Bormida, with a loſs of one thouſand two hundred men in killed, wounded, and priſoners. On the twenty-fifth, in the afternoon, the combined army, compoſed of three Auſtrian, and one Ruſſian diviſion, more than thirty thouſand ſtrong, encamped within a

league of Turin, in which the enemy had two thouſand five hundred, under general Fiorella, who, refuſing at firſt to ſurrender the city, retired into the citadel; from whence he threw into the city ſome balls and ſhells. But having been given to underſtand, that if the firing was continued no capitulation would be allowed him, he readily conſented to a convention, by which he engaged to fire no more on the town, as the allies did not fire on the citadel from that quarter. The four battalions, which had been left at Milan, with general Latterman, not being ſufficient to undertake the ſiege of the caſtle, marſhal Suwarrow commiſſioned general count Hohenzollern to go and lay ſiege to the caſtle of Milan, and gave him ſix battalions more for that purpoſe. On the night, between the twentieth and twenty-firſt, the count opened the trenches againſt the caſtle of Milan, and, on the twenty-third, the commandant, being ſummoned a ſecond time, conſented to capitulate. The principal conditions were, that the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand two hundred men, ſhould return to France, but ſhould not ſerve for a year againſt the two emperors. It was at this time much regretted, that this garriſon, as well as that of Peſchiera and ſome others, had not been made priſoners of war, inſtead of returning to France, where they were made uſe of to maintain the directorial deſpotiſm, to act againſt the royaliſts of Britanny, and to enable the French rulers to ſend troops to the armies, which they would otherwiſe have been obliged to keep in the interior of France. But the allied generals were deſirous of converting beſieging into diſpoſeable corps as ſoon as poſſible. The capture of the caſtle of Milan did not coſt the Auſtrians fifty men. The magazines, which were found here, and at Breſcia, Cremona, Peſchiera, and other places were immenſe, and abundantly ſupplied the allied armies. The ſpoils of Italy, at leaſt thoſe of the ſoil, paſt, in part from the hands of the French, into thoſe of the imperialiſts. The citadel of Ferrara alſo was taken by capitulation: on the twenty-fourth, the garriſon, conſiſting of one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five men, were ſent to France, under the engagement not to ſerve for ſix months againſt the allies. Two days afterwards, the left wing of the Auſtrians extended itſelf ſtill farther. Four companies of Auſtrian infantry, having embarked, on the twenty-fourth, at the mouth of the Po, took poſſeſſion, without obſtacle, of Porto Digoro, and, on the twenty-ſixth, of Porto primero, where they diſembarked, and from whence, ſupported by three hundred inſurgents of the country, they marched againſt Ravenna, into the port of which an Auſtrian flotilla, had juſt entered at the ſame time. The French and the Italian patriots ſhut its gates; but one of them was ſoon forced, and the garriſon obliged to fly by another towards Lucca. The capture of Ferrara and Ravenna completed the eſtabliſhment of the Auſtrians on the Lower Po, gave ſupport to their left, and rendered their maritime communications, and the arrival of their tranſports, more eaſy and more ſecure. Thus the Auſtrians, confined and threatened as they had been at the end of March, on the line of the Adige, had, in

two

two months, carried their right to the frontiers of France, and their left to the Adriatic ſea.

It has already been ſeen that, at the opening of the campaign, the French were maſters of only a part of the provinces, and of the capital of the kingdom of Naples. Since that time, general Macdonald had been prevented from extending their conqueſts by the gradual diminution of his army, which, for ſome months, had received no reinforcements, by the armed loyaliſts, under cardinal Ruffo, and other inferior leaders; by threats of deſcent from the Engliſh, Ruſſians, and Turks, who cruized on the coaſts of both ſeas; and laſtly by the diſaſtrous news which he received from Upper Italy. He had been obliged to content himſelf with ſecuring the ſubmiſſion of the capital, with putting the coaſts in a ſtate of defence, and completing the reduction of the two provinces of Abruzza and Capitana, and of the two principalities; which reduction he had not been able to effect but by burning ſeveral towns and villages, and putting to the ſword ſome thouſands of peaſants. Such was the ſituation of Macdonald, when he received, from the directory, an order to evacuate the kingdom of Naples and join Moreau. According to his inſtructions, he depoſited all power in the hands of the patriots; leaving, for their ſupport, republican corps, raiſed in the country, and the garriſons of St. Elme, of Capua, and Gaeta, which could eaſily communicate and aſſiſt one another. Setting out, with all the reſt of his troops, he traverſed, in cloſe columns, the Romiſh ſtate, of which ſeveral parts were but imperfectly ſubdued; left there his heavy baggage, and with a reinforcement of all the troops in that ſtate, excepting ſome ſmall garriſons which he left at Rome, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, Pegia, Ronciglione, and Ancona, he haſtened towards Tuſcany, the capital of which he reached on the twenty-fourth of May. He found there the diviſion of general Gauthier, and eſtabliſhed a communication with that of general Montrichard, which was oppoſed to general Klenau, in the country of Bologna, and in Romagna. The union of all theſe troops, compoſed of French, Italians, and Poles, formed an army of about twenty-five thouſand men. With this force, Macdonald had to join Moreau, who was at one hundred and fifty miles diſtant, and to overcome the multiplied obſtacles, preſented both by the nature of the country and the enemy. To effect an union with his colleague, he had two roads, on different ſides of the Appenines: the one goes along the Riviera di Ponente and is known under the name of the Corniche: but it could not admit of the paſſage of artillery or even of baggage. The ſecond road was that between the Appenines and the Po, acroſs the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Placentia. This was the road choſen by the two republican generals, who already had a free and ſpeedy intercourſe with one another by the Riviera di Levante, and began to concert their plans and meaſures. Although Macdonald had reſolved to advance between the Appenines and the Po, it was, nevertheleſs, neceſſary that he ſhould be maſter of the road by the Corniche, for it was by this that he was to preſerve his

his intercourse with Moreau, and, by roads branching off from this, that he could penetrate into the plain across the mountains. Macdonald, on the twenty-sixth, assembling his troops, on the frontiers of Tuscany, proceeded on his march, dislodging the imperialists from several important posts as he advanced, particularly that of Pontremoli, and, on the thirtieth, had his head-quarters at Lucca. Meanwhile, Moreau advanced half way to meet his colleague; and, leaving only his left wing in the position of Coni, arrived with his right across the maritime Alps at Savona, occupying with his centre the upper valley of the Tanaro. Pushing on a division still farther, he occupied, with considerable force, the defile of the Bochetta, and other passes of the Appennines. All preparatory measures being taken, Macdonald put his army in motion on the eighth of June, marching himself with the centre toward Modena, and the other divisions taking the road to Fornovio and Rheggio.

As long as marshal Suwarrow had no enemy but Moreau, he could, with the forces he had, continue the war, and even act offensively against the army of the enemy. But he had foreseen that, when Macdonald should come to throw his weight into the scales, his situation would be much altered. He had, therefore, beforehand, asked for reinforcements, both at Petersburgh and Vienna. The first of these courts, detached to his assistance eleven thousand men, of the forty-five thousand, which it had destined to act in Switzerland. The second, attributing less importance to the conquest of Switzerland than of Italy, ordered general Bellegarde, with a part of his army, to reinforce marshal Suwarrow, wherever he should be required to do so. This occasion was now come, and, consequently, as has been mentioned in the preceeding chapter, general Bellegarde, quitting that country, at the end of May, with about fourteen thousand men, arrived at Milan on the fourth of June. He was then sent to, by Pavia, to conduct the blockade of Alexandria. This reinforcement, with some free corps, from the hereditary states, enabled the field-marshal to unite about forty thousand fighting men to oppose the two French generals. Macdonald, after two actions with the imperialists, on the tenth and the twelfth, in one of which he himself was pretty severely wounded, advanced, on the thirteenth, towards Rheggio, entered Parma on the fourteenth, from which the duke and all his family fled on his approach, and on the fifteenth arrived at Placentia. Marshal Suwarrow, leaving Wuckassowich, with a corps of observation, in the province of Mondovi, and general Kaim with the brigade of Lusignan, to cover, on the side of France, the siege of Turin, set out from the city, on the tenth, with the principal part of his army, amounting to from twenty-five to thirty thousand, and placed his head-quarters, the same day, at Asti, from which they were transferred, on the twelfth, to Acqui. On the fifteenth, he set out with a little more than twenty thousand men, of whom two-thirds were Russians. A dreadful battle ensued, which was interrupted only by the night, on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, on both sides of the Trebbia. Macdonald, though wounded, followed and directed his

his army, which, being thirty thouſand ſtrong, was equal, in numbers, to that of the allies. This battle, or courſe of battles, terminated to the advantage of marſhal Suwarrow. General Macdonald, after loſing more than a third of his army, returned to the ſame ſpots to which he had ſet out. The loſs of the allies, in killed and wounded, was little leſs than that of the enemy. Marſhal Suwarrow haſtened back, marching his army towards Alexandria, to go to meet Moreau, who had paſſed the Appenines, raiſed the blockade of Tortona, and forced general Bellegarde to retreat behind the Bormida. Moreau, on the approach of the Ruſſian commander, retired to Genoa.

An event, highly advantageous to the allies, which happened at the ſame time with the victories of the Trebbia, completed their triumph, and juſtified the hazardous and ſingular plan for the campaign, adopted by the chief commander. The neceſſary preparations retarded the opening of the trenches, before Turin, till the twelfth, when they were boldly opened at three hundred paces diſtant from the covered way. The principal batteries were diſmounted; the barracks, magazines, and a great number of buildings, including general Fiorella's own houſe, were ſet on fire: water had penetrated into the caſemates, which had been neglected: and anti-republican diſpoſitions were manifeſted by a part of the garriſon, which was compoſed wholly of Swiſs and Piedmonteſe. All theſe circumſtances determined the commandant to capitulate. The capitulation was ſigned, on the twentieth, at eleven o'clock at night, and the imperialiſts were put in poſſeſſion of the gates. Conformably to the capitulation, the garriſon, two thouſand ſeven hundred men, was conducted, on the twenty-ſecond, to the frontiers of France, after laying down its arms on the glacis, and giving its parole not to ſerve, till exchanged, againſt the emperor of Germany and his allies.

About the end of June, the junction of general Bellegarde's corps, the co-operation of general Haddick, in the valley of Aouſt and the Novareſe, and the arrival of a freſh body of eleven thouſand Ruſſians on the Brenta, put marſhal Suwarrow in a ſtate to oppoſe ninety thouſand men to the ſixty thouſand of the French, who were, excluſive of the garriſons of Mantua, Tortona, and Alexandria, garriſons which amounted ſcarcely to fifteen thouſand men. The advantage, which marſhal Suwarrow ſought now to derive from his ſucceſſes, was reduced to two principal objects, that of reconquering Tuſcany, and taking the three ſtrong places juſt mentioned. It had been with extreme reluctance that the ſubjects of the grand duke of Tuſcany, attached to their ſovereign, and his mild and equitable adminiſtration, ſubmitted to the French yoke. As ſoon as Macdonald had removed himſelf from the Appenines, many thouſands of the inhabitants of the province of Arezzo, encouraged and directed by Mr. Windham, the envoy from England, took up arms in favour of their ſovereign, and ſoon amounted to twenty-five thouſand men. At the ſame time, a Ciſalpine general, Lahooze, commanding, for France, a corps of Italians, in the march of Ancona, together with his troops, deſerted the cauſe of the republic, and embraced that of the allies. Uniting with his own

different

different bands of insurgents, he reduced, under the power of the allies, the province which he had, till then, defended against them, and proceeded to invest the capital on the side towards the sea, blockaded, as already mentioned, by a fleet, Turkish and Russian. In these circumstances, Macdonald lost no time in contriving his retreat from Tuscany. The troops could retreat by the Reviera di Levante; but, there was no other means of saving the artillery, the baggage, and the numerous chests filled with the spoil of Italy, than to send them by sea; a resource which the continual cruizing of some English men of war, on the coasts of Tuscany, rendered extremely hazardous. But, as it was the only resource which remained, Macdonald sent all the artillery, baggage, and republican property, which he could collect, to be transported to Leghorn. Only a small part of this could be embarked on board an American vessel, in which many officers of the staff, took their passage, as well as the civil agents of the republic. The vessel set sail on the ninth, and fell, almost in going out of port, into the hands of the English. On the same day, the allies made a more important acquisition, which was that of Urbino, the garrison of which, after sustaining a fire of some hours, capitulated, and obtained permission to return into France, on condition of not serving, for six months, against the allies. The preparations of the French for retreat, in all parts of Tuscany, encouraged more and more the insurrection of the inhabitants. Those of Florence broke out on the fifth of July, cut down the trees of liberty, and destroyed all the other marks of their subjection. The republican garrison withdrew into the forts, which it quitted the next morning, in order to retreat towards Leghorn. This place it also evacuated on capitulation. After the evacuation of Florence, the insurgents of Arezzo, supported by the imperalists, and joined on the road by almost all the inhabitants of the country, marched towards the coast, approached in large bodies the places which the French still occupied, and prepared to drive them thence by main force. This was unnecessary; for Macdonald, whose retreat, by the Corniche, was by this time rendered safe, and in a good measure already effected, gave orders, on the seventeenth, for the evacuation, not only of Leghorn, on conditions, but the whole of Tuscany.

While the allies were employed in the deliverance of Tuscany, and thereby precluding the French troops, which still possessed, in the territory of the church of Rome, Civita Vecchia, Perugia, Ancona, and Fano, from all possibility of retreat, Macdonald, towards the end of July, accomplished that of his own army, reduced now to about 13 or 14,000 men; and, in the environs of Genoa, joined Moreau, in which it was lost. By their re-union, general Moreau had a disposable force of 40 or 50,000 men, who were spread from the eastern extremity of the state of Genoa, as far as Coni, and occupied, in that line, all the defiles of the Appenines. After the evacuation of Naples, by Macdonald, cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the royalist army, consisting of more than 20,000 men, and some hundreds of Russians, having defeated the republican levies of men, which were opposed to him, marched a-

gainst

gainſt the capital, which, on the twentieth of June, ſurrendered, by capitulation. A few days after, a coaleſced army of Engliſh, Ruſſian, Turkiſh, Portugueſe, and Italian, troops, came into port, animated by the activity, and directed by the talents of admiral Nelſon, and his worthy ſecond, captain Trowbridge. To the treaty, which the cardinal had agreed to with the prince of Caraccioli and ſome other leaders of the revolution, on equal terms, admiral Nelſon refuſed to accede. A body of Engliſh, Ruſſian, and Portugueſe troops, having obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Ovo and Nuovo, on the twenty-ſixth, under the command of captain Trowbridge, inveſted the caſtle of St. Elmo on the twenty-ninth. Seven batteries, armed with cannon of the largeſt bore, were ſucceſſively erected, and on the eleventh of July, 30 pieces of ordnance were ready to play on the fort. The batteries of the place being almoſt all diſmounted, and the works very much ſhattered, the garriſon demanded to capitulate, on the ſame day; and the terms were agreed on and ſigned on the twelfth. The garriſon, after having laid down their arms, was to be embarked for France, on the condition of not ſerving again till an exchange ſhould take place. It was agreed, that the patriots of Naples, compoſing a part of the garriſon, ſhould be given to the allies; and, that the booty, found in the fort, ſhould at the ſame time be put into their hands, to be reſtored to the lawful owners.

The king of the Two Sicilies, who had hoiſted his flag on board the Foudroyant, the Engliſh admiral's ſhip, ſaw alſo his flag waving once more over his capital, and the forts which defended it. The only towns not yet reduced, under his authority, were Capua and Gaeta. Capua ſurrendered, by capitulation, to commodore Trowbridge, on the twenty-eighth. The French garriſon laid down their arms on the glacis on the twenty-ninth, and marched towards Naples, to be there embarked for France, on the uſual condition of not ſerving again, till exchanged, againſt the allies.—The ſurrender of Capua was, two days after, followed by that of Gaeta, which had only been blockaded, and whoſe garriſon of courſe obtained the honours of war, and a free return to France. General Girandon, who commanded, at the ſame time, the troops ſhut up in both places, to the number of more than 2,400 French, ſigned both capitulations, and conſented in both to ſurrender, unconditionally, the revolted Neapolitans, who had taken refuge in Gaeta and Capua, or compoſed part of their garriſons. It is painful to relate that the court of Naples choſe rather to adhere to the ſecond, than the firſt capitulation. A ſpecial commiſſion was appointed, which pronounced ſentence of death, without much formality, on ſuch as had taken an active part in the late revolutionary government. A dreadful ſcene of executions enſued, or rather a maſſacre of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the patriots, in which even ſome noble ladies were ſacrificed to a ſpirit of vengeance, and an awakened thirſt of blood. Almoſt the whole of the late legiſlative and executive commiſſioners, periſhed by the hands of executioners. Admiral Nelſon and commodore Trowbridge did not confine their efforts to the reſtoration of the king of

Naples,

Naples, but extended them to that of the papal chair. While the commodore cruized on the coaſt of the Roman ſtate, and blocked up Civita Vecchia, a part of his ſmall army marched towards Rome.

It has already been mentioned, that, after the victory of Trebbia, and the retreat of Moreau into the mountains, marſhal Suwarrow employed himſelf merely in beſieging the three ſtrong places of Mantua, Tortona, and Alexandria. From the large circumference, which the fortreſs of Alexandria rendered it neceſſary to encloſe, it was not till the fourteenth of July, that the firſt parallel, with the ordinary offenſive and defenſive works, was finiſhed, and that the artillery was placed on the batteries. On the twenty-firſt, general Gardanne, the commander, who had regularly defended the approaches to the body of the place, and never ceaſed to keep up a vigorous fire, having exhauſted his ammunition, diſpatched an officer to offer a capitulation, which was ſigned the ſame evening, and purported that the garriſon, amounting ſtill, including ſick and wounded, to 2,400, ſhould be made priſoners of war, and ſent into Germany. On the thirtieth, Mantua alſo ſurrendered, by capitulation. The garriſon was permitted to return to France, on the condition of their not ſerving again until they ſhould be exchanged. It amounted ſtill to 8,700 men, of whom 6,600 only were French. We ſhall here mention the fall of Tortona too, though it did not happen till ſome time after other important events, and by which alſo its fall was occaſioned. The ſiege of Tortona, which had for ſome time been interrupted, was recommenced by general Alcaini, at the end of July. General Gaſt, the commandant, informed of the reſult of the dreadful battle of Novi, of which we are preſently to give ſome general account, made an agreement, on the 23d of Auguſt, with the beſiegers, to ſurrender himſelf on the eleventh of September, if he ſhould not be relieved before that time. Attempts were made by Moreau for relieving Tortona in vain; and the garriſon, agreeably to the capitulation, ſurrendered to the Auſtrians, and ſet forward on its road to France.

The misfortunes experienced on all ſides by the republican armies, under the old directory, had furniſhed to the jacobins, at Paris, both the pretext and the means of overthrowing it. The mixed party, which ſucceeded it, having attained the ſupreme power, from the defeats of their predeceſſors, hoped to maintain it by victories. The diſaſtrous battle of Trebbia, cotemporary with their elevation, thwarted their hopes, but did not deſtroy them. It was attributed, by themſelves, and by others, to the negligence or imprudent meaſures of the former directory. Relying on the popularity which commonly attends newly acquired power, they decreed, with more vigour than ever, requiſitions of men, money, horſes, proviſions, and military ſtores. They created a new army of the Alps, and another of the Rhine. And a plan of general attack was formed, as has been ſeen in the laſt chapter, on the enemy's line in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Moreau, being deſtined to command the army of the Rhine, was ſucceeded, in that of Italy, by general Joubert, to whom the directory, which had been revolutionized on the eigh-

teenth of June, thus reſtored the ſituation of which he had been deprived a few months before by their predeceſſors.

The plans of general Joubert, who joined the army of Italy in the beginning of Auguſt, were marially deranged by the rapid determination of the two ſieges, of Alexandria and Mantua, even to the extinction, in a great meaſure, of his hopes. He was in want, beſides, of time to reorganize his army; to diſcipline the body, lately joined, of conſcripts, or new men of the laſt requiſition; to receive freſh ſuccours; and, above all, to avail himſelf of a diviſion intended to have been made by the army of the Alps, formed in Dauphiny and Savoy, by general Championet.

In addition to theſe diſappointments, 20,000 men were, by the means juſt mentioned, on the point of being added to the active body of troops, under general Suwarrow. It was of great conſequence to the republicans to prevent the junction of ſo conſiderable a force; and this reinforcement had not left Mantua before Joubert determined to act on the offenſive, and hazard a battle, in order to relieve Tortona.

The French force amounted to about 40,000 men; the combined army was more conſiderable; and, beſides the ſuperiority of the latter in point of numbers, they were choicer troops, better diſciplined, and flushed with recent victories. Joubert truſted with no ſmall reliance on his former good fortune, and hoped, by the attack, to ſeparate the two armies.

Joubert had, a few days before, advanced his left wing from Mileſimo, had croſſed the Bormida, and diſlodged general Bellegarde from Aqui, and taken a poſition at Orba, in the plain of Alexandria. Theſe movements had left marſhal Suwarrow no room to doubt what were Joubert's intentions: the field-marſhal therefore concentrated his forces, and marched, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, towards the enemy, who had then penetrated to Novi.

The republican army, on the fifteenth, prepared to offer battle, being drawn up, in their encampment, upon the heights, terminating the extenſive plain of Piedmont, which form a ridge or chain of hills behind the city of Novi, and which, though not very high, yet, from their ſudden riſe, make the aſcent of great difficulty. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of this advantageous ſituation, Suwarrow, by whom difficulties were not regarded as obſtacles, when his plan was once formed, reſolved upon engaging Joubert in this poſition, the next morning at the hour of five, being the ſixteenth of Auguſt.

The republicans received the attack of the imperial troops with their uſual firmneſs and intrepidity, and drove back their centre and right wing three ſeveral times. The French appeared to be immoveable in their poſition, and ſuſtained with equal valour repeated charges, in ſo much that at noon they conſidered the day as their own. The loſs of the combined army, particularly on the part of the Ruſſians, exceeded that of the French, until their right wing began to give way. This wing of the republican army was commanded by Moreau, who had lately been appointed to the command of an army forming in Alſace, but who, from a ſingular attachment to Joubert, remained with him as a volunteer,

volunteer, submitting to act under his orders. The French, failing of support from this side, could not prevent general Melas, who most opportunely, and fortunately for the success of the day, came up at the head of sixteen battalions of Austrian infantry, from turning their flank, and pursuing his advantage. Joubert, having received a mortal wound, had by this time quitted the command, which now devolved on Moreau. The troops discouraged, through the want of their leader, fell into disorder, about two o'clock, and the victorious army got possession of the hilly ground. The republicans then began to retreat with precipitation, and were pursued by the whole line. The loss in killed and wounded on both sides was great. On the side of the French, eight thousand men were killed, and four thousand made prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, and fifty-seven tumbrils, fell into the hands of the allies, in consequence of this victory. The imperialists paid dear for this victory by the loss of seven thousand men, killed, wounded, or lost. These lost, did not exceed six hundred. The Russians gave no quarter.

The object of general Joubert was to raise the siege of Tortona, and to that end he was to have made an attack, on the sixteenth; in which design he was anticipated by the great vigilance of the field-marshal. The republic commander, having received a musket ball in his right side, did not survive the defeat of his army more than two hours.

Thus fell Joubert, regretted by the army, and all his countrymen, except the jacobins, who alone refused to do justice to his memory, on account of the independence of his spirit, and his attachment to the constitution.

There cannot exist a doubt but the news of this victory was received at Vienna with all the sentiments which such brilliant success merited; but it is observable, that the Court Gazette is remarkably cool in its mention of the part which the Russians contributed towards the glory of the day. The signal conduct and bravery of the field-marshal, who commanded them, certainly deserved some stronger acknowledgements than are therein to be found, of the victory of the sixteenth of August.

As soon as the republicans had recovered from the consternation, occasioned by this defeat, they took their positions nearly in the line they had before occupied. Suwarrow pursued a plan for dispossessing them of their situation, and forcing the passages to Genoa, either by the way of the Bochetta, or by the eastern river, or, as it is sometimes called, the river of the Levant; towards effecting which general Klenau had made some progress; the field marshal's ultimate design being to surround and form the siege of Coni.

The Austrians, by the departure of marshal Suwarrow, on the eleventh of September,* for Switzerland, left to conclude the campaign in Italy, without the aid of their Russian allies, maintained their

* It has been already mentioned, in our preceding chapter, that the marshal had resolved to begin his march three days before, but that he was kept back by the feint which Moreau made, of wishing to attempt the rescue of Tortona.

 superiority

ſuperiority over the French in three ſeveral attacks. The firſt was made on the twenty-ſecond of September, by prince Victor de Rohan, on general Thureau, who defended the vale of Domo Doſſola, and was obliged to quit it, and re-aſcend the mountains; the ſecond, was made, on the twenty-fourth, upon general Kray, leading a detachment towards Aoſta, when he repulſed and drove the enemy into the higher valley; the third happened the ſame day, whence prince Lichenſtein diſlodged him, and took Pignerole.

Beſides theſe advantages, a victory was gained, by the Auſtrians, over the French, in the plains of Stura, when marſhal Melas, aſſiſted by general Kray, beat twelve thouſand French, encamped there, and obliged them to retire to Coni.

After this laſt victory, the French undertook nothing to the diſturbance of the upper Piedmont. Far from indicating any deſign of that kind, Championet, now commander-in-chief of the two armies of Italy and the Alps, removed his head-quarters, about the end of November, back to Final; not, however, entirely leaving his former poſition on the Apennines, whereby he could protect and watch Genoa and Coni.

On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of September, commodore Trowbridge took poſſeſſion of Corneto, Tolfa, and Civita Vecchia, which he had blockaded with two ſhips of war; at the ſame time that general Bonricard, in the ſervice of the king of Naples, entered Rome; which a few French and ſome Romans, headed by the prince, Borgheſe and St. Croce had defended, for ſix weeks, againſt the Neapolitan general Rodio. By a capitulation, between the French general Garnier and commodore Trowbridge, the priſoners, about five thouſand, taken in different garriſons, were, by the capitulation, to be ſent either to France or Corſica, as might be judged moſt convenient.

On the fourth and fifth of November, the Auſtrians diſplayed, under general Melas, a ſignal piece of good judgement and military ſkill, which was attended with all its merited ſucceſs. By this the French army was prevented from penetrating into Piedmont, in order to raiſe the ſeige of Coni, when it ſhould be undertaken, and eſtabliſh their winter quarters in that country; an object to them of conſiderable importance. The evacuation of Mondovi, and other poſts, was miſtaken, by general Championnet, for a retreat; he therefore advanced as in purſuit; but, on the contrary, was met by general Melas, when an engagement took place, in which the French loſt four thouſand three hundred men taken priſoners, beſides a very conſiderable number in killed and wounded. The French likewiſe failed in another attempt, which was to cut off the communication with Turin. General Kray attacked them in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and made one thouſand priſoners. In theſe battles the Auſtrians loſt two thouſand killed and wounded.

This ſignal victory prepared the way for the ſiege of Coni. General Championet aſſembled his whole force at Mondovi, and upon the mountains as far as Monaſterlo, in which poſitions it was not poſſible to beſiege Coni, a fortreſs which had ſuſtained many attacks without falling; as, beſides its difficulty of approach,

proach, it had received every additional ſtrength the moſt able engineers could poſſibly ſuggeſt to render it impregnable. In addition to all this, the French had furniſhed it with every neceſſary means for defence, and had added ſome new works. This was now the only ſtrong place remaining in Italy, in which the French republicans had a garriſon.

The French having evacuated the citadal of Mondovi by night, retreated to Vico and Ormica, purſued by general Bellegarde.

On the eleventh of November, the city of Ancona capitulated. It was beſieged not only by Auſtrians and Ruſſians, but alſo by Engliſh and Turks. The ſtraits to which the garriſon and inhabitants, the latter, to the number of twenty-four thouſand, were driven, by the ſiege of this place, which was begun to be bombarded on the third of September, are ſcarcely to be conceived, and do not admit of deſcription. Its obſtinate defence muſt be conſidered as the natural conſequence of its having been the place of refuge reſorted to by a number of traitors to their country. The garriſon, conſiſting of Jews and the jacobins of Lombardy, were made priſoners of war. The republican commander, Garnier, who, it ſeems, muſt have been exchanged as a priſoner of war, obtained the condition of ſurrendering to the Auſtrians only; a circumſtance of great moment to him, as the beſieging army conſiſted of troops of different nations. In the garriſon was found a conſiderable quantity of artillery and warlike ſtores.

The important poſts of Foſſano and Savigliano, after having been taken by the French republicans, were at length re-taken by the Auſtrians, under general Melas.

The ſtrong fortreſs of Coni, one of the ſtrongeſt in Europe, and the only one which remained in poſſeſſion of the French, in Italy, ſurrendered to the Auſtrian arms, on the third of December. The garriſon, to the number of three thouſand, were made priſoners of war, and conducted to the imperial ſtates. The trenches before Coni were opened, on the twenty-ſixth of November, from which time to its ſurrender the ſiege was conducted by prince Lichtenſtein.

The ſituation of the Auſtrians had, before that event, been daily improving in other parts of Italy. They had, among other advantages, obtained poſſeſſion of the important poſts in the valley of Stura. Mondovi, Ceva, and Serravalle, had been ſurrendered to the Auſtrians; and there remained, in all Italy, only Genoa and its ſmall territory, in the poſſeſſion of the French, at the cloſe of the year 1799.

A ſtatement may be expected of the loſs ſuſtained, on both ſides, in this eventful and bloody campaign. It is not pretended, on this ſubject, to preſent an arithmetical certainty, which no perſon could obtain; not even thoſe at the head of armies. The loſs of the allies, in killed and wounded, has been ſtated, by the moſt competent judges, at thirty thouſand killed and wounded, and ten thouſand in priſoners: that of the French, in the firſt reſpect, at forty-five thouſand, and at thirty-five thouſand in the ſecond.

In this campaign, the road to victory was opened by general Kray, at the battles of Legnago and Magnan: and it was purſued with deciſion, energy, and advantage, by field-marſhal Suwarrow. He ſtamped upon it the double influence

of his own energetic character, and the ſincere views of his ſovereign, which pointed directly to their object. It is, at leaſt, doubtful whether a general, more dependent on the Aulic council of Vienna, would have dared to undertake, or would even had permiſſion to accompliſh ſo much. It is not probable that Auſtrian prudence would have allowed him to march to Turin, before Mantua had been reduced; and to beſiege or blockade thoſe two places, at the ſame time, with thoſe of Alexandria and Tortona. As he had, fortunately, a glorious and ſucceſsful predeceſſor in general Kray, ſo had no inglorious or unſucceſsful ſucceſſor in general Melas. And the merit of all three was proved and illuſtrated by the talents of ſuch antagoniſt commanders as general Moreau and general Macdonald.

On a general review of the campaign, it is evident, that the advantage, on the whole, was pretty equally balanced. The Auſtrians, at the cloſe of the year, and alſo of the campaign, occupied all the paſſes in the mountains, which ſeparate France from Italy. The expulſion of the French from this laſt country was a great atchievement; the importance of which is not to be meaſured by its diminiſhing the ſources, and contracting the boundaries of the French domination, but by the opening of the ports of Italy to navigation, commerce, and the water-carriage of troops and military ſtores, and the elaſticity that it muſt give to the minds of the Italians, and other nations. On the other hand, the French kept poſſeſſion of the whole left bank of the Rhine, from its ſource to where it falls through different channels into the ocean; and, at either extremity of this natural line of defence, a fortreſs of equal ſtrength, though of oppoſite natures, the moraſſes, lakes, and canals of Holland, and the mountains of Switzerland. Theſe two countries formed two great baſtions for the defence of the eaſtern frontier of France: the Rhine was extended between them as a curtain. Of Switzerland, it is very probable that the allies might have obtained poſſeſſion, if the archduke had remained with his great force to co-operate with Suwarrow, who counted on his co-operation. And although a French army might have over-run a part of the empire and hereditary dominions, for a time, they could not have kept permanent or long poſſeſſion, under the debility of dilatation, and the general hoſtility of the countries invaded on the one hand; and a mighty combined army in poſſeſſion of ſuch a garriſon as the Alps, ſupported by ſuch a granary as Italy, and the country of the Griſons on the other.

While theſe operations were going on at land, a Ruſſian ſquadron, of four ſhips of the line and ſome frigates, under the command of admiral Mackaroff, leaving Sheerneſs, about the middle of May, ſailed for the Mediterranean, where he co-operated, in the efforts above related, with the allies. The ports, on the ſhores of Holland, France, and Spain, were blocked up by the fleets of the Engliſh. Yet the French fleet, inſulting, as it were, their vaſt naval ſuperiority, and all their combinations, after having eſcaped from Breſt, where it had been long confined, paſſed the ſtraits of Gibraltar, touched at Toulon, threw ſome reinforcements and

and provisions into Genoa, shewed itself, for some little time, on the coasts of Tuscany, and had again the good fortune to return by the same road, and, on the twenty-first of July, to enter safely into the port of Brest, taking with it the Spanish fleet, which had joined it off Cadiz, the whole amounting to forty-seven sail of the line. This expedition had an imposing and promising aspect; and no doubt was entertained in France, but it would end in some atchievement splendid and decisive. The general mortification was in proportion to the general expectation. And the expenditure of so many millions on so vain and fruitless a shew afforded a new proof of the extravagance and folly of the directory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Expedition, under the Command of the Duke of York, to Holland.—Object of this.—Plan of Co-operation between Great Britain and Ruſſia.—An Armament ſets ſail from Deal, on the thirteenth of Auguſt.—Plan of Operations.—Stormy Weather.—The Britiſh Troops land at Helder.—Force oppoſed to them.—Engagement.—The Britiſh Army gains Poſſeſſion of Helder.—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet.—Poſition and Force of the Enemy.—An Action, in which they are defeated, and forced to retire to Alkmaer.—Engagement on the nineteenth of September.—Motives which induced the Duke of York to renew the Attack on the Enemy.—Several Places on the Zuyder-Sea, ſubmit to the Britiſh Flag, and the Authority of the Prince of Orange.—The Britiſh Army, on the ſecond of October, attacks the French.—Who are defeated.—Progreſs of the Britiſh Army to Alkmaer.—The French take Poſt on the Iſthmus between Beverwick and the Zuyder-Sea.—The Britiſh moved forward to a new Poſition.—The French advance from Beverwick to meet them.—Engagement.—Night coming on, undecided.—The Britiſh Troops withdraw from their advanced Poſition to their former Station at Schagenbrug.—Attacks on the Britiſh at Schagenbrug.—Repulſed.—Farther Succeſſes of the Marine Force of the Britiſh in the Zuyder-Sea.—Suſpenſion of Arms.—Capitulation.—The Britiſh and Ruſſian Forces return to England.—Meeting of the Britiſh Parliament in September.—Its Proceedings.

IN the whole courſe and extent of the preſent war, nothing could be more natural than for the court of London, and the Britiſh nation, to make a great effort for the deliverance of the United Provinces from the ſtate of ſervitude and degradation into which they had fallen, and to reſtore them to their rank among the independent nations of Europe, a rich, flouriſhing, and happy country. The provinces had long been connected with England, by various ties, between the houſes of Orange and Brunſwick, as well as the other claſſes in ſociety, by religion, habits, mutual good offices, common intereſts, and a reciprocation of commercial advantage. Although commercial rivality and jealouſy, inflamed by the intrigues of France, had ſometimes ſet England and Holland by the ears, their mutual hoſtilities were not inveterate. Their moſt eſſential intereſts were conſidered to be at bottom the ſame. His late majeſty king George II. was wont to ſay of England and Holland, "that they were like man and wife, who might have their bickerings, but ought never to part." By the united influence of the families of Brandenbourg, including that of Hanover, the ſtadtholder had,

had, at different times, recovered his power, and extended his prerogative. By the ſpirited and united exertions of Pruſſia and Great Britain, the deſigns of France, in the Seven United Provinces, in 1787, were defeated, and a tripple alliance, offenſive and defenſive, formed among the ſtates-general, Pruſſia, and England. The revolution in Holland, in conſequence of which that alliance was formed, was one of the moſt rapid, as well as leaſt ſanguinary and deſtructive recorded in hiſtory. The remembrance of this atchievement naturally ſuggeſted the idea of accompliſhing ſuch another, by the ſame or ſimilar means. Though the French had penetrated into Holland, in 1794, through the unforeſeen defection of the king of Pruſſia, from the coalition againſt the French republic, and the early and ſudden freezing of the rivers, ſtill leſs foreſeen, this conqueſt did not ſeem to poſſeſs the permanency that ariſes from long meditated deſigns, matured by a general concert of wills, among the invaders and invaded. The public voice of the provinces, though ſuppreſſed by an overbearing force, was ſtill in favour of the ſtadtholder, and a connection with England. No pains were wanting, in order to induce the court of Berlin to return to the ſucceſs, the advantages, and the glory of its conduct, reſpecting the United Provinces in 1787, but all in vain.

The recovery of thoſe countries from the influence, and, in fact, the dominion of France was an object of the firſt importance, not only to Great Britain, but the confederacy. By the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſtadtholder, a way would be prepared for opening again the campaign in the low countries with an allied army, of fomenting inſurrections among the inhabitants, a great part of whom were ſtill ready for revolt; and, on the whole, for reſtoring that political barrier, between France and Holland, which ſeemed ſo indiſputably neceſſary, not only to the ſecurity of Britiſh commerce and naval power, but to the independence of the greater part of Europe. Even if an attempt, for the deliverance of the provinces, ſhould not be finally ſucceſsful, ſtill a great diverſion would be effected in favour of the allies, compelling the French to ſend to the United Provinces a great part of the force deſtined for the army of the Rhine.

For an expedition therefore to Holland, a plan of co-operation was concerted between Great Britain and Ruſſia, in the confidence that numbers of the Dutch, opening their eyes to their real intereſts, would combine with thoſe, whom they might juſtly conſider as their deliverers, as ſoon as they ſaw they could, with ſafety, act according to their ſentiments and wiſhes.

To enable them to exert themſelves for their emancipation from their preſent ſlavery, the moſt effectual means was to ſend a powerful force to their aſſiſtance. The preparations for the armament were rapid, energetic, and effectual. When the force was levied, all private convenience was willingly, and joyfully, ſacrificed to haſten the troops to the place of deſtination. Early in Auguſt, above twelve thouſand men were aſſembled on the coaſt of Kent, and above twelve thouſand more were preparing, to reach the ſame rendezvous. On the thirteenth of Auguſt, ſir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral Mitchel,

ſet

fet fail from Deal, with their army and fleet, and joined lord Duncan, in the north-ſeas. The weather being uncommonly ſtormy, for that ſeaſon of the year, they encountered great difficulties and danger in their voyage, and were, unexpectedly long before they arrived at its concluſion. The firſt object was two-fold; to effect a landing in Holland, and to receive or take poſſeſſion of the Dutch ſhips in the Texel. On Wedneſday, the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, they came in ſight of the Dutch coaſt, and had made a great preparation to land on the twenty-ſecond. But, by a heavy gale of wind, they were forced out to ſea. On Saturday, the twenty-fourth, they were again in ſight of the Texel; but the weather was too ſqually, and the ſurf too high, to attempt a landing, and it did not abate till Monday morning, the twenty-ſixth. That day they came to anchor near the ſhore of the Helder, a ſtrong point, in the northern extremity of the main land of Holland, that commands the Mars-Diep, the narrow channel which joins the Zuyder-ſea with the German ocean, between the continent and the iſland of the Texel, and which is the principal paſſage of Amſterdam. There they made preparations for effecting a landing the next morning. At day-light, on the twenty-ſeventh, they began to diſembark. The enemy had aſſembled a numerous body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and were poſted at Calantſoge to the right of the Helder, but did not oppoſe the landing of the firſt diviſion, waiting in hopes of attacking them before they could be ſupported by the reſt of the troops. Admiral Mitchel, with very great ſkill and ability, covered the landing of the troops, which ſir Ralph ſuperintended with equal intrepidity and vigour. Both the army and navy acted with the moſt perfect unanimity, inſpired by mutual confidence, ſameneſs of wiſh, and the moſt thorough reliance on the courage, profeſſional knowledge, and wiſdom, of their reſpective leaders. In the marine language of admiral Mitchel, they *pulled heartily* together. When the firſt diviſion was landed, under lieutenant-general ſir James Pultney, the enemy attacked the right flank. The poſition of the troops was on a ridge of ſand-hills, that ſtretch along the coaſt from north to ſouth. The Britiſh had no where ſufficient ground on the right to form more than a battalion in line; yet, as ſir Ralph obſerves, the poſition, though ſingular, was not, in our ſituation, diſadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery. The conteſt was arduous, and the loſs was conſiderable; but the courage and perſeverance of the Britiſh troops, at length compelled the enemy to retire to a poſition ſix miles diſtant. Our loſs amounted to about five hundred. Sir James Pultney, who greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his activity and bravery, received a wound in the arm, which obliged him to quit the field. As the enemy ſtill retained poſſeſſion of the Helder, with a garriſon of near two thouſand men, the troops being now all landed, it was determined to attack it the next morning. The Dutch fleet, in the Mars Diep, got under weigh; the garriſon was withdrawn, and two regiments, commanded by major-general Moore, and the marquis of Huntley, on the twenty-eighth, took poſſeſſion of the Helder.

Helder. The firſt ſucceſs of this day was principally owing to general Coote's brigade, commanded by colonel Macdonald, who, inſtead of waiting the attacks of the enemy, advanced on every occaſion to meet them. In a ſituation where the ſmalleſt piece of ground could not be loſt without danger, this conduct was the beſt that could be purſued.

Lord Duncan, naval commander-in-chief, in the north ſea, was off the Texel during an engagement, in which both his public and private affections were ſtrongly intereſted. His ſon, a lieutenant in the guards, a youth of nineteen, was in the heat of the battle.

By this time a re-enforcement had arrived of five thouſand men. And the Britiſh army, the precaution being taken to ſtrengthen the fortifications of the Helder, prepared to proceed in a ſoutherly direction.

The Britiſh, having effected one part of their firſt object, which was to land their troops, and take poſſeſſion of a poſt of ſecurity, ſoon after ſucceeded in the ſecond part. On the thirtieth of Auguſt, admiral Mitchel ſummoned the Dutch fleet to ſurrender to the ſquadron under his command, and to hoiſt the flag of the prince of Orange. The Dutch fleet, attached in general to the prince of Orange, ſurrendered, without ſtriking a blow. It conſiſted of two ſhips of 74 guns; five of 68; one of 66; three of 54; eight of 44; two of 32; four of 24; one of 16; and four Indiamen.

Meanwhile, about ſeven thouſand more forces ſailed for Holland; and, on the ninth of September, his royal highneſs the duke of York ſet off to take the chief command of the army. Expecting the arrival both of the additional Britiſh and Ruſſian troops, ſir Ralph continued at Helder, while, in the mean time, the iſland of the Texel was taken poſſeſſion of by our fleets. The French and Batavian forces, twenty-five thouſand ſtrong, under the command of general Brune, occupied a ſtrong poſition between the Helder and Alkmaer. The numbers and the ſtrength of their poſition determined ſir Ralph to continue on the defenſive until the arrival of the powerful reinforcements, which he, with certainty, expected. The enemy, confident in their numbers, September the tenth, ventured an attack, and a very obſtinate engagement enſued, in which they were repulſed, with the loſs of one thouſand five hundred men, killed, wounded, or taken priſoners, while our loſs amounted to two hundred. The enemy retired to Alkmaer. His royal highneſs landed in Holland on the thirteenth of September; and ſoon after ſeven thouſand Ruſſians, from Revel, and the third embarkation, conſiſting of about ſeven thouſand Britiſh troops, and ten thouſand Ruſſians, joined the army. The army now conſiſted of nearly thirty-five thouſand men, including ſeventeen thouſand Ruſſians, and was deemed ſufficiently ſtrong for offenſive operations. A general attack was reſolved on by his highneſs; and, on the nineteenth, every arrangement was made. The army advanced in four columns, extending from the right to the left coaſt. The column, to the extremity of the right, conſiſted chiefly of the Ruſſians, in twelve battalions, aſſiſted by the ſeventh light-dragoons, and general Manners's brigade, was commanded by the Ruſſian lieutenant-

tenant-general, d'Hermann, and extended to the ſand-hills on the coaſt near the famous Camperdown, on which heights a column of the enemy were placed at a very great advantage. The ſecond, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, conſiſted of two ſquadrons of the eleventh light-dragoons, two brigades of foot-guards, and major-general his highneſs prince William of Glouceſter's brigade. Its object was to force the enemy's poſition at Walmenhuyſen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant d'Hermann. The third column, commanded by lieutenant-general ſir James Pultney, conſiſted of two ſquadrons of the eleventh light-dragoons, major-general Don's brigade, and major-general Coote's brigade. This column was intended to take poſſeſſion of Oud-Scarpel, at the head of the Lang-Dyke, a great road leading to Alkmaer. The fourth, and left column, under the command of lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, conſiſted of two ſquadrons of the eighteenth light-dragoons, major-general the earl of Chatham's brigade, major-general Moore's brigade, major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, firſt battalion of Britiſh grenadiers of the line, firſt battalion of light-infantry of the line; and the twenty-third and fifty-fifth regiments, under colonel Macdonald, was deſtined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder-ſea. To the attainment of theſe many and important objects, the moſt formidable obſtacles preſented themſelves. To the right, where the Ruſſians were to advance, the country was almoſt covered with woods, eſpecially near the village of Bergen, where the principal force of the enemy was placed. The Ruſſians, advancing with an intrepidity that overlooked the powerful reſiſtance they were to meet, were, by their impetuous courage, tranſported beyond the bounds of that order which would have enſured ſafety and ſucceſs; and after a moſt valiant conteſt, obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Both the ſecond and third columns had alſo great difficulties to encounter, in the deep ditches and canals, by which the ſcene of their operations was interſected; the ſecond, under general Dundas, after carrying the poſts, it was deſtined to attack, extended (after the retreat of the Ruſſians), to the right, and though weakened, of courſe, by an extenſion ſo diſproportionate to their force, renewed the battle with conſiderable ſucceſs, but was at length obliged to retire. Lieutenant-general, ſir James Pultney, with the third, effected his object in carrying, by ſtorm, the poſt of Oud-Scarpel, at the head of the Lang-Dyke; but the diſappointment of the right, prevented our army from profitting by this advantage. It became expedient to withdraw the third column. The ſame circumſtance led to the neceſſity of re-calling the corps under lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, who had proceeded without interruption to Hoorn, of which city he had taken poſſeſſion, together with its garriſon. The whole of the army returned to its former poſition. The ſoldiers and officers, both of Britain and Ruſſia, diſplayed a valour and enterprize moſt honourable to themſelves and their reſpective countries, though not crowned with the ſucceſs that, from the comprehen-

ſive and able plan of attack, was naturally and reaſonably expected.

Having thus given ſuch a general view of this ſevere engagement as a mind not converſant with military manœuvres and actions may comprehend without difficulty, we ſhall add ſome farther particulars, worthy of notice.

The column, under general Dundas, directed againſt Warmenhuyſen and Schoreldam, having Alkmaer on their right, (a circumſtance which is neceſſary, as will preſently appear, to be mentioned), was accompanied by the duke of York, in perſon, who endeavoured, as much as he could, to quicken its march. It was, however, neceſſarily very ſlow, the enemy having deſtroyed all the roads, and the troops being obliged to paſs, as well as they could, acroſs the fields, where every furrow was a wide ditch, over which it was neceſſary to form communications, or even to throw bridges. Notwithſtanding the greateſt exertions, and although Warmenhuyſen had been carried between ſix and ſeven in the morning, they could not arrive before Schoreldam until nine o'clock: when this entrenched poſt was attacked, on the ſide of Warmenhuyſen, by the corps of general Dundas; and towards Scholer, by the brigade of general Manners, and carried. Before any ſupport could be given, to the attack made by the Ruſſians, it was neceſſary to attack the canal of Alkmaer. The enemy had deſtroyed the bridge, but before ten o'clock means were found to repair it, and part of the troops immediately croſſed the canal, and marched to Scholer. At this moment intelligence was brought to his royal highneſs, by captain Taylor, his aid-de-camp, the only Engliſh officer who had accompanied the Ruſſian column, of what had happened at Bergen. Soon after he had the mortification to ſee, that the Ruſſians continued their retreat towards the Zype, and had paſſed Schorel, which the purſuing enemy had already entered. His royal highneſs then adopted the only meaſure that could repair the diſorder of the Ruſſians, and renew the engagement. He immediately attacked the village of Schorel with general Manners's brigade, ſupported by three battalions of Ruſſians, by the firſt brigade of guards, and the thirty-fifth regiment, commanded by prince William. Schorel was carried, and the enemy was ſtopped in their purſuit. This advantage might have changed the face of affairs, and decided the day in favour of the allies, if the Ruſſians could have been prevailed on to diſcontinue their retreat, and to form on the ſand-hills, on the right of the Engliſh. But general Eſſen could not reſcue them from the diſorder and diſcouragement into which they had fallen; and was obliged to ſuffer them to continue their retreat, to get to their former poſition, in the Zype, where they arrived between eleven o'clock and midnight. On a conſideration of the complete though difficult ſucceſs that attended the other three columns, it cannot be doubted, that if the Ruſſians had ſhewn, on this occaſion, that ſpirit of diſcipline and obedience, for which, as well as for intrepidity, they were renowned, and had general Herman been able to keep poſſeſſion of the long but narrow extent of ground, ſo rapidly gained, until it ſhould have been poſſible

for the generals Dundas and Manners to come to his aſſiſtance, the event of that day would have juſtified the plan of the duke of York; and, as much as circumſtances could have allowed, forwarded the object of the expedition. A great part of general Herman's diviſion was killed or taken, and the general himſelf was among the priſoners. The loſs of the Engliſh was about one hundred and twenty killed; four hundred wounded; and, when the returns were made up, about five hundred miſſing. The French ſtated their loſs at only fifty killed and three hundred wounded.

The duke of York was not intimidated by the adverſe events of the nineteenth of September, from a deſign of renewing the attack on the enemy with all poſſible expedition. Animated at once by all the hereditary courage of his family, and the generoſity of the cauſe in which he was embarked, and trained up in the elements of war, under a prince, who roſe with an elaſtic force under misfortune, he determined not to relax in the moſt vigorous efforts for bringing the Britiſh enterprize, in favour of the United Provinces, and the great commonwealth of European ſtates and nations to a happy concluſion. Nor were ſeveral important conſiderations wanting, to fortify the inclinations of the will, by the authority of the underſtanding. The expedition, in a military point of view, was wiſely planned. The co-operation of the fleet had been attended, and was in a fair way of being ſtill farther attended with the moſt proſperous ſucceſs; ſuccours might be expected, with certainty, from the two greateſt powers of Europe; and a juſt reſentment and indignation, it was not extravagant to ſuppoſe, would be rouſed at laſt by the proſpect of deliverance from their oppreſſive invaders. The ſpirit of the Britiſh troops was high and unbroken; and the Ruſſians manifeſted a deſign to waſh out the ſtain, with which, they conceived, their arms had been ſullied.

In the ſame degree, as the good diſpoſition of the troops allowed the duke of York to rely on the ſucceſs of an attempt to reſtore victory, every conſideration preſcribed to him the neceſſity of haſtening it as much as poſſible. He had received intelligence, on which he could rely, that great part of the reinforcements, expected by general Brune, were not yet near arriving. The ſuperiority of numbers, which was ſtill on the ſide of the allies, and the deciſive advantage which they had obtained, on every point, excepting one, in the affair of the nineteenth, could not fail to keep alive a degree of confidence in the minds of the well-intentioned Dutch, and ſome hopes might conſequently be yet entertained of their eventual aſſiſtance. His royal highneſs therefore thought, on the whole, that it was not yet, perhaps, too late to give a ſucceſsful turn to the enterprize, and was unremittingly occupied in enabling himſelf to direct another attack againſt the enemy. He acquired new means of ſucceſs, by the arrival of a third Ruſſian diviſion, commanded by major-general Emmé, which diſembarked at the Helder, on the twenty-fifth, and joined the army on the twenty-ſixth. This reinforcement, together with that of a company of chaſſeurs of the ſixtieth regiment, and three troops of the fifteenth light-dragoons, filled up the void,

void, which the battle of the nineteenth had occaſioned in the ranks of the allies.

If the territory of the United Provinces affords many advantages for defenſive war to the poſſeſſors, it offers ſome alſo to powerful maritime invaders. The contiguous diſtricts of North Holland and Weſt Frieſland are deeply peninſulated by the Haerlemmeer, the Zuyder-Sea, and the German Ocean: and, by theſe means, a way is opened to an irreſiſtible naval force, a great way into South Holland, where the land is every where lower than the ſea, and croſſed by the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuſe, by ſeveral ſmall rivers, and a great number of canals. The harbour and arſenal of the Helder were already reduced. The poſſeſſion of one other point of land, together with the dominion of the adjacent and nearly ſurrounding waters, would give the command of the peninſula, juſt deſcribed, and preſent many advantages and opportunities for concerting meaſures and co-operating with the friends of the ſtadtholder, in Amſterdam, Haerlem, Leyden, and other cities. That point is the narrow iſthmus at Beverwick; the importance of which does not eſcape a military eye, as will by and by appear, in the courſe of this narrative.

The nature of the country, interſected by navigable rivers, lakes, and arms of the ſea, occaſioned a reſemblance between the mode in which Great Britain made war on the coaſt of Holland, and that which takes place in the Baltic, the Archipelago, and other narrow ſeas, where the Ruſſian, Swediſh, Turkiſh, and other flotillas attack their adverſaries, ſometimes at ſea, ſometimes at land. The fleet, under admiral Mitchel, conſiſting of the lighter ſhips of war, and having on board a proper military force and apparatus, proceeded to make captures at ſea, and deſcents on the ſhore. On the twelfth of September, captain Portlock, of the ſloop Arrow, and captain Bolton, of the Wolverene, near the Fly Iſland, or Vlie Iſland, ſituated at the mouth of the Zuyder-Zee, a few miles from the Texel, took a Dutch ſhip and brig of ſuperior force. They had to turn to windward, towards the enemy, againſt a ſtrong lee tide, during which time they were expoſed to the raking fire of the ſhip, which they afterwards found to be the Batavian republican guard-ſhip, De Draak, mounting twenty-nine guns. They anchored at the Fly-Iſland on the fifteenth, when captain Portlock, the firſt in command, ſent captain Bolton to take poſſeſſion of the Batavian republican ſhip; the Dolphin, riding at anchor cloſe to the town of the Fly. The ſhip, on the approach of the Engliſh, hoiſted the Orange colours; and the ſame ſtep was taken in the iſland. A perſon came from the municipality, with a requeſt to captain Bolton, to ſurrender the place to the government of the prince of Orange; which requeſt, by the authority of admiral Mitchel, was, without heſitation, complied with.

On the twenty-firſt, admiral Mitchel, with a ſquadron of frigates, and other armed ſhips and bomb-veſſels, came to anchor off Enchuyſen; when a boat came off, from that town, wearing Orange cockades: in conſequence of which, the admiral went on ſhore, attended by the captains: they were received by the inhabitants with every teſtimony of joy, at their deliverance

from their former tyranical government, and the higheſt expreſſions of loyalty and attachment to the houſe of Orange. The admiral proceeded to the ſtadthouſe, and ſummoning all the old and faithful burgomaſters, who had not taken the oath to the Batavian republic, reinſtated them in the magiſtracy, until inſtructions ſhould be received from the prince of Orange. At the diſſolution of the municipality, and the reinſtatement of the old magiſtrates, the inhabitants, ſurrounding the ſtadthouſe, expreſſed their joy, by loud acclamations. A party of them, at the ſame time, cut down the tree of liberty, which they inſtantly burned. All this was done in the moſt quiet regular manner. Meidenblick, Lemmer, and other towns, obſerved the ſame conduct, and expreſſed the ſame diſpoſitions, with thoſe of Enchuyſen.

The Britiſh cauſe was farther ſtrengthened and encouraged by a reinforcement of Ruſſians, conſiſting of upwards of four thouſand men, which landed at the Helder, on the morning of the twenty-ſixth of September, and immediately marched forward to join the main army.

The inclemency of the weather, the ſole cauſe of ſuſpended operation, having, in ſome meaſure, ſubſided, the Britiſh army was again put in motion, and, on the morning of the ſecond of October, an attack commenced on the whole of the enemy's line. A ſevere and obſtinate action enſued, which laſted from ſix in the morning until the ſame hour at night. The right wing of the Britiſh army was commanded by ſir Ralph Abercrombie, the centre diviſion, by general Dundas, and the left wing, by major-general Burrard. This laſt diviſion remained for the protection of the poſition under lieutenant-general ſir James Pultney, who was farther deſtined to engage the enemy's attention at Ouds Scarpel by a feint attack. The firſt impreſſion was made on the adverſe line, by the centre of our army; and the next by the right, and laſtly, the left wing alſo overcame all reſiſtance. The enemy being entirely defeated, retired in the night from the poſition which they had occupied on the Lang-Dyke, the Koe-Dyke, at Bergen, and on the extenſive range of ſand-hills between this laſt place and Egmont-op-Zee.

On the night after the battle the Britiſh troops lay on their arms; and, on the third of October, moved forward and occupied the poſitions of the Lang-Dyke, Alkmaer, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee. The enemy's force was computed to be about twenty-five thouſand men, of which by far the greater part were French. The duke of York, in the account he gives of the action of the ſecond of October, beſtows warm and liberal praiſe on the whole army under his command. 'Under the Divine Providence,' ſays his royal highneſs, 'this ſignal victory, obtained over the enemy, is to be aſcribed to the animated and perſevering exertions, which have been, at all times, the characteriſtics of the Britiſh ſoldier, and which, on no occaſion, were ever more eminently diſplayed: nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general, to have ſuch juſt cauſe of acknowledgement for diſtinguiſhed ſupport. I cannot, in ſufficient terms, expreſs the obligations I owe to general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, and

and lieutenant-general Dundas, for the able manner in which they conducted their reſpective columns; whoſe ſucceſs is, in no ſmall degree, to be attributed to their perſonal exertions and example: the former had two horſes ſhot under him.' Very diſtinguiſhed praiſe is alſo beſtowed by his highneſs on colonel Macdonald, lord Paget, major-general Coote, general ſir James Pultney, and many other officers."

The loſs ſuſtained by the enemy exceeded four thouſand men killed, about three hundred priſoners, ſeven pieces of cannon, and a great many tumbrils. But the victory, obtained by the Britiſh army, was dearly purchaſed, by the loſs of about fifteen hundred men.

The exhauſted ſtate of the troops, from the vaſt difficulties and fatigues they had to encounter, prevented the Britiſh commander from taking that advantage of the enemy's retreat, which in any other country, and under any other circumſtances, would have been the conſequences of the operations of the ſecond of October.

The French general having, with great prudence, taken poſt at the narrow iſthmus, above-mentioned, between Beverwick and the Zuyder-Zee, the duke of York determined, if poſſible, to force him from thence, before he ſhould have an opportunity of ſtrengthening, by works, the ſhort and very defenſible line which he occupied, and to oblige him ſtill farther to retire, before he could be joined by the reinforcements, which, he was informed, were upon their march. Preparatively, therefore, to a general and forward movement, he ordered the advanced poſts, which the army had taken upon the third, in front of Alkmaer, and the other places already mentioned to be puſhed forward; which was done accordingly, on the fourth. At firſt little oppoſition was ſhewn, and the Britiſh ſucceeded in taking poſſeſſion of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Archer-Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of a poſition on the ſand-hills, near Wyck-op-zee. The column, conſiſting of the Ruſſian troops, under the command of major-general d'Eſſen, in endeavouring to gain a height, in front of their intended advanced poſt, at Baccum, (which was material to the ſecurity of that point) was vigorouſly oppoſed by a ſtrong body of the enemy, which obliged ſir Ralph Abercrombie to move up for the ſupport of that column with the reſerve of his corps.

The enemy, on their part, advanced their whole force. The action became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the ſea, and was maintained on both ſides until night, when the Batavian and French army retired, leaving the Britiſh in the field of battle.—This conflict was as ſevere as any of thoſe that had been fought ſince the arrival of our troops in Holland, and, in proportion to the numbers engaged, attended with as great loſs. Of the Britiſh, 1200 were killed, wounded, or taken; of the Ruſſians, not leſs than 700. The loſs of the enemy was alſo very great in killed, wounded, and priſoners, which fell into our hands to the number of 500. The poſt to which the Britiſh army directed its march, was Haerlem. But intelligence being received, from the priſoners taken in this action, that the enemy, who had juſt been reinforced by 6000 infantry, had ſtrengthened the poſition of Beverwick, and

thrown up very ſtrong works in its rear: and it being farther known that they had ſtationed a large force at Purmerend, in an almoſt inacceſſible poſition, covered by an inundated country; the *debouches* from which were ſtrongly fortified, and in the hands of a corps of the enemy; which corps, as our army advanced, would be placed in our rear: intelligence being received of all theſe circumſtances, the Britiſh commander naturally pauſed. The obſtacles here enumerated might have been overcome by the perſevering courage of the troops, under his command, had not the ſtate of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and the total want of the neceſſary ſupplies, ariſing from the above cauſes, preſented additional difficulties, which demanded the moſt ſerious conſideration. The duke of York, therefore, having maturely weighed the circumſtances, in which the army under his command was thus placed, thought it adviſeable, with the concurrence of general Abercromby, and the lieutenant-generals of the army, to withdraw the troops, from this advanced poſition, to their former ſtation, at Schagenbrug; from whence, on the ninth of October, his royal highneſs diſpatched his ſecretary, colonel Brownrig, to London, in order to give a circumſtantial account of the ſtate of affairs in Holland, and to receive his majeſty's farther inſtructions.

In the mean time, the enemy harraſſed our line of defence at Schagenbrug, by daily, though partial, attacks; the moſt ſerious of which was made by general Daendels in perſon. That general, on the tenth of October, attacked the right wing of the Britiſh forces, upon an advanced poſt near Wincle, under the command of prince William of Glouceſter, with 6000 men, and ſix pieces of cannon; endeavouring to force this poſt by every exertion. To reſiſt this formidable attack the prince had only 1200 men, and two pieces of cannon; yet he obliged the Dutch general to retreat, with the loſs of 200 men killed, and one French general. But general Daendels being almoſt immediately reinforced by 4000 Dutch troops, the prince of Glouceſter was under the neceſſity of falling back to Cohorn. The loſs of the Engliſh, in this action, did not exceed three killed, and about twelve wounded. The prince, during the action, had his horſe ſhot under him; but he received no injury himſelf, though expoſed to the greateſt perſonal danger, under a heavy fire, being frequently in front of the line, animating the exertions of his troops by his example.

The efforts of our marine force, in the Zuyder-Zee, and other parts of the Dutch coaſt, were continued, amidſt theſe tranſactions on land, with unabated activity. Many gun-boats and ſeveral light ſhips of war were taken from the enemy; and an attack, that, on the 11th of October, they made on the town of Lemmer, which had come into our poſſeſſion, as above related, was gallantly repulſed by the Britiſh ſailors and marines, under the command of captain Boorder, of the Wolverene bomb-ſhip.

About this time an attempt is ſuppoſed to have been made to gain over to our cauſe the Batavian general Daendels. That general was found to be indeed a friend to peace, but not to the Stadtholder.

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On the seventeenth of October, a suspension of arms in Holland was agreed on between the captain general of the English and Russian army, on the one part, and the generals Brune and Daendels, on the other. It was also agreed on by these parties, that all prisoners should be given up on both sides, those on parole as well as others. It was farther stipulated, as the price of permission to the British troops to re-embark on board their transports, without molestation, that 8000 of the seamen, whether Batavian republicans or French, who were prisoners in England, should be given up to the French government. The combined English and Russian army was to evacuate Holland before the end of November.

No time was lost in the embarkation of the British and Russian troops; and together with these a great number of Dutch loyalists, namely, deserters, to the amount of nearly four thousand, came to England. The Russians were landed and quartered in Jersey and Guernsey.

The efforts of the British government in this contest with the Batavian republic, were more successful at sea than at land, not only in the northern seas, but in the Atlantic ocean. The rich colony of Surinam, in which there is so striking an assemblage of luxuriancy of soil, luxury of manners, the extremes of liberty, and slavery, and pestilence, suspending over the sensualist and the tyrant, the sword of death, was added to the other nurseries of wealth, and graves of morals, health, and life, which, in the course of the present war, have swelled the ultra-marine possessions of the British nation. This Dutch settlement voluntarily surrendered, on certain conditions, to the British government, and possession of it was taken, in the name of his majesty, by lord Hugh Seymour, commander-in-chief of his majesty's land and sea forces, in the leeward and windward Charibbee Islands, at the head of a small squadron of ships of war, and others, with troops collected from Grenada and St. Lucia, on the twentieth of August. It was from the same causes, and on similar conditions, that certain of the French islands, in the three first years of the republic, had come under the British dominions, and were received into the British protection. The principal articles of the capitulation were, that the inhabitants of the colony should enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the immediate and entire possession of their private property, whether on shore or afloat; that all ships of war, artillery, provisions, and stores, in the public magazines and warehouses, as well as the effects of every description belonging to the public, were to be given up to his Britannic majesty in the state they were, regular lists being taken by officers appointed for this purpose by each of the contracting parties; that, in case the colony of Surinam should remain in the possession of his Britannic majesty, at the conclusion of a general peace, it should enjoy every right and every commercial privilege enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies; and that the troops then in Surinam, as well as the officers belonging to the different corps, serving under its present government, should have it in their power, if they wished it, to enter

into his Britannic majeſty's ſervice, on the ſame footing, with reſpect to appointments and pay, as the reſt of his army, provided that they took the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majeſty, which they would be required to take.

The ſituation of affairs on the continent, and the part which the Britiſh government had undertaken to act, in the confederation againſt the French republic, occaſioned the extraordinary convocation of the Britiſh parliament ſo early as the twenty-fourth of September. On that day the king, in a ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, informed them, that he had called them together at that early ſeaſon, to conſider of the propriety of enabling him, without delay, to avail himſelf to a farther extent of the voluntary ſervice of the militia, at a moment when our actual force abroad might be productive of the moſt important and beneficial conſequences, having already ſeen the happy effects of the meaſure which was adopted on this ſubject in the laſt ſeſſion.

He concluded by informing both houſes, that, in purſuance of their recommendation, he had judged it proper to communicate to his two houſes of parliament in Ireland, at the cloſe of their laſt ſeſſion, the ſentiments which the Britiſh parliament had expreſſed to him, reſpecting an incorporating union of the two kingdoms.

His majeſty's miniſters then introduced the buſineſs for which the two houſes had been aſſembled, namely, the bill for enabling his majeſty to accept of the voluntary ſervices of the militia enliſting into other regiments. The opponents of the meaſure were but few, but ſeveral debates were held by them with the miniſterial ſide of the houſe againſt the bill, as being unconſtitutional.

The ſpirit or object of this new militia bill was to repeal ſo much of the act of laſt ſeſſion, as limited the number of volunteers, from regiments of militia, to one-fourth of their ſtrength, inſtead of which three-fifths of the number, which ſhould be furniſhed by the county, &c. to which each regiment belongs, might be permitted to enliſt into ſuch corps of regulars as his majeſty might think fit to appoint, each volunteer receiving, as under the late act, ten guineas, on re-enliſting into the regulars, ſubject, as before, to ſerve in Europe only, and not to be drafted from the corps into which he ſhould firſt enter. The bill, being carried through the uſual ſtages, was paſſed into a law, on the fourth of October. Bills, introduced into the houſe of commons in this early ſeſſion, were paſſed into laws for granting a loan of 500,000*l.* in exchequer-bills, to the Weſt-India merchants in Liverpool, in order to avert the evils which hung over their head, from very extraordinary failures in Hamburgh. Security for this loan was given in property in their warehouſes, amounting to upwards of two millions. A bill was alſo paſſed into a law for granting relief to planters connected with the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincents, by allowing goods imported from the Weſt Indies, to be warehouſed, by regulating the allowance on drawbacks, and allowing merchants a farther time for the payment of their debts. We may here take notice of a very melancholy accident, intereſting, indeed, like every other great misfortune, to human nature, but more

deſerving of a place in a record of the times, as it ſerves to illuſtrate the nature of liberal commerce, and how much the trade, wealth, and well-being of one nation depend on thoſe of another. About the middle of October, the frigate la Lutine was totally loſt on the coaſt of New Holland, in its paſſage from Yarmouth to Hamburgh, with a number of paſſengers, and above 200,000*l.* for ſupporting the credit of the merchants of Hamburgh. In a committee of ſupply 1,680,000*l.* was voted for the uſe of the navy, for two calendar months, beginning the firſt of January, 1800; for the army, for two months, 510,516*l.*; and for 3,000,000*l.* for paying off that ſum, iſſued in exchequer-bills laſt ſeſſion.

The committee alſo voted 16,648*l.* for maintaining forces in the plantations, &c.; 92,635*l.* for defraying charges of corps of cavalry in Great Britain, &c.; 232,998*l.* for defraying charges of embodied militia, and a royal corps of miners in Cornwall, &c.; 40,000*l.* for defraying the charges of the increaſe of the rule of ſubſiſtence to innkeepers and victuallers, &c.; 120,000*l.* for defraying the charges for barracks, &c.; 230,000*l.* for the charge of ordnance of land ſervice; 121,510*l.* for the ordinaries of the navy; 115,625*l.* for extraordinaries of ditto.

On the ſame day, the houſe, in a committee of ways and means, voted the duties on malt, mum, cider, perry, ſugar, tobacco, and ſnuff; and that 2,500,000*l.* be raiſed by exchequer-bills.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The State of Military Operations, connected with that of the internal Policy of the French Republic.—Character and Views of the French Directory in the earlier Part of 1799.—*State of Parties in France.—Principles and baſe Artifices of the Directory.—Coalition of Parties againſt them.—New Election of one-third of the Legiſlature.—And, on June* 18, *of a Directory.—Unexpected and ſudden Arrival of Buonaparte from Egypt.*

ON a general view of the war of 1799, in Europe, it appears, at firſt ſight, that the armies of France met with leſs diſaſter, and far more ſucceſs in the latter part of the ſeaſon than in the firſt. This ſtate of military affairs was very much connected with the internal ſituation of the republic.—The war in Italy, under Buonaparte, had not only fed and ſupported itſelf, but afforded a ſurpluſage of finance to the treaſury at Paris. Scarcely had that renowned chief embarked on board the French ſquadron at Toulon, when a remiſſneſs was viſible in the military affairs of France. Neither was the genius of theſe men, Barras alone excepted, ſuited to war, nor did the ſyſtem on which they aimed at the eſtabliſhment of their own power and fortune admit of that pure, faithful, and prompt diſtribution of the reſources of the nation, which was neceſſary to a vigorous exertion in ſo many ſcenes, on ſo extended a theatre. A majority of them, Rewbel, Lareveillere. Lepaux, and Merlin, were bred lawyers; a claſs of men, in whoſe hands it is obſerved, the grand affairs of nations, often inſulting the bounds of precedent, are ſeldom proſperous. They were jealous of military renown and influence. They dreaded the intervention of the army. They wiſhed not for any greater number of troops than might be neceſſary barely to ſecure the frontier, and above all, their own deſpotiſm in the internal affairs of the republic. The poſſeſſion of authority, and new avenues for governing, by corruption, diminiſhed in their eyes, the neceſſity of ſupporting themſelves by ſupporting the army. They wiſhed to reſt on other foundations. With all their means and arts of corruption, however, the part they had to act, both for the maintenance of their own power, and ſupporting a ſhew of regular government, in ſo populous, divided, and lively a nation, was ſingularly arduous.

The French were divided into two great parties; the lovers of order and the jacobins. The former were the moſt numerous, as well as reſpectable; the latter, the moſt united, daring, and active.—The directory endeavoured to acquire popularity, by ſparing the people. Supplies of men, and all neceſſaries, were wanting to the armies; nor were the ſums raiſed honeſtly applied to that purpoſe. Military and naval affairs were not only neglected, but ſteps were taken that ſeemed to indicate a deliberate deſign of involving them in confuſion and diſgrace. The gallant Joubert, the friend and imitator of

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the ſplendid actions of Buonaparte, notwithſtanding his victories in Piedmont, was, early in 1799, as we have ſeen, ſuperceded, in the command of the army of Italy, by the miniſter of war, the peculator Scheerer. The admiral Bruix, parading, with a large fleet, between Toulon and Breſt, and Breſt and Toulon, afforded to many reaſons for ſuſpecting that its equipment was intended for no other purpoſe than that of a chain of peculation from the directory to the dock-yard. There was no meanneſs or miſdemeanor, or act of injuſtice and oppreſſion ſo great, but that a numerous part of the nation thought their rulers capable of it. While the battalions were greatly deficient in their complements of men; enormous exactions of money were made, for the maintenance of numerous legions, on paper. The privations, miſeries, and diſtreſſes of the armies abroad; multiplied inſtances of corruption on the part of the government at home; arbitrary impriſonments and ſequeſtrations, and juſtice and injuſtice, bought or ſold; all theſe circumſtances produced a general odium againſt the directory, which ſoon proved an overmatch for all their means, great as they were, of maintaining their ſway by influence and corruption.

It is not permitted, by the limits of our plan, to follow the directory through that variety of meaſures they took, from day to day, for the internal government of France, and the ſupport of their own authority. We ſhall only ſtate a few facts, which, however, will be ſufficient to give ſome idea of the principles and artifices that governed their general conduct.

By their influence in the aſſemblies, the moſt diſtinguiſhed and zealous of their partizans were appointed ſecretaries to the different committees or commiſſions of the councils. Theſe, in general, found means of bringing over a majority to agree to whatever was propoſed. But, whenever they experienced any difficulty, or ſerious oppoſition, they applied for new meſſages from the directory, of a more peremptory and menacing nature, which never failed to reduce oppoſition to ſilence.

In order to avoid the odium attending the impoſition of fair and neceſſary taxes, they had recourſe to rapine, whenever they had any kind of pretext for its commiſſion; in which rapine they were cordially ſupported, even by the council of five hundred, who bore ſome analogy to the Britiſh houſe of commons, and were the more immediate repreſentatives of the people: * though their ſchemes were ſometimes vigorouſly oppoſed in the council of elders. Thus, when they found that a propoſed tax on ſalt would not go down, and the deficit was but imperfectly ſupplied by a tax on doors and windows, they fell upon the poſſeſſions, moveable and immoveable, of the proteſtant clergy of Alſace. It was remonſtrated in vain that theſe were ſecured to the clergy by treaties between the former ſovereigns of Alſace and France. The poſſeſſions of the proteſtant clergy, it was ſaid, belonged originally to the catholics; that tranſactions between princes and people

* The council of the ancients, or two hundred and fifty, too, emenated originally from the voice of the people, not as in Britain, from the appointment of a king or other chief.

did

did not alter the nature and origin of things; that liberty and equality ſhould prevail throughout the whole French republic; that the Lutherans, who had their miniſters, ſuperiors, conſiſtories, and even canons, formed a ſtate within a ſtate, which was abſurd; that the intereſts of individuals ought not to be put in competition with that of the public, &c. It was decreed as a law, that all donations and eſtabliſhments, founded either by Lutherans or Calviniſts, whether for the ſupport of divine worſhip, religious orders, or even for hoſpitals, or other charitable purpoſes, were national property.

The diſcomfiture and defeats that every where attended the French armies, in the early part of 1799, united with a general contempt and deteſtation of the executive government, awakened the courage with the hopes of the jacobins, and threatened the moderate and peaceable part of the nation with a revival of the ſyſtem of terror. While a general inſurrenction prevailed in the weſtern departments, a coalition of parties was formed at Paris againſt the directory, whoſe power was overthrown by the election of a new third of the legiſlature, and, on the eighteenth of June, by the appointment of their ſucceſſors. The rapacious Rewbel was ſtript of his power by the lot of ſeceſſion. Trailhard, Merlin, and Lareveillere Lepaux, were threatened into reſignation. Barras remained, and received for his new colleagues, Gohier, preſident of the court of reviſion, and, at a former period, miniſter of juſtice; Roger du Cos, an ex-legiſlator, of whom little was ſaid or known; Moulins, a terroriſt or jacobincial general; and the ſilent, ſpeculative, and pertinacious abbé Sieyes, at that time French ambaſſador at the court of Berlin. It ſcarcely falls within the province of general hiſtory, on the moſt diffuſive plan, and certainly not within our deſign, to be more particular in an account of the political confuſions and changes of an unſettled and capricious government, agitated by ſo many individual intereſts, paſſions, and vices. It is not worth while to mark the relative poſitions of particles of matter toſt about in a whirlwind. Suffice it to ſay here, what has already been obſerved, that the new rulers, on their entrance into office, had recourſe to the uſe and renown of arms. Still, however, while the voice of the jacobins was for war, contributions, and conſcriptions, the cry of the beſt part of the nation was perſonal ſafety, the preſervation of property, and peace. In this alternative, menacing on the one hand, a return of the royaliſts (which muſt take place, if the coaleſced powers ſhould not be reſiſted with vigour and effect) and the ſyſtem of terror, with all the burthens of war, on the other, the French nation, with admiration and regret, called to their remembrance, the hero, who, without conſcriptions of men, or contributions of money from France, led on the French to victory, and glory. In theſe circumſtances, early in October, Buonaparte landed ſuddenly at Frejus, in Provence, like a ſpirit from another world. He as ſuddenly overthrew the revolutionary work of ten years, and aſſumed the ſovereign power over a nation incapable of republican freedom, and the prey of contending factions, almoſt equally corrupt, under the name of chief conſul.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

3d. THE rivers and ſhores along the Eſſex coaſt were this week ſo covered with ice, that moſt of the corn and other veſſels were frozen up. The wild fowl collected upon it in great abundance. Several accidents happened to perſons ſhooting with long guns. The landlord of the Feathers-inn, at Tillingham, ſhattered his arm ſo that it was obliged to be immediately amputated; and lieutenant Seave, of the Acute, gun-boat, in Bradwell-river, had his face ſeverely wounded. Both were occaſioned by the burſting of their fowling-pieces.

4th. His grace John Henry, duke of Rutland, having attained the twenty-firſt year of his age on this day, it was celebrated with the greateſt feſtivity, both at Belvoir-caſtle and Grantham. In the morning the bells of Grantham-church uſhered in the day. Joſeph Lawrence, eſq. commander of the volunteer infantry, went, at ten o'clock, with his detachment, to Belvoir-caſtle, where they were reviewed by the duke of Rutland and the duke of Beaufort, and at one o'clock they fired a *feu de joie*. On this day every magnificence was exhibited at the caſtle, and every joy which mirth and entertainment could give the ruſtic was found around its walls. The heir apparent to the throne, the nobility and gentry of the county, and the ſons of the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed families in the kingdom, to the number of about two hundred and eighty, honoured his grace with their preſence on this occaſion.

6th. Turnbull, a ſoldier, who ſtands charged with having ſtolen, from the mint in the Tower, two bags of 1000 guineas each, was apprehended, at Dover, by the maſter of a trading veſſel, to whom he applied for the purpoſe of hiring his boat to carry him to Calais, and offered thirty guineas for his paſſage. Some doubts of the propriety of his application ariſing in the mind of the boatman, inducing him to ſcrutinize the countenance of his employer, he was ſtruck with his reſemblance to the perſon adverti ſed; in conſequence of that idea, he had him ſecured until he inſpected the advertiſement, which leaving no doubt as to his being the perſon, he was ſearched in a public-houſe, and on his perſon were found 1010 guineas of the year 1798; in the afternoon of the ſame day he was brought to town in the mail-coach, and lodged in ſafe cuſtody.

Same day, at half paſt one o'clock, the manſion at Walworth, the property of the widow of the late ſheriff

riff Fenn, and inhabited by her daughter and ſon-in-law, ſir John and lady Roſe, unfortunately caught fire, and in leſs than two hours was burnt to the ground.—On inveſtigation it appeared, that the old lady (Mrs. Fenn) was ſitting by the fire, in her bed-room, on the firſt floor; a coal flew out of the fire and burnt the carpet; the old lady, as ſhe thought, extinguiſhed it, but in a few minutes after it blazed out; and in her attempt to put it out, her handkerchief caught fire, which ſo alarmed her as to put her in a ſenſeleſs ſtate. Sir John and lady Roſe, who had been on a viſit to Dover, arrived juſt in time to witneſs the deſtruction of their premiſes.

7th. An account was received in town, from Portſmouth, of the arrival there of the Wolverene gun-veſſel, commanded by captain Mortlock. This veſſel ſailed from the Downs only on Thurſday laſt on a cruize off the French coaſt, and on the following day ſhe fell in with two large French luggers, one carrying 16 guns, and the other 14, and having on board 140 men each. A very warm action immediately commenced, which was ſuſtained for near two hours, during which, the Frenchmen attempted to board the Wolverene. Captain Mortlock, with his own hands, laſhed one of the French veſſels to an iron ſtanchion of his own ſhip, which, however, unfortunately gave way, and the enemy got off, and being cloſe in with their own ſhore, they both eſcaped. Captain Mortlock was badly wounded, and the maſter was likewiſe wounded, and eight men, and a ſeaman and marine were killed. The Wolverene mounts only 12 guns, and carries but 76 men, and the united force of the enemy was 30 guns, and 280 men. She is the gun-veſſel fitted out by commiſſioner Schank, with the incloſed plane in the gun-carriages.—Captain Mortlock is ſince dead of his wounds.

8th. The leaſe of Don Saltero's coffee-houſe, at Chelſea, was ſold, with all the curioſities. This well-known coffee-houſe was firſt opened in the year 1695, by one Salter, a barber, who drew the attention of the public by the eccentricities of his conduct, and by furniſhing his houſe with a large collection of natural and other curioſities, which till now remained in the coffee-room, where printed catalogues were ſold, with the names of the principal benefactors to the collection. Sir Hans Sloane contributed largely out of the ſuperfluities of his own muſeum. Vice-admiral Munden, and other officers who had been much upon the coaſts of Spain, enriched it with many curioſities, and gave the owner the name of Don Saltero; ſee Tatler, No. 34, Nichols's edition, where Saltero is ridiculed for his credulity in appropriating his pincuſhion and hats to queen Elizabeth's chamber-maids, &c. In the ſame light is to be conſidered a famous relic we have ſeen in the muſeum of the royal ſociety at Crane-court, under the name of Pontius Pilate's wife's grandmother's hat, but better calculated to fit mother Shipton or her grandame. Such collections, however, aided by thoſe of Tradeſcant, Aſhmole, and Thoreſby, cheriſhed the infancy of ſcience, and ſhould be appreciated as the playthings of a boy after he is arrived at manhood.

9th. *Paris.* The whole range of edifices erected in the interior of the gardens

gardens of the Palais Royal, now called Egalité, were burnt to the ground laſt week. Theſe buildings compriſed the Opera de Buffon and the Lycée des Arts, a variety of ſhops, reſtorateurs, caffés, menagerie of wild beaſts, &c. which were entirely conſumed, as well as ſeveral handſome buſts, ſtatues, &c. which were brought from Italy. No one has been able to diſcover whether this fire was occaſioned by accident or deſign; but, from the diſferent reports, it is probable that it broke out in that part of the building which was occupied as a theatre, and where workmen had been employed, during the night, in making preparations for a performance which was to have taken place on the following day. The Palais Royal was ſituated in the centre of Paris, and erected by the duke of Orleans, in his own garden, a few years before the revolution.

11th. *Conſtantinople.* Sir Sidney Smith, miniſter-extraordinary from his Britannic majeſty, arrived here on the 2d of this month, in the Tiger, of 84 guns. On the 5th he had a conference with the Reis Effendi, at which was preſent Mr. Spencer Smith, the Engliſh ambaſſador. Among the preſents deſtined by his Britannic majeſty for the grand ſeignior, and which ſir Sidney is charged to preſent, is a perfect model of the Royal George and twelve braſs field-pieces, three-pounders, with their caſſoons conſtructed in ſuch a manner as to be portable by camels. Sir Sidney Smith has this day taken up his reſidence at the beautiful palace of Bailes, in which the ambaſſadors of the Venetian republic formerly lived. He was accompanied by ſeveral military and naval officers, ſome French emigrants, and a guard of marines; he was received by the Ottoman court with all the diſtinction due to a foreigner in a public character.

12th. *Dublin.* At a meeting of the corporation, and court of D'Oyer hundred, at Cork, reſolutions, in favour of an union, have been unanimouſly agreed to; and an addreſs to parliament, praying for an adoption of the meaſure, ordered to be prepared and preſented.

This evening, between 9 and 10, the houſe of the pariſh-clerk of St. Andrew, Holborn, in Shoe-lane, was robbed of the communion-plate of the church, and 200*l.* in caſh, belonging to the rector. The robbers entered the houſe by the garret-window, having, it is ſuppoſed, got over the bone-houſe in the church-yard. In their retreat, they dropped a ſilver cup and cover, which was found in the church-yard.

14th. The corning-mill belonging to the gunpowder-works of Meſſrs. Pigou and Co. at Dartford, this day blew up, by which unfortunate accident two men and a boy were killed. A few of their ſcattered remains were collected together and interred; but by far the greateſt part were literally blown to atoms. One man had fortunately left the mill not more than a minute before the explofion took place; and what, though ſingular, is true, this is the third time he has thus miraculouſly eſcaped from ſimilar accidents.

25th. An earthquake was felt this day in ſeveral parts of the department of Finiſterre, and appears to have extended itſelf to a great number of other departments. At Nantes the ſhock was extremely

violent, and was felt at ten minutes after four in the morning of the 25th of January. Several walls were thrown down, the river was much agitated, and many boats ſunk. At Rennes the ſhock laſted only two minutes, and was not ſo violent. It happened there a few minutes before four A. M. At Ferté Bernard it was felt about the ſame time, and though it laſted little more than a ſecond, it was extremely violent. The earthquake was alſo felt nearly at the ſame time at Caen and Rouen, but occaſioned no damage in either place. It was, we believe, felt on the ſame day in Jerſey.

Died. 8th, at Halle, in Germany, John Reinhold Forſter, L. L. D. in the univerſity of Oxford, the celebrated navigator. He was a native of Pruſſia, and a clergyman; elected F. A. S. 1767, and, at the ſame time, F. R. S. In the "Archæologia," vol. II. are his "Obſervations on ſome Tartarian Antiquities found in Siberia;" In vol. III. "Obſervations on the Parthian Epoch, as found on a Coin in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna," publiſhed by Frœlich. Upon Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander declining the ſecond voyage with captain Cook, 1772, on account of the want of ſome proper accommodation, the board of admiralty, at the ſhort warning of ten days, engaged Dr. Forſter and his ſon, George, who drew up an account of a voyage round the word, in his Britannic majeſty's ſloop, Reſolution, commanded by captain Cook, during the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, publiſhed in two volumes, quarto, 1777; tranſlated into German, Berlin, 1778, 2 volumes, quarto. Mr. Forſter having here ſaid that Mr. Arnold's watch *was unfortunately* ſtopt, Mr. Wales, the aſtronomer of the voyage, to whoſe cuſtody it was committed, felt himſelf charged with having wilfully ſtopped it; and Mr. Forſter not immediately iſſuing out, by way of *erratum*, a declaration that the word *was* ſlipt in by miſtake, Mr. Wales publiſhed, 1778, ſome warm "Remarks" on the voyage, which were anſwered, with no leſs warmth, in a "Reply to thoſe Remarks," the ſame year, by Mr. Forſter, jun. who, the ſame year, addreſſed "A Letter to the Earl of Sandwich," to prove that he and his father were not rewarded ſufficiently, nor agreeably to contract, for accompanying captain Cook in this voyage; which ſerves but to confirm our general obſervation, that foreigners, however glad to court, even to ſervility, the patronage of England, rarely make thoſe returns which the liberality and candour of Engliſhmen demand. If we wanted any other ſpecimens of foreign diſcontent with us, we may read the junior Mr. Forſter's philoſophical and pictureſque tour through England and France, 1787. Dr. Forſter publiſhed "Novæ Species Inſectorum, 1771," 8vo. "An eaſy Method of allaying and claſſing Mineral Subſtances; containing plain and eaſy Inſtructions for any Perſon to examine the Products of his own Lands, or ſuch as are obvious in Excurſions or Travels in foreign Countries, without having a complete chymical Apparatus. To which is added a Series of Experiments on the *Fluor Spatoſus*, or Sparry Fluor; abſtracted from the Memoirs of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, for the Year 1771," 8vo. 1772. "A Catalogue of the Animals of North America, 1771," 8vo. "Account of Quadrupeds

drupeds and Birds from Hudſon's Bay," Phil. Tranſ. LXII. "Account of Fiſhes ſent from Hudſon's Bay," ib. LXIII. "Specimen of the Natural Hiſtory of the Volga," LVII. "Account of a new Map of the Volga," LVIII. "Management of Carp in Poliſh Pruſſia," LXI. "Account of Roots uſed by the Indians near Hudſon's Bay to dye Porcupines Quills," LXII. "Flora Americæ Septentrionalis; or, A Catalogue of the Plants of North America, 1771," 8vo. printed with his tranſlation of Boſſu's "Travels through North America, illuſtrated with Notes, relative, chiefly, to Natural Hiſtory, 1771," 8vo. 2 vol. Alſo, in 1771, a tranſlation of Bougainville's "Voyage round the World," with additional obſervations, and the chart improved. Tranſlation of Oſbeck's "Voyage to China and the Eaſt Indies, 1771," 8vo. 2 vol.; of Kalm's "Voyage to North America, Vol. I. Warrington, 1770, 1772, 1773, London, 1771." Tranſlation of Baron Reideſel's "Travel's into Sicily, and that Part of Italy formerly called Magna Græcia, and a Tour through Egypt, 1773," 8vo. dedicated to Thomas Falconer, of Cheſter, eſq. Mr. Pennant's brother-in-law. "Characteres Generum Plantarum, quas in itinere ad Inſulas Maris Auſtralis collegerunt, 1776," 4to. the firſt ſpecimen of of the natural productions of thoſe remote countries in the South Seas which Dr. Forſter and his ſon were ſent out with captain Cook, at the national expenſe, to collect and deſcribe. It contains ſeventy-five new genera of plants. "Liber ſingularis de Byſſo antiquorum, quo ex Egyptia Lingua res veſtiaria antiquorum imprimis in S. codice Hebræorum occurrens explicatur. Additæ ad calcem mantiſſæ Egyptiacæ v. on Zaphanath Paaneah, Abrech, Ark, Cherub. the Topaz. 1776," 8vo. "Obſervations made during a Voyage round the World, on Phyſical Geography, Natural Hiſtory, and Ethic Philoſophy, 1778," 4to. tranſlated into French, as a 5th volume to Cook's Voyages, Paris, 1778, 4to. In 1780, Dr. Forſter publiſhed a tranſlation, from the German, of "Chymical Obſervations and Experiments on Air and Fire, by Charles-William Scheele, Member of the Royal Academy at Stockholm; with a prefatory Introduction, by Torbern Bergman: to which are added, Notes by Richard Kirwan, Eſq. and a Letter to him from Dr. Prieſtley," 8vo. He publiſhed at Halle, 1781, in Latin and German, "Illuſtrations of Natural Hiſtory," with fifteen plates, in ſmall folio, engraved at the joint expenſe of ſir Joſeph Banks, Mr. Loten, a Dutch Eaſt India governor, and Mr. Pennant; with the addition of a diſſertation on the climate, winds, and ſoil, of India, and another on the bird of paradiſe and the phœnix (Pennant's Literary Life, p. 10). In 1786 he publiſhed, in German, tranſlated into Engliſh, the ſame year, "A Hiſtory of the Diſcoveries and Voyages made in the North, illuſtrated with new and original Maps," 4to. an uſeful compilation, without much original matter.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. Yeſterday morning a ſmall cutter called the Bee, John Nation, maſter, bound from London to the Weſt Indies, went on ſhore on the

ſands near Poole, in a heavy gale of wind at Eaſt. There was a tremendous ſea running, and a very heavy ſnow falling, which rendered it extremely difficult, as well as hazardous, to afford any aſſiſtance to the crew. The boats from his majeſty's gun-veſſel the Tickler, and ſeveral other boats, attempted it without ſucceſs, and the poor fellows, after cutting away the maſts, and doing all they could to relieve the veſſel, were left, without hope, to the horrid expectation that every coming ſea would overwhelm them, or to the ſtill more dreadful one, that they muſt ſhortly periſh by the inclemency of the weather. They remained in this ſhocking ſituation till the middle of the day, when Charles Sturt, eſq. of Brownſea-caſtle, happily ſucceeded in reſcuing them from the very jaws of death, and brought them to his hoſpitable manſion, where every refreſhment and comfort was adminiſtered to them, which their exhauſted ſtate required. Mr. Sturt, on this occaſion, merits the warmeſt thanks of every friend of humanity; regardleſs of his perſonal ſafety, which was endangered in an imminent degree, to his active exertions and perſeverance alone are theſe poor people indebted for their lives. The ſea was tremendous beyond deſcription, and the ſhoals on which the veſſel lay extremely dangerous to approach. Mr. Sturt's boat was ſeveral times filled by the ſeas, and himſelf and people once or twice abſolutely thrown out of her into the breakers.

2d. *Dublin.* Laſt night a melancholy accident occurred, during a dreadful ſtorm, in this bay. Three Scottiſh outward-bound Weſt Indiamen were wrecked on the bar, and every ſoul of their reſpective crews and paſſengers, to the number of 60, unhappily periſhed.

9th. The mail-guards, who arrived in town, declare they never experienced ſo ſevere a night as that of February 8. The ſtorm of hail was ſo driven againſt their faces, as to benumb and ſwell them. A gentleman, who ſhould have arrived by the Cheſter mail, relates, that from Northampton, which he left on Friday night, he got on tolerably well, notwithſtanding the violence of the driving ſnow, to Broughton-field, whence the guard, for two miles, explored a paſſage for the horſes, which could with difficulty be made to face the ſtorm. At length, arriving at Hockliff, he found, among other coaches, the Mancheſter mail; and was told, by perſons who had returned with the heavy Coventry and Cheſter coaches, that they and their paſſengers were ſtuck faſt in the ſnow on Chalk-hill. The dawn having, by this time, broken, he, with one of the ſuperintendants of the Poſt-office and the guard, ſet off on horſes to Dunſtable; and, taking a chaiſe with ſix horſes from thence, they arrived with the mail at the General Poſt-office at half paſt twelve, on Sunday. The mail-coach from Shrewſbury, on Saturday morning, ſtuck in the ſnow in Tilworth-field, whence the guard carried the mail ſome way, and then obtained a chaiſe, in which being unable to get forward, he proceeded with the mails on horſeback to London; nor was the Worceſter mail-coach more fortunate. The paſſages which had been cut through the former ſnow, upon that and other roads, having been filled by the heavy drifts of Friday night, the guard was obliged

to leave the coach blocked up at Nettlebed, from whence he proceeded, occaſionally walking and riding, to London, where he arrived in tolerable time. The ſecond fall of ſnow ſo completely blocked up the Newmarket-road, that three paſſengers, coming to town by the Norwich-mail, could not proceed any farther than Bourn-bridge. One of the ſuperintendants of the Poſt-office proceeded with the guard, on two of the horſes, and, by great exertion and riſk, arrived with the mails, in London, though too late for Saturday's delivery.

12th. *Plymouth.* Yeſterday was experienced the moſt ſevere hurricane ever remembered here, at N.W. and W.N.W. At four P.M. the Naiad frigate broke from her moorings, and got aſhore on the wet mud; but, the tide flowing, ſhe was floated off without damage. The Bon Ordre, privateer, in Catwater broke adrift, and got aſhore on the Cat-down ſide, where ſhe now lies; the New Church partly unroofed, ſeveral ſtacks of chimneys blown down, the ſlates and roofs blown to a great diſtance. At ſix P.M. a large ſtack of chimneys at Ladywell-ſchool, at the eaſt end of the town, broke in upon the roof of the houſe, forced through into the children's bed-room, carried away the beams, flooring, and beds, accompanied by near ten tons, down into the firſt floor, where near thirty children were working. By the beams reſting for a few moments, the miſtreſs and twenty-ſeven of the children eſcaped; but the cries of three children were heard under the ruins, and Mr. Rentfree, the maſter, with great exertions, dug them out, almoſt ſuffocated, and much bruiſed. By the interference of Providence, every perſon was miraculouſly ſaved from apparent and inevitable deſtruction.

At night, a man walking home miſtook his road, near Catdown-road, (the hedge having fallen in,) walked over a precipice 200 feet high, and was daſhed to pieces.

An awful phenomenon occurred in the Iſle of Wight: a large tract of land, containing 130 acres, with a dwelling-houſe and other edifices upon it, occupied by farmer Hervey, was ſuddenly ſeparated from the adjoining ground, and propelled forwards towards the ſea; leaving in the place which it before occupied a ſtupendous gulph or chaſm that inſtantly filled with water. The eſtate in queſtion was ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland, a wild romantic tract of country, which wears every appearance of having heretofore experienced many ſimilar lapſes or land-flips.

Much injury was ſuſtained on the river by the tremendous ſtorm of laſt night. Several veſſels, particularly ſuch whoſe cables had been hurt by the floating ice, were driven from their moorings, and, by getting foul of each other, they received conſiderable injury in their rigging, as well as in ſeveral other reſpects. Among the ſmall craft there is great havock, both below and above bridge, great numbers of them being daſhed to pieces, ſunk, or driven away. By the overflow of the river, at Weybridge, conſiderable tracts of the adjacent meadows and corn-lands are laid under water.

Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Jordan, the bookſellers, convicted of a libel, in publiſhing the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield's "Addreſs to the Biſhop of Llandaff," were brought up to re-

ceive judgement. The former was ordered to be confined ſix months, in the King's-Bench priſon, and pay a fine of 50*l.* the latter to be impriſoned one year, in the houſe of correction, in Cold-Bath-fields.

18th. *Bath.* The rapid thaw, accompanied, on Sunday, by a heavy rain, produced the greateſt flood on our river that has been experienced ſince 1774; Monday night, when at the higheſt, it was more than ten feet above its uſual level. A moſt diſtreſſing ſcene preſented itſelf in Horſe-ſtreet, Avon-ſtreet, and on the quay; the kitchens, cellars, &c. in thoſe places, were nearly full to the ceilings; and in the loweſt part of Horſe-ſtreet the inhabitants were driven for ſhelter to the upper ſtories. The road to Briſtol was ſcarcely paſſable, the water being in many places as high as the bellies of the horſes. Accounts from the country ſtate, that ſimilar inundations have almoſt generally taken place, and much damage has been ſuſtained by hay-ricks, timber, &c. having been carried away.

21ſt. In the court of King's Bench, this day, Mr. Cuthell, the original publiſher of Mr. Wakefield's addreſs was tried before a ſpecial jury; and, after calling ſeveral reſpectable perſons to his character, who all concurred in ſtating "that he dealt in old hiſtorical, philoſophical and other learned books, and not at all in political or other pamphlets, and that he was a man of excellent moral character," was found guilty.

Mr. Wakefield was alſo tried, as the author of the work; which, having been proved in evidence, he defended himſelf, and read a written ſpeech upwards of two hours long, full of invectives againſt his majeſty's miniſters, and particularly againſt the attorney-general, who did not condeſcend to make any reply to it. The ſingle queſtion, which the attorney-general put to the jury, was, whether Mr. G. Wakefield was to be governed by one law, and all his majeſty's ſubjects by another law? Lord Kenyon treated Mr. W. with great tenderneſs and humanity; and the jury found the defendant guilty. Bail was immediately given for his appearance to receive judgement, himſelf in a 1000*l.* and Mr. J. T. Rutt, merchant, in Thames-ſtreet, and Mr. Samuel Lewin, in 500*l.* each.

25th. James Turnbull was tried upon the capital charge of putting Thomas Finch in fear, and ſtealing from his majeſty's mint the ſum of 2380 guineas. By the evidence of T. Finch, it appeared that, on the 20th of December, Turnbull and Dalton, and two of the Tower Hamlets militia, were employed to work at a preſs uſed in the mint; at nine o'clock Finch told them to go to breakfaſt; they all went out, leaving him and a Mr. Chambers in the room; in about a minute Turnbull and Dalton returned, and the latter ſtopped at the door while the former preſented a piſtol, forced the keys of a cheſt from Mr. F. and then locked him in an inner room; he afterwards ſtole 2380 guineas, and then eſcaped.

Turnbull, in his defence, went into all the particulars, which he ſaid, though it would injure himſelf, was due to the innocent. He ſaid, being all ordered to go out, on the morning of the robbery, he went out laſt, and found Dalton waiting for him at the door, to whom, without giving the ſmalleſt intimation of his

his intention, he ſaid, "You come in." Dalton aſked for what? To which he replied, "Never mind, but come in." That when he preſented the piſtol to Mr. Finch, Dalton called out to him two or three times, "What are you about?" and then went from the door and gave the alarm, which he certainly would not have done had he been concerned.

The jury pronounced him guilty; but his counſel was allowed to make any legal objections to the indictment, which is to be decided by the twelve judges.

William Bryce and Peter Pollard were both found guilty of aſſiſting his eſcape: this Turnbull alſo denied.

28th. This day were executed John Haines, for ſhooting at Henry Edwards, a police officer, and James Blakeley, alias Patrick Blake, for forging a ſeaman's will. Haines has been hung in chains on Hounſlow-heath, between the two roads; the gibbet ſtrongly plated with iron. It is ſaid, that near 300 journeymen curriers attended the ſcaffold to reſcue Haines (who was a currier), but that they were prevented making the attempt by the vigilance of the ſheriff's officers.

DIED At Paris, Thomas Muir, the celebrated Scottiſh advocate, tranſported to Botany-bay, for ſedition, but who eſcaped thence. A wound he received on board the Spaniſh frigate in which he returned to Europe, it is ſaid, never was cured, and to that his death is aſcribed.

2d. In his 82d year, Mr. Thomas Payne, for more than 40 years a bookſeller of the firſt reputation at the Mews-gate. He was a native of Brackley, in Northamptonſhire; and began his career in Round-court, in the Strand, oppoſite York-buildings, where, after being ſome years an aſſiſtant to his elder brother, Olive Payne (with whom the idea and practice of printing catalogues is ſaid to have originated), he commenced bookſeller on his own account, and iſſued "A Catalogue of curious Books in Divinity, Hiſtory, Claſſics, Medicine, Voyages, Natural Hiſtory, &c. Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh, in excellent Condition, and moſtly gilt and lettered," dated Feb. 29, 1740, being almoſt the firſt of the catalogiſts, except Daniel Brown, at the Black Swan, without Temple-bar, and the ſhort-lived Mears and Noorthouck. From this ſituation he removed to the Mews-gate, in 17 0, when he married Elizabeth Taylor, and ſucceeded her brother in the ſhop and houſe, which he built, whence he iſſued an almoſt annual ſucceſſion of catalogues, beginning 1755, and, in the years 1760 and 1761, two catalogues during the year. This he continued to do till 1790, when he reſigned the buſineſs to his eldeſt ſon, who had for more than 20 years been his partner, and who opened a new literary channel, by a correſpondence with Paris, from whence he brought, in 1793, the library of the celebrated chancellor, Lamoignon. The little ſhop, in the ſhape of an L, was the firſt that obtained the name of a literary coffee-houſe, in London, from the knot of literati that reſorted to it; and, ſince the diſplay of new books on the counter has been adopted from the Oxford and Cambridge bookſellers, other London ſhops have their followers.

MARCH.

MARCH.

5th. The court of directors of the Eaſt-India company has conſented to the wiſhes of government, and given up the point of recruiting for its own ſervice. This puts a period to a very long controverſy. Chatham-barracks is to be the depôt for Eaſt-India recruits, who are, in future, to be engaged for a period of ten years, leaving it to their option to enliſt, after the expiration thereof, for a farther term of five years. The company are to defray the expenſe of their paſſage home, after their diſcharge in India.

13th. A meeting of the truſtees of the Britiſh-muſeum having been held, to take into conſideration a plan lately preſented to them by Mr. Deſenſans, which had for its object to convert Montague-houſe into galleries of pictures and ſtatues; they have reſolved that no alteration ſhall take place in Montague-houſe.

A fire broke out, on the 13th of March, in the ſuburbs of Pera, at Conſtantinople, and, notwithſtanding every exertion to ſuppreſs it, nearly two-thirds of that quarter were burnt down. Among the buildings deſtroyed are the houſes of the Engliſh ambaſſador, the Auſtrian internuncio, and of ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction; the hotels of Spain and of Poland, the Roman catholic church, and the ſtone magazine, which contained all the riches of Pera, as it was thought a place of perfect ſafety. The damage is eſtimated at twenty millions of florins.

16th. By the ſinking of the pavement nearly oppoſite the front gate of the Royal Exchange, a very large deep well, of great antiquity, has been diſcovered. The water is of excellent quality, and the ward of Cornhill propoſe erecting a pump near the ſpot. Upon examining Stow's Hiſtory of London, it appears to have been covered over more than ſix hundred years; for he notices, as ſtanding there, a conduit and a watch-houſe, together with a place of confinement for diſorderly perſons, at the top of which was placed the pillory for their puniſhment; all which, he ſays, were removed in the year 1380. What is remarkable, the top of the well was not ſecured by either arch or brick-work, but only covered with planks.

21ſt. The houſe of Mr. Bowering, ſchool-maſter, near Taunton, was burnt to the ground. The premiſes were inſured, and happily no lives were loſt. The fire was occaſioned by a maid-ſervant throwing ſome aſhes in the yard, which communicated to ſome out-houſes, and deſtroyed the whole building. Providentially it was in the day-time, or the conſequences muſt have been dreadful; the whole being deſtroyed in a ſhort time, and not a change of clothes left for the ſcholars.

22d. *Plymouth.* A melancholy accident happened yeſterday evening at the gun-wharf in the dock-yard at this place. Mr. Brace, with his ſon, about 12 years old, G. Newman, R. Herden, and G. Searles, were employed in removing a quantity of bomb-ſhells, landed from the different French prizes lately brought in here, and purchaſed by Mr. Brace at public ſale, when, by ſome accident, one of the ſhells took fire, which communicated

ted itſelf to ſeveral others, filled alſo with combuſtible matter, and cauſed ſuch a dreadful exploſion, before any of the above perſons could get out of the reach of its deſtructive influence, that Mr. Brace and his ſon were killed on the ſpot; G. Newman had his right thigh blown off, and the other two were dangerouſly wounded. Many others had left the ſpot only a few minutes, by which providential circumſtance their lives were ſaved. The exploſion was diſtinctly heard at Catdown, three miles and a half diſtant from the ſpot. A young midſhipman was alſo brought to the Royal Hoſpital from the Caſtor, dreadfully mangled in his face and hands, having been blown up by letting off ſome looſe powder from a priming powder-horn.

A vein of ſilver, tolerably rich, has been diſcovered in Hurland-mine, commonly called the Old Manor-mine, in Gwinear-pariſh, in the county of Cornwall, on which the miners are at preſent at work.

27th. A ſubſcription was this day ſet on foot at Lloyd's for the purpoſe of purchaſing a piece of plate, value 500*l.* to be ſent as a preſent to the gallant commodore Truxton, of the American frigate, Conſtellation, who has captured the French frigate, L'Inſurgente, captain Buroe, of 44 guns, and 411 men, after an hour's well-fought action. The Conſtellation had 1 man killed and 3 wounded; L'Inſurgente, 29 killed and died of their wounds and 29 wounded.

28th. A poor woman was killed at Burnley, owing to the wind blowing her petticoats into the machinery of a cotton-mill, by which ſhe was literally torn to pieces. She has left five infant children.

30th. *Newcaſtle.* His grace the duke of Northumberland has given twenty guineas (excluſive of his annual contribution) to be diſtributed to the crew of the Northumberland life-boat, at North Shields, as a teſtimony of his approbation of their conduct, in going off, at imminent peril, through a vaſt quantity of floating ice and a very high ſea, and thereby ſafely bringing to ſhore a number of ſhip wrecked ſeamen, as there were, at that time, four ſhips upon the Herd-ſand.

Died. Found dead in his bed, at the Carpenter's Arms, a public-houſe, in the pariſh of Wick, Glouceſterſhire, about ſix miles from Bath, James White, eſq. a gentleman well known in the literary world. He was educated at the univerſity of Dublin, and was eſteemed an admirable ſcholar, and poſſeſſed of brilliant parts. His conduct, for four or five years paſt, has been marked by great wildneſs and eccentricity. He is ſaid to have conceived an ardent affection for a young lady, who, he ſuppoſed, was as warmly attached to him; but, (as he imagined) ſome plot had been contrived to wean her regard, and to fruſtrate all his future proſpects in life. He attributed the failure of his application for patronage and employment from the great to the machinations of thoſe plotters and contrivers, and even ſuppoſed their influence upon the London bookſellers prevented his literary talents being more amply rewarded. The winters of 1797 and 1798 he paſſed in the neighbourhood of Bath, and many perſons noticed in the pump-room, the ſtreets, or vicinity of the city, a thin, pale, emaciated man, (between 30 and 40) with

a wild, yet penetrating look, dreſſed in a light coat of Bath-coating. His means of ſubſiſtence were very ſcanty, and he obliged the cravings of nature to keep within their limits: he has been known to debar himſelf of animal food for months, and to have given life a bare ſubſiſtence by a biſcuit, a piece of bread, or a cold potatoe, and a glaſs of water. Unable to pay his lodgings, and too proud to aſk relief, he would many nights wander about the fields, or ſeek repoſe beneath a hay-ſtack; almoſt exhauſted, he once took refuge in an inn at Bath, where his extraordinary conduct, and his refuſing every ſuſtenance, alarmed the miſtreſs, and impelled her to apply to the magiſtrates: they humanely ordered him to be put under the care of the pariſh-officers. Inſtead of appreciating theſe precautionary means, as he ought to have done, he, in letters to ſome perſons in Bath, complained of "the undue interference of magiſterial authority and this unconſtitutional infringement of the liberty of the ſubject!" When his mind was more compoſed, and his health partly recovered, he behaved with more moderation, and, though apparently ſenſible of the good intended him, he ſtrongly ſuſpected that his imaginary hoſt of enemies had again been plotting. It was about this time that he publiſhed his "Letters to Lord Camden on the State of Ireland;" the elegance and ſtrength of his language, the ſhrewdneſs of his remarks and the perſpicuity of his arguments were generally admired. A ſmall ſubſcription was privately raiſed for his relief; and, though given to him with the utmoſt delicacy, he could ſcarcely be prevailed upon to take it but as a loan. He then left Bath, nor had the writer of this account heard of him till he learned that the coroner's inqueſt had been called to determine on his premature death. This unhappy gentleman had reſpectable relatives reſiding in Bath; but who poſſeſſed no influence over his paſſions, nor means of controuling his conduct. The following is as accurate a liſt of his works, as we have been able to obtain: 1ſt, "The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero againſt Caius Cornelius Verres, tranſlated, with annotations," 4to. 1787. 2d, "Conway-Caſtle; Verſes to the Memory of the late Earl of Chatham; and The Moon, a ſimile," 4to. 1789. 3d, "Earl Strongbow; or, The Hiſtory of Richard de Clare and the beautiful Geralda," 2 vol. 12mo. 1789. 4th, "The Adventures of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter," 3 vol. 12mo. 1790. 5th, "The Adventures of King Richard Cœur de Lion;" to which is added, "The Death of Lord Falkland," a poem, 3 vol. 12mo. 1791. 6th, "The Hiſtory of the Revolution of France; tranſlated from the French of M. Rabaut de Saint Etienne," 8vo. 1792. 7th, "Speeches of M. De Mirabeau, the Elder, pronounced in the National Aſſembly of France; to which is prefixed, A Sketch of his Life and Character, tranſlated from the French," 2 vol. 8vo. 1792. 8th, "The Letters to Lord Camden," already mentioned.

In her 102d year, Marguerite Corbie. She retained her ſenſes till within a few days of her death, but had been bed-ridden nearly two years. She was a native of Liſle, and was reſident in that city when taken by the duke of Marlborough, in 1709, being then in her

her 12th year. Her ſingular attachment and unſhaken fidelity to a very diſtreſſed Engliſh woman, who died on the continent ſixteen years ſince, recommended her to the protection of an Engliſh family quitting the continent; by whom her remains were interred in Abergavenny cemetery, in the evening of the 14th inſtant.

APRIL.

1ſt. The king's houſe at Weymouth has been materially damaged by the late tempeſtuous weather; in one of the ſtorms, a few days ſince, it was ſtruck by lightning, which ſplit one of the main beams, and damaged the principal walls of the building; the railing about the houſe was entirely demoliſhed, and other parts of the premiſes materially injured. A ſloop lying in the bay had its main-maſt ſhivered by the lightning.

4th. This night, about eleven, a fire broke out at a carpenter's ſhop, between Field-lane and Union-court, which burnt furiouſly for upwards of an hour and a half. Several engines were diſtibuted in Field-lane and Holborn-hill, but the diſtance was ſo great that they could afford but little aſſiſtance; and the aukward ſituation of the place where the fire was would not admit of their coming nearer, in conſequence, about ſix houſes were ſet fire to, and moſt of them conſumed.

Some hundreds of birds of paſſage, Royſton-crows, lapwings, grey plovers, woodcocks, &c. were caſt on ſhore on the Holderneſs coaſt. They ſeemed to have been ſtarved in croſſing the ſea, as the bills of many of them were placed under their wings.

6th. Such was the ſeverity of the ſtorm this day, that a number of crows dropped, in their flight, dead upon the earth, and others were taken up alive in the neighbourhood of Skipton-Craven.

In conſequence of a heavy fall of ſnow, on Thurſday, many of the mail-coaches did not reach town this morning till ſeveral hours after the accuſtomed time; and the Manchester-coach had not arrived at a late hour on Saturday evening. So deep was the ſnow in the neighbourhood of Congleton, that the Liverpool-coach was entirely buried in it, and the mail forwarded on horſe-back. Near Stone, like impediments preſented themſelves, and the communication between Holyhead and Cheſter has been wholly ſuſpended. Add to theſe, ſo thick was the fog and ſleet laſt night, for twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, that the coachmen and guards were obliged to alight and lead their horſes.

8th. The paſſengers who arrived at the general poſt-office by the Edinburgh-mail this morning ſay, the ſnow began falling about ſeven on Friday morning at Newcaſtle, and continued till ſix at night. No carriage could proceed farther than Northallerton; they attempted with a chaiſe and ſix, but in vain, and then, with the guard, took ſaddle-horſes at Eaſingould, and chaiſe to York. They ſay they never ſaw ſnow fall ſo faſt, and that it was ſix feet deep. The mail had not arrived at Newcaſtle from the North when they ſet out, though many hours beyond its time. The ſnow was ſo deep between Nottingham and Leeds that no coach could travel on Friday night: the mail was ſent by horſe. The Liverpool

verpool ſtage-coaches and mails were dug out of the ſnow at Talk-on-the-Hill. The Whitby and Scarborough coaches were ſet faſt on the Woulds. The ſnow was about ſix feet deep about a mile from Garſtang. The Mancheſter and Liverpool ſtages and mail-coaches, on their way to Carliſle, were ſet, and left till the next day, the paſſengers walking to the inn. Between Leek and Macclesfield, on the Cheſhire hills, the Mancheſter-ſtages that ought to have arrived on Friday night and Saturday morning were ſtuck faſt, and did not reach London until Sunday.

9th. Laſt week, the cabin of a boat at the canal-baſon at Cheſterfield was diſcovered in flames, and two young men were taken thereout burnt to death, in a manner too ſhocking to relate. It is ſuppoſed, from the ſeverity of the weather, they had made too large a fire in the cabin, which ſet the boat on fire, and cauſed them to be ſuffocated.

Early this morning, a fire broke out in a factory, at the upper end of Salford, which ſpread with ſuch rapidity, that it was entirely deſtroyed, together with five ſmall houſes adjoining, notwithſtanding every poſſible aſſiſtance was rendered. The loſs is about 2,500*l.*

10th. Laſt night, a factory, belonging to Mr. John Kay, at Mollineux, in the pariſh of Preſtwich, was entirely deſtroyed by fire: no part of the property was inſured.

11th. The recent ſeverity of the weather has been particularly felt by the inhabitants of Norwich, in conſequence of the general ſcarcity of coals. Nor is the evil confined to that city, but extends to the country around; and at Yarmouth their ſtores, both public and private, are ſo exhauſted, that two guineas were given for half a chaldron, which were, with great difficulty, procured even at that price.

12th. A few days ago, two women in De-la-port-court, Hull, were ſuddenly taken ill after drinking tea in the afternoon. As their illneſs ſeemed to be the effect of poiſon, the kettle was examined, and in the water were found ſpiders and other inſects, which, it is ſuppoſed, had remained there ſo long as to make it putrid, and to occaſion the death of both mother and daughter. The former died ſhortly after, and the latter on Tueſday laſt.

16th. The following orders were yeſterday iſſued on the parade, in St. James's park:

Monday, April 15.

In conſequence of communications from the adjutant-general, field-marſhal his royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter orders the following letter to be inſerted in the brigade-orders:

Horſe-Guards, April 8, 1799.

Sir,

I have received the commander-in-chief's directions to tranſmit to you the king's pleaſure, in regard to the 5th, or royal Iriſh regiment of dragoons, which it is his royal highneſs, the commander-in-chief's deſire that you ſhall, without delay, carry into execution.

His majeſty has taken into his moſt ſerious conſideration the repreſentation which has been made by his excellency the lord-lieutenant of Ireland of the conduct of this regiment, and is of opinion, that the inſubordination and departure from the diſcipline and principles which have ever diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh army, therein exhibited, required,

required, eſpecially in theſe times of warfare and exertion, that they ſhould be marked by a puniſhment which may be ſeverely felt and be long remembered by thoſe miſguided perſons who have been guilty of the atrocious acts of diſobedience, which have brought this indelible ſtigma on the corps, and may ſerve as an example to all others, as well of the conſequences of ſuch ſeditious and outrageous proceedings, as of his majeſty's firm determination to maintain ſubordination and diſcipline in his army, and to ſupport the authority of his officers in the execution of their duty.

It is on theſe grounds his majeſty's royal determination, that the 5th, or royal Iriſh regiment of dragoons, ſhall be forthwith diſbanded; which you will pleaſe to communicate to the corps, and carry it into immediate effect. At the ſame time that the king judges it requiſite, for the good of the ſervice, to make theſe ſevere examples, his majeſty has graciouſly condeſcended to direct that general lord Roſmore ſhall be aſſured, that his majeſty is perſuaded of the concern which, as a ſoldier, his lordſhip would feel at ſuch a circumſtance occurring in any part of the army; and is ſenſible of the particular mortification he muſt experience in the preſent inſtance; from the event of which, however, his lordſhip cannot, in the ſmalleſt degree, ſuffer in his majeſty's eſtimation. His majeſty has been pleaſed farther to direct, that you do expreſs his perſuaſion, that there are many valuable officers in his regiment who have uſed their beſt endeavours to reſtore the order and preſerve the credit of the corps; and though in this meaſure of indiſpenſible ſeverity it was impoſſible to make any exceptions, the majority being clearly implicated in the miſconduct in which the whole are ſuffering, yet his majeſty will hereafter make the moſt pointed diſcrimination, and thoſe of any rank who are deſerving of the royal favour may rely on his majeſty's diſpoſition to reward their merit, and to avail himſelf of their future ſervices.

In conſideration of the expenſe to which the officers of the 5th, or royal Iriſh regiment, have been unavoidably expoſed, his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct that their full pay ſhall be continued to them to the 24th of December next, at which period they will be placed on half-pay.

I have the honour to be,
(Signed) Henry Calvert.
Adjutant-general.

20th. *Thelluſſon v. Woodford, and Woodford v. Thelluſſon.* Theſe cauſes were inſtituted in the court of chancery for the purpoſe of taking its opinion upon the will of the late Mr. Thelluſſon. The one bill being filed to pray that the will might be declared void, as containing deviſes contrary to law; the other, to pray that the purpoſes of the will might be carried into effect.

The caſe having been opened long ago before the lord chancellor, his lordſhip deſired the aſſiſtance of the judges; accordingly, the maſter of the rolls, Mr. juſtice Buller, and Mr. juſtice Lawrence, attended with the lord chancellor, before whom the caſe was argued, and this day the court delivered judgement.

Mr. juſtice Lawrence commenced with opening the two bills; he then read the clauſe in the will upon which the queſtion turned. He then took a view of the whole caſe,

caſe, as did alſo Mr. juſtice Buller and the maſter of the rolls. The objections taken by the counſel againſt the will came under three diſtinct heads, of which the following is the ſubſtance, and muſt be diſpoſed of by reſolving the following queſtions:

Firſt, Whether, according to the true conſtruction of this will, the teſtator has clearly exceeded the utmoſt bounds within which executory deviſes, even in their utmoſt latitude, have been confined by the rules of law, or has tranſgreſſed thoſe rules which are eſtabliſhed?

Secondly, Whether the teſtator's meaning be ſo doubtful as to render it impoſſible to find it out?

Thirdly, Whether ſuch accumulation as may poſſibly take place under this will may not be ſuch as to become dangerous to the ſtate, and, therefore, ought not to be ſuffered? [It may, in one poſſible event, amount to eighteen millions, in the hands of one individual.]

Upon the two firſt of theſe heads, the learned judges, Buller and Lawrence, and the maſter of the rolls, were moſt clearly of opinion, that the teſtator had not exceeded the bounds of executory deviſe, and that the meaning was not doubtful; and that therefore the will ought to be eſtabliſhed.

Upon the laſt head there are ſome caſes; but if that be matter of complaint, neither a court of law or equity has any authority over it, and the remedy, if any be neceſſary, muſt be provided by the legiſlature, it being a queſtion of mere ſtate policy.

The lord-chancellor.—I am extremely obliged to his honour, and the learned judges, not only for the very able aſſiſtance they have given to me in forming my own opinion on this caſe, which entirely concurs with theirs in the reſult, and almoſt in the whole of the argument, but alſo becauſe they have been ſo good as to relieve me from the duty of entering into the particulars of the ſeveral points of the caſe, in the ſtatement of the argument, and in the ſtatement of the ground on which the plaintiff's counſel have failed to produce their intended effect upon my mind. I could not go over the caſe without a neceſſity of repeating an argument, a great part of which has been much better ſtated already, becauſe, although we may vary a little in the expreſſions, yet, the ſame arguments muſt occur to thoſe perſons who have ſtudied the ſame points, and taken the ſame courſe of inquiry on the caſe.

I am not ſurprized that this cauſe has been brought forward, and has called forth ſuch great exertion of learning and ingenuity. The great amount of property, and the teſtator's not having ſufficient reaſon for ſuch a diſpoſition, is a full motive for the plaintiffs to ſeek to reject the teſtator's will, and for endeavouring to eſtabliſh that natural right to this property, which would have been in force, if no diſpoſition had prevented it; and I have no difficulty in ſaying, that the diſpoſition of the teſtator is ſo harſh, ſo unkind, and illiberal, that I reckon it no breach of duty in the family to endeavour to ſet it aſide.

The great amount of the property is an object which can, in no poſſible caſe, enter into the principle of the court in giving judgement:—the ſame rule of law that governs property to the amount of one hundred pounds governs one million.

The piety or the prudence of this teſtator can afford no fair or juſt ground for the controul of the court, though they leave with me a very fair bias on the mind, and there are before us many conſiderations that affect the feelings, and that might blind the underſtanding—but the court muſt not be affected by conſiderations of that ſort—it is the duty of all courts, in the conſtruction of wills, to give effect to wills as far as the intention of the teſtator can be found out. It is not permitted to me to be ignorant of the intention of the teſtator, if the will has no meaning, much leſs to controul the intention of the teſtator upon my own ideas of it, on the liberality or political tendency of the diſpoſition.

The argument on the accumulation, uſed as a ground againſt the bequeſt, I apprehend to be (unleſs in the caſe of lady Denniſon's will) entirely new. I take it, the court has never conſidered it as eſſential to the validity of a deviſe, that the rents and profits ſhould attend the eſtate until the time the abſolute property veſts.

In the extent to which this executory deviſe goes for the lives, though not correctly ſo either, no valid objection can be raiſed; for, at the expiration of theſe lives, there is an eſtate given to avoid perpetuity. And although this executory deviſe goes farther than others, yet it is on the ſame principle as thoſe caſes upon which opinions have been given, and caſes decided, and that is ſufficient.—It is not for me to make new rules of law. I cannot ſee where I am to draw the line, and fix preciſely how many lives ſhall be included in a limitation, or what is to be the extent of an executory deviſe, or on what calculation of chances an executory deviſe ſhall continue. I muſt hold myſelf bound by the rules and eſtabliſhed matter of poſitive law, as already decided on conſidered caſes of executory deviſes.

Here his lordſhip took a view of ſeveral decided caſes upon this point; that of Long and Blackall, and a caſe that he had ſent to the court of King's Bench, not, he ſaid, on account of any doubt in his own mind, for he had antecedently formed the ſame opinion as that court delivered upon that caſe, but becauſe there had been ſome doubt, whether there was not a difference between the courts of King's Bench and the Common Pleas upon that point.—His lordſhip then quoted the caſe of Law and Reeves; and alſo ſeveral others—and likewiſe the opnion of lord Somers in the houſe of lords. He obſerved, that all the caſes from 1600 to our own time, proved that the judges had been clearly of opinion, ſuch as had been delivered by the learned judges to day. The laſt caſe his lordſhip quoted, was the caſe of Doe on the demiſe of Brown and Clerk, confirming the doctrine that children in the womb were, for all beneficial purpoſes, the ſame as if born at a teſtator's death.

With reſpect to the only other legal point in this caſe, "whether the deſcription of the perſon ultimately to take" is ſufficiently certain, the point does not now ariſe; but if I was called upon to give a decided opinion, I ſhould ſay it is ſufficiently certain, and that for the reaſon which was ſo very ably ſtated by Mr. juſtice Buller. I have no doubt who is the perſon meant by "heirs male of the teſtator;" but if

there were a doubt upon that point it is impoſſible for me to ſay that this will ſhould not now take effect, becauſe events may happen that will put it out of all poſſible doubt to whom that deſcription will apply at the time the deviſe ſhall take effect.

I ſhould do myſelf no credit, nor give the bar any information, were I to proceed farther—I therefore now return thanks to his honour and the learned judges for what they have done in giving me aſſiſtance.

The will was then eſtabliſhed, and a future day appointed for giving directions for carrying its purpoſes into effect.

25th Came on, in the court of King's Bench, at Weſtminſter, a trial at bar on an information filed by the attorney-general againſt Sackville, earl of Thanet, Denis O'Bryen, Robert Ferguſſon, Thomas Thompſon, and Thomas Gunter Brown, for a riot and aſſault at Maidſtone, at the concluſion of the trials of O'Connor and others for high-treaſon, which continued until a quarter after ten o'clock, when the jury retired, and returned at half paſt eleven, and pronounced a verdict of guilty againſt lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguſſon. The others were acquitted.

26th This morning, between 6 and 7 o'clock, a genteelly dreſſed young woman ſprung from the walls of London bridge, and before any one could come near her, threw herſelf into the Thames. A boat immediately put off, and, as ſhe was floating, brought her on ſhore; ſhe was ſoon recovered, having been but a few minutes in the water.

Died. At Arſley near Shefford, in the county of Bedford, aged 108, Abne Day, a gypſy, who died under a hedge near Henlow, an adjoining pariſh; only two of her own party attended her funeral with a great concourſe of other people. She has left a ſon aged 82 and a daughter 89, and ſeveral great grand children. She uſed to be carried round the country on an aſs with 2 or 3 females of her own complexion; ſhe had grown almoſt double, had not ſlept in a bed for 70 years, and for the laſt 40 had not a tooth in her head, nor the ſight of more than one eye; had loſt 3 toes 12 years ago, and the uſe of one arm by the froſt.

MAY.

3d Lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguſſon were brought before the court of King's Bench, to receive the judgement of the court, for the part they took in the riot at Maidſtone, to facilitate the eſcape of Mr. O'Connor, when they were committed to the King's Bench priſon, and ordered to be brought up the firſt day of next term. The duke of Bedford and lord Derby attended to give bail, which the attorney-general refuſed to accept.

Same day, Mr. B. Flower, the printer of the Cambridge Intelligencer, was brought to the bar of the houſe of lords, for reflecting, in a paragraph in his paper, on the biſhop of Llandaff's ſpeech in the houſe of lords, on the ſubject of an union with Ireland; and lord Grenville moved that he be fined 100*l.* and committed to Newgate for ſix months. Lord Holland complained of the practice of this ſummary proceeding reſpecting only a breach of privilege; but lord Kenyon juſtified

fed it, and lord Grenville's motion was carried.

6th. Sir J. W. Anderſon (the late lord mayor,) read, in common council, two letters from lord Nelſon and captain ſir E. Berry, which were ordered to be entered in the city journals.

Vanguard, Palermo, Jan. 31, 1799.

Sir,

I have only this day received the honour of your letter (when lord mayor) of the 16th October; and I beg that you will convey to the court of common council my ſincere gratitude for all their goodneſs to me, and aſſure them it ſhall be the buſineſs of my life to act in the manner moſt conducive to the proſperity of the city of London, on which depends that of our country. I am truly ſenſible of your politeneſs in deſiring me to ſay what particular devices I ſhould wiſh on the ſword, which is to be preſented to me by the city of London; but I beg to leave that to the judgement of my fellow citizens. Believe me, when I aſſure you that I feel myſelf,

Your moſt faithful and obliged ſervant, Nelſon.

Kenſington, April, 23, 1799.

Sir,

I have this inſtant had the honour of receiving your favour of the 16th October laſt, which I conclude has been travelling in queſt of me ſince that period. Permit me, ſir, to return you and the court of common council of the city of London, my warmeſt thanks and moſt grateful acknowledgements for the very high compliment I am honoured with; believe me ſir, I eſteem it as the higheſt mark of my country's approbation, to gain which is moſt gratifying; at the ſame time I have to aſſure you, that under the flag of rear admiral lord Nelſon I only obeyed his lordſhip's commands.

I have the honour to be, your very faithful and obedient ſervant,

E. Berry.

The two following letters have paſſed between the commiſſioners of income and Mr. Horne Tooke.

"TO JOHN HORNE TOOKE, ESQ.

"Office of the commiſſioners for carrying into execution the act for taxing income.

"*Wandſworth, May* 3, 1799.

"Sir,

"The commiſſioners having under their conſideration your declaration of income, dated the 26th of February laſt, have directed me to acquaint you that they have reaſon to apprehend your income exceeds ſixty pounds a year.—They therefore deſire that you will re-conſider the ſaid declaration, and favour me with your anſwer on or before Wedneſday the 8th inſtant.

I am, ſir, your obedient ſervant,

"W. B. Luttly, clerk."

"TO MR. W. B. LUTTLY.

"Sir,

"I have much more reaſon than the commiſſioners can have to be diſſatisfied with the ſmallneſs of my income. I have never yet in my life diſavowed, or had occaſion to re-conſider any declaration which I have ſigned with my name. But the act of parliament has removed all the decencies which uſed to prevail between gentlemen; and has given the commiſſioners (ſhrouded under the ſignature of their clerk) a right by law to tell me that they have reaſon to believe that I am a liar. They have alſo a right to

demand from me, upon oath, the particular circumſtances of my private ſituation. In obedience to the law, I am ready to attend them upon this degrading occaſion, ſo novel to Engliſhmen; and to give them every explanation and ſatisfaction which they may be pleaſed to require.

I am, ſir,

"Your humble ſervant,

John Horne Tooke."

9th. At the ſittings before lord Kenyon, a caſe was determined, Middleton *qui tam*, *verſus* Blake, which deſerves the moſt ſerious attention of the clergy; an action was brought againſt the Rev. Mr. Blake, who is vicar of the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, to recover eleven penalties for non-reſidence. It appeared, that this gentleman had been vicar of that pariſh for nineteen years, but had reſided on his eſtate at South Molton, Devon, and never came up to London to viſit his pariſh but to receive their Eaſter offerings. On the part of the reverend defendant, witneſſes were produced, to ſhew that he was in an extremely poor ſtate of health; that he was very much afflicted with the gout; and, very generally after he had reſided in London about a month, he was ſeized with illneſs, and ſometimes was obliged to remain in town three months before he was able to return to the country. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 110*l*.

This day was tried, in the court of King's Bench, an action for an aſſault, and for falſe impriſonment, wherein Mr. Dowding, a reſpectable wine-merchant, was plaintiff, and general Watſon, of the 3d regiment of guards, was defendant. The caſe made out by the plaintiff in evidence was ſhortly thus: the plaintiff and his ſiſter had been dining at the houſe of a friend of theirs, a few miles from town, on the 22d of July laſt, and were coming on horſeback through Knightſbridge, and as they came near to the gate of the barracks, a gentleman was coming towards them. They were only walking their horſes; the gentleman's horſe was going on a jog trot; they met, and the lady was frightened, as the horſes came nearer one another. They were on the left hand ſide, which was their proper ſide of the road, and very near the foot-path. There was abundant room for this gentleman to paſs, the road being very wide, and not a carriage in it at that time, but the road was a little dirty. Mr. Dowding came up to the gentleman, and ſaid, "Sir, I hope you will never turn a lady out of the road;" upon which this gentleman made uſe of very abuſive language, and immediately aimed a blow at Mr. Dowding's head, in which he loſt his own hat for the moment. Mr. Dowding then rode off towards his ſiſter, to allay her fears, inſtead of contending with this gentleman, who however followed, and gave him a very violent blow on his head, which cut through his hat, with what is called a crutch ſtick. Upon this the gentleman who had thus conducted himſelf, immediately ordered out the ſoldiers that were at the barracks, who came with their fixed bayonets, and ſurrounded Mr. Dowding; he demanded Mr. Dowding's name, which he gave him; he ordered the ſoldiers to take Mr. Dowding into cuſtody, and Mr. Dowding aſked for his name, which he refuſed, and told the ſoldiers, on the peril of their lives,

lives, not to tell his name: it ſoon appeared, however, that it was general Watſon.

Not the leaſt incivility or provocation was given to the general before he ſtruck the blow, nor any return made to him of his own language by the plaintiff, ſuch as ſcoundrel, raſcal, &c. and after the general made the firſt attempt, unſucceſsfully, to ſtrike Mr. Dowding, and after he was riding up to his ſiſter to help her, and to try to diſpel her fears, the general turned his horſe round, and was going to ſtrike with the ſmall end of his ſtick, but he changed its poſition, and laid hold of the ſmall, and ſtruck with the club end of the ſtick.

The defendant's caſe was ſupported by the evidence of three of the ſoldiers, who had acted in the ſcene under his command, but to their evidence the jury paid no credit, as they gave a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 250*l.*

11th. A woman drawing water from a well at Surlingham, in Norfolk, was, by the breaking of the rope, precipitated to the bottom, a depth of 42 feet; the water was not more than 5 feet high; and in this condition ſhe remained for ſome hours, till, her long abſence from home inducing ſearch, ſhe was diſcovered, and, a cord being lowered, ſhe tied it round her waiſt, and was drawn up much bruiſed, and nearly exhauſted.

12th. Eight gentlemen belonging to the Walton aſſociation, formed a party to go to Hounſlow, to ſee Haines, the highwayman; on their way home, they ſtopped at the Flower Pot, at Sunbury, till ten at night; and, being fluſhed with what they had drank, in croſſing the Thames at Walton, ſome of them joſtled the boat ſo violently, that it overturned; by which accident three of the gentlemen were drowned.

15th. This morning were executed, purſuant to their ſentence, in the Old Bailey, the following maleſactors, viz. James Turnbull, for robbing the Mint, and Hugh Campbell, William Harper, and Joſeph Walker, for forgery. Their behaviour was ſtrictly becoming their unhappy ſituation.

16th. In an action for an aſſault, brought by a Mr. Humphries, againſt lord Camelford, committed by the latter, in a very violent and unprovoked manner, at Drury-lane theatre; a jury this day gave the plaintiff 500*l.* damages.

29th. This morning a fire broke out at the houſe of Mr. Moſes Haman, in Cob-court, Petticoat-lane, which conſumed the inſide, with a great part of the furniture. A child, about three years of age, was burned ſo ſhockingly, as to be taken to the London infirmary without hopes of recovery.

30th. At half paſt ten this morning, Mr. Wakefield was brought up before the Court of King's Bench to receive judgement, when Mr. juſtice Groſe, after an appropriate ſpeech, pronounced the following ſentence: "The court, having fully conſidered the whole of your caſe, do order and adjudge, that you be committed to Dorcheſter goal for the term of two years; that at the end of this term you give ſecurity for your good behaviour for five years, yourſelf in 500*l.* and two ſureties in 250*l.* each; and that you continue in the ſaid gaol until you have given ſuch ſecurity." The priſoner bowed, and withdrew.

At the ſame time the attorney-general prayed judgement of the court on Mr. John Perry, the editor; John Vint, the printer; and George Roſs, the publiſher; of the Courier newſpaper, for a paragraph which appeared in that paper, ſtating "the emperor of Ruſſia to be a tyrant among his own ſubjects, and ridiculous to the reſt of Europe." Mr. juſtice Groſe pronounced the judgement of the court, which was, "That Mr. John Perry do pay the ſum of 100*l.* and be impriſoned in the King's Bench priſon for ſix calendar months, and enter into ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years, himſelf in 500*l.* and two ſureties in 250*l.* each; and that John Vint and George Roſs be impriſoned in the ſame priſon each for one calendar month."

Died. 26th. At Edinburgh, in his 85th year, James Burnet, of Monboddo, eſq. commonly called lord Monboddo, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice; promoted to the bench in 1767. His firſt publication was "A Diſſertation on the Origin and Progreſs of Language, 1773," 6 vol. 8vo; 2d edit. 1774; aſcribing the invention of alphabetical writing to the Egyptians. When he was ſo near the fountain-head, he might as well have ſuppoſed it an immediate communication from the Deity. He publiſhed alſo a work in 5 vol. 4to. juſt completed in a 6th, intituled, "Ancient Metaphyſics;" a performance remarkable for a ſurpriſing mixture of penetration and genius with the moſt abſurd whim and conceit. He ſtrenuouſly maintains, that the Ourang Outan is a claſs of the human ſpecies, and that his want of ſpeech is merely accidental. We remember it was ſaid, that Maupertuis died juſt as he was going to make monkeys talk. Lord Monboddo alſo endeavours to eſtabliſh the real exiſtence of ſea nymphs or mermaids.

JUNE.

4th. Being his majeſty's birth-day, the ſeveral aſſociations of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, conſiſting of ſixty-five well-equipped corps, and amounting to upwards of 8000 effective men, aſſembled in Hyde-Park, where they were reviewed by the king. The Temple aſſociation, commanded by captain Graham, was the firſt that entered the Park: it arrived at ſeven o'clock, during a heavy ſhower of rain, which continued inceſſantly from the time it left the Temple-gardens. Several other corps followed ſoon after; and at half paſt eight the whole were on the ground. The neceſſary diſpoſitions, agreeable to the official regulations were then made, and about ten minutes paſt nine his majeſty appeared, attended by the prince of Wales, the dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and Glouceſter, a number of general officers, and a formidable detachment of the life guards. The line being formed, a cannon was fired, to announce the approach of the king: on which all the corps immediately ſhouldered in perfect order, and the artillery then fired a royal ſalute of twenty-one guns. A ſecond gun was fired on his majeſty's arrival in front of the line, and each corps immediately preſented arms, with drums beating and muſic playing. A third cannon was fired, as the ſignal for ſhouldering, which was promptly obeyed. His majeſty having paſſed along the line, and returned by a central point

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in front, a fourth cannon was fired, as a ſignal to load; and upon the fifth gun being fired, the different corps began to fire vollies in ſucceſſion from right to left. The ſame loading and firing were repeated, upon the ſixth and ſeventh cannons being fired: in all fifty-nine rounds. On the eighth cannon being fired, three cheers were given, and the muſic played, "God ſave the King." The corps then paſſed his majeſty in grand diviſions, in a moſt excellent manner, under the direction of general Dundas, who headed them on horſeback; after which they filed off to the ſtations reſpectively allotted for them. The whole of the evolutions pointed out to them in the general orders having been performed, and another royal ſalute of twenty-one guns fired, his majeſty, after expreſſing the higheſt ſatisfaction at the martial appearance and excellent conduct of this loyal and patriotic army, departed from the ground at a quarter before one, amidſt the joyous ſhouts and affectionate greetings of the people, who aſſembled on the occaſion to the amount of upwards of 100,000, including all the beauty and faſhion of the metropolis. The ſight was truly grand and highly gratifying; and, notwithſtanding the evolutions were conſiderably impeded by the high wind and ſome rain, the whole were performed in a manner that reflects much credit upon every corps preſent, whoſe conduct fully entitles them to the very handſome compliment of his royal highneſs, the commander-in-chief, paid them by order of his majeſty, in the Gazette of that evening. The ground was kept clear by the London and Weſtminſter, and Southwark volunteer corps of cavalry, who preſerved the lines from being infringed by the immenſe multitude who crowded the Park.

10th. Lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguſſon, accompanied by the duke of Bedford, lord Derby, &c. being brought into the court of King's Bench.

The attorney-general ſaid, he had received his majeſty's commands to enter a *nolle proſequi* with reſpect to the firſt, ſecond, and third counts.

Mr. juſtice Groſe then addreſſed the defendants in a ſpeech of conſiderable length. After commenting upon the impartiality of the trial, and the juſtice of the conviction, he obſerved, that the rank and ſituation of the defendants were ſuch as ought to have made them the laſt men in the world to have been guilty of ſuch conduct. He then proceeded to paſs the ſentence of the court upon lord Thanet, which was, that he ſhould be impriſoned for one year in the Tower of London; that he ſhould pay a fine of 1000*l.*; that at the expiration of his impriſonment he ſhould give ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf in 10,000*l.* and two ſureties in 5,000*l.* each; and that he ſhould be further impriſoned till the ſaid ſecurity was given and the fine paid.

The ſentence upon Mr. Ferguſſon was, that he ſhould pay a fine of 100*l.*; that he ſhould be impriſoned for one year in the King's Bench priſon; that at the expiration of his impriſonment he ſhould give ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf in 500*l.* and two ſureties in 250*l.* each; and that he ſhould be impriſoned till the ſaid ſecurity was given and the fine paid.

On the ſame day, about three o'clock, the duke de Sorentino, a Sicilian nobleman, who has reſided

in this country ſome years, went into Lowthorp's coffee-houſe, St. George's Fields, and ſent the waiter with a note to count De Lambert, in Lambeth-road. He then deſired to have a private room, and was ſhewn into one up ſtairs. A ſhort time had only elapſed when the miſtreſs thought ſhe heard the report of a piſtol; but, not being certain, ſhe waited the arrival of the ſervant before ſhe ſent up ſtairs, who, on entering the room, found the duke, in an arm-chair, dead, and the piſtol with which he had ſhot himſelf laying at his feet. Count De Lambert arrived ſoon after, and obſerved, that he had ſaved his life twice, at a former period, when he had attempted a ſimilar act. The count made particular inquiry after a pocket-book, which he was certain would be found about the deceaſed, as it contained ſome ſecret matter that he would never diſcloſe either to his wife or friend; but it could not be found. The duke reſided in Charles-ſtreet, Fitzroy-ſquare, and had been married to a reſpectable Engliſh lady a few months. A coroner's inqueſt was held on his body, which brought in a verdict of lunacy.

15th. This night, about ten o'clock, a fire broke out at the Horſe and Groom, public-houſe, in Curtain-row, Shoreditch; by which accident, the flames caught fire to Mrs. Tomlinſon's clothes, and ſhe was burned in ſo ſhocking a manner as to cauſe her immediate death.

21ſt. This day, between eight and nine o'clock, his majeſty, mounted on a beautiful white charger, and followed by the male branches of the royal family, a crowd of general-officers, &c. went from Buckingham-houſe to inſpect all the volunteer-corps in different ſtreets of the metropolis. He paſſed over Weſtminſter-bridge, and proceeded by the Obeliſk to Blackfriars-bridge, on the centre of which he was met by the lord-mayor and aldermen, who afterwards rode before him, the lord-mayor carrying the ſword of ſtate. His majeſty proceeded through Bridge-ſtreet, St. Paul's ſquare, Cornhill, &c. in front of the different aſſociations, making a circle to the artillery-ground, where the prince of Wales, as colonel, appeared at the head of the artillery-company, and thence to the lord-chancellor's, in Upper Guilford-ſtreet, where all the royal family breakfaſted; the king then reviewed the Bloomſbury and other corps in that neighbourhood, and, about ſix o'clock, returned home.

The number of volunteers viſited by the king were 12,200; and no ſovereign ever experienced greater proofs of the loyalty of his ſubjects than did his majeſty on this day of parade and rejoicing.

JULY.

4th. His majeſty reviewed, on Wimbledon-common, the different volunteer-corps of the county of Surrey. The line, which was very extenſive, conſiſted of 12 cavalry-corps and 24 of infantry; the effective ſtrength of the whole, 2300.

9th. As a waggon full of coals, with ſix horſes, was paſſing over the bridge at Emſcole, near Warwick, one of the arches gave way, and waggon and horſes were precipitated into the river, where one of them was killed, and the reſt ſo injured that they were not expected to recover.

13th.

13th. This afternoon, about three, one of the largeſt powder-mills, on Twickenham-common, not far from Hanworth, blew up, with a moſt violent exploſion, attended by circumſtances of the moſt melancholy nature. Four men, employed in corning the powder, were blown to atoms in the air, and many of the timbers of the building thrown to a diſtance of half a mile. It was only on the Thurſday preceding that a ſmaller mill, belonging to the ſame proprietors, blew up, but no lives were loſt. The exploſion of this day broke many panes of glaſs, at the diſtance of one and two miles.

Calcutta, Jan. 21. It is with much concern we ſtate the loſs of the company's armed ſchooner, the Ganges, commanded by captain Wade, the particulars of which are as follow: the Ganges came to an anchor, on the evening of the 11th, to the eaſtward of Lacam's channel. The Laurel was then about four leagues farther in the offing, in a ſouth-eaſterly direction. About eight o'clock at night, while captain Wade and his officers were on deck, a diſagreeable ſmell of burning oil and ſmoke came from the cabin. On going below, the ſmoke appeared to be coming from aft. The gun-room was immediately cleared, and, on opening the ſcuttle of the after gun-room, the ſmoke ruſhed out, and plainly indicated that to be the quarter where the miſchief lay. Captain Wade directed all the powder that was in the gun-room and cabin to be quickly removed; while himſelf, his officers, and his people, were employed in throwing water into the after gun-room. Their efforts were greatly impeded by the ſuffocating vapours, which compelled captain Wade, and thoſe with him, to make their way upon deck. The fire was burſting forth from the cabin-windows; but captain Wade ſtill indulged the hope of being able to get it under, and continued to employ every exertion for that purpoſe; but, at the ſame time, as a meaſure of prudence, he directed his officers to get the boat out, and to keep her clear a little a-head of the ſchooner. This was no ſooner done than thirty or forty people leaped on board, and the officers found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to put off, in order to prevent the boat from being ſurcharged. Captain Wade and thoſe who had remained with the ſchooner perſevered in the moſt ſpirited exertions to extinguiſh the fire; but it gained ground in ſpite of all their efforts. The people, every moment in dread of the veſſel blowing up, crowded forward upon her bows, bowſprits, jibboom, &c. In this alarming ſituation, captain Wade, with great compoſure, proceeded to prepare rafts. He, his two boatſwains, and ſome others, were ſtepping aft to cut away the main-maſt, that it might ſerve as a ſpar; at this inſtant, the fire communicated to the magazine, which exploded with great violence, tearing up the deck from the tafferel to ſeveral feet before the main-maſt. By this accident eight men were killed; the ſecond boatſwain had his leg broken, and captain Wade was thrown ſeveral feet forwards. At length recovering himſelf, he found that the flames had nearly ceaſed, moſt of the parts that were on fire having been blown up with the magazine; he was encouraged, therefore, to renew his efforts to ſave the remains of the

ſchooner

ſchooner; but, unfortunately, a part of the burning materials had been carried up, by the exploſion, into the maintop; and, this communicating to the rigging, ſet the whole on fire, which, falling down from time to time, rekindled the flame in various parts of the hull; and, moſt of the water-buckets and and other implements having been blown overboard, no hope remained of being able to ſave any part of the wreck that might ſerve as a raft for thoſe who remained. The flames extending over nearly the whole of the wreck, left no time to deliberate, and but little for a laſt exertion. Whatever things could be met with to anſwer the purpoſe were haſtily laſhed together, and put overboard as a raft, to which all the men on board, amounting to fifty-nine, were obliged to commit their ſafety. The poor boatſwain, who, from his broken leg, was almoſt unable to move, was aſſiſted to the raft; and, all hands having got hold, it was puſhed from alongſide; but, immediately before leaving the ſchooner, captain Wade had ordered the cable to be cut, that, as it was ebb-tide, the wreck of the ſchooner and the raft might be drifted together towards the Laurel, that the ſight of the burning wreck might guide the boats from that ſhip in the track to find them; for, as they had fired guns of diſtreſs on the breaking out of the fire, and as they knew the light muſt be ſeen from the Laurel, they confided in her coming to their aſſiſtance. The raft and wreck continued drifting with the ebb tide, within piſtol ſhot of each other, for about two hours, when the wreck ſuddenly went down; a circumſtance that rendered their ſituation more diſmal, as the diſappearance of the light leſſened the chance of the expected boats falling in with them. Captain Wade propoſed that they ſhould now and then raiſe a general ſhout, as the boats might perhaps be within hearing, though they might not be able to diſcern them. This expedient was readily adopted. After the lapſe of ſix hours in the water, paſſed under an awful anxiety, the ſound of the pulling of oars inſpired them with unſpeakable joy, and in the courſe of half an hour they were taken up by the Laurel's boat, and ſafely carried on board, where they were received with the kindneſs due to their misfortunes. The cauſe of the fire on board the Ganges is aſcribed to the ſpontaneous combuſtion of a ſmall quantity of wood-oil, contained in a dubber, or leathern jar, which was ſtowed in the after gun-room. A fire originating from a like cauſe occurred in the arſenal in Fort William, about five years ago.

13th. The North weſt wing of the King's Bench priſon was about 9 this evening diſcovered to be on fire. The flames burſt forth with incredible fury, and were driven by the wind towards the centre of the building. The conſternation which immediately took place is hardly to be expreſſed, not only within the priſon but without. Many of the priſoners wives and relatives who reſided in the rules, alarmed at ſo dreadful a conflagration, appeared under the walls ſhrieking, and demanding the releaſe of thoſe whom their fears repreſented in ſuch imminent danger; but, at the very firſt intimation of the accident, St. George's, the Bermondſey, St. Saviour's, Lambeth, Chriſt

Chriſt Church, and Newington, volunteers, with a party of the Surrey cavalry, attended and prevented the populace in general from taking that ſtep, which, perhaps, the beſt feelings of human nature had, upon the ſpur of the moment dictated. Within the priſon, we are happy to learn, not the ſlighteſt endeavour was made on the part of any one to eſcape beyond its walls; all were engaged in aſſiſting thoſe who were more immediately within the reach of danger. Above an hour had elapſed before the engines arrived and began to work, by which time the flames had arrived at an ungovernable height. They raged with ſuch violence, that it was with difficulty a ſmall part of the priſoners furniture and effects were ſaved. Many wretched and indigent families, whoſe whole property was contained in their rooms, were compelled to leave it a prey to the devouring element. How the fire was occaſioned no one can with certainty tell. It broke out at No. 10, in an upper room, in the farther corner of that part of the building where the tap is, juſt at the entrance of the priſon. There was no fire in the room, nor was there even a fire-place. The perſon who occupied it was an old man, of the name of Adams, who at the time of the accident was drinking at the Brace, a public room at the farther end of the priſon. The ſtory he relates is, that his ſon had called upon him early in the evening, and had left him two 10*l.* notes, which he was to call for again on Monday morning; for the better ſecurity of theſe notes he put them in his trunk, and he ſuppoſes, at the time he did ſo, a ſpark from the candle fell into the trunk. The part where the fire commenced is called the Old Building, and the upper rooms are not vaulted, conſequently the whole was conſumed; the flames then ſpread through the two upper ſtories, as far as the chapel, conſuming near the whole of them, both in front of the parade and in the back part of the priſon. Here the firemen prevented it extending farther by forcing off the diviſion No. 6 adjoining, at the back of which it ended, by conſuming the apartment occupied by lady Murray, at No. 1, in diviſion 15. There are between 80 and 100 rooms deſtroyed. When this building was erected, the floor of the upper ſtory was not vaulted; had it been ſo, the preſent accident would have been comparatively trifling. The ſecond ſtory was vaulted, otherwiſe the whole fabrick muſt have been deſtroyed. There are a few rooms which were vaulted, and are preſerved, though they were ſurrounded by flames. It was not till one in the morning that the fire was ſubdued, and it was near 4 before it was finally extinguiſhed.

25th In conſequence of ſome obſtructions which the commiſſioners for dividing and incloſing the open fields of Wilbarſton, Northampton, had met with from a number of perſons claiming right of common in the ſaid fields; who not only avowed their determination to reſiſt the fencing out of a piece of land allotted them in lieu of the common right, but had even ſet the civil power at defiance; the Northampton and Althorp troops of yeomanry were ordered to aſſemble at Harborough yeſterday evening, and this morning they ſet out thence for Wilbarſton,

Wilbarſton, under the command of major Cartwright, attended by the officers of the two troops, and by the reverend Mr. Griffin, one of the magiſtrates of the county, and having under their eſcort a waggon loaded with poſts and rails, for fencing out the above allotment. On approaching the pariſh they found a mob of about 300 perſons, who had lighted a bon-fire in the middle of the road, in order to obſtruct the paſſage of the waggon, which they would not allow to proceed. On which the magiſtrate read the riot-act; and, after waiting an hour, the troops were ordered to advance and eſcort the waggon to the ſpot, which was immediately done and one or two of the moſt active of the mob were taken into cuſtody, and compelled to aſſiſt in ſetting down the poſts and rails. After waiting 2 or 3 hours, the greateſt part of the crowd diſperſed; when the yeomanry returned, and the workmen were left in quiet poſſeſſion of the field.

Died. 23d. At Caiſtor, near Norwich, —— Sayer, a butcher, aged 110 years. He followed his vocation, and retained his faculties, till the day of his death.

Lately, Mrs. Gatford, of Horſham, Suſſex. She had not paſſed the threſhold of her manſion for more than 20 years before her death. In conſequence of which, her carriage was ſuffered, for want of uſe, to drop to pieces in the coach-houſe, and her horſes to range uninterruptedly in fields of the richeſt paſtures. She poſſeſſed a good fortune; and though, during her life-time, was not known to apply any part of it to charitable uſes, yet her will proved, that at her demiſe ſhe was not totally unmindful of the poor in her neighbourhood; to whom ſhe bequeathed a conſiderable ſum to be diſtributed in bread, and included other poor objects in the number of her legatees. The moſt ſingular of her bequeſts is 15*l. per annum*, to her cats and dogs, for their maintenance. The directions of her will, with reſpect to her interment, were, that her body ſhould not be removed from her chamber until a month after her death; that, to prevent her becoming offenſive, it ſhould every night be bathed with ſpirits; and that her remains ſhould be buried in four coffins, the outer one to be of marble, and fixed in the vault; which directions were duly obſerved at her burial on the 13th of Auguſt.

AUGUST.

1ſt. The king, queen, and princeſſes Auguſta and Elizabeth, accompanied by the counteſs of Harrington, ſet off in two carriages, at half paſt five o'clock, from Kew Palace, for lord Romney's ſeat in the Moat Park, Maidſtone. The royal party ſtopped to breakfaſt at earl Camden's ſeat at Riverhead, where they were met by the prince of Wales, duke of Cumberland, and numbers of the nobility, and the king's equerries in waiting. The royal family reached the ground at twelve o'clock, on which above 5000 of the volunteers of the county of Kent were drawn up, under the command of their different officers, and his royal highneſs the duke of York. Earl Camden gave the word of command to his own corps of cavalry, and lord Romney to the infantry corps. The regiments went

went through their exercise in a manner highly satisfactory to his majesty, who expressed the great pleasure he experienced in viewing so fine a body of men. After the review, marquees were erected on the lawn for their majesties and the nobility to dine, and tables in view of the royal tents were laid out for the volunteers. The entertainment, to which 6,500 persons sat down, consisted of every delicacy of the season. It was not till six o'clock that their majesties and the princesses took leave of their noble host, on their return to Kew. The town of Maidstone was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and a grand ball was given at the town-hall. The strength of the different associations of the county of Kent at the late royal inspection, according to a return, amounted to 5,721. To give an idea of the dinner provided for the companies of volunteers, there were

3 score lambs, in quarters.
200 dishes of roasted beef.
700 fowls, three in a dish.
220 meat pies.
300 hams.
300 tongues.
220 fruit pies.
220 dishes of boiled beef.
220 joints of roasted veal.

Seven pipes of Port were bottled off, and sixteen butts of ale, and as much small beer, was also placed in large vessels, to supply the company.

17th. The female servant of Mr. Goldfinch, in Lombard-street, was discovered hanging in the kitchen, quite dead, and burnt in a most dreadful manner, occasioned, as it is supposed, by a candle that she had placed near her when she tied herself up. This day the coroner's jury held their inquest on the body; and, it being proved that she had appeared in a disponding way for some days before, they returned a verdict of lunacy.

The late rains have been more general and more severe than perhaps was ever experienced in this country. Letters from all quarters are replete with the most distressing accounts of their effects.

The mail which should have reached Birmingham at two o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, did not arrive there till seven in the evening. The passengers, &c. were forwarded over the flooded places in boats, the coach being necessarily left behind.

The devastation in Lancashire has been extensive and considerable; almost all the bridges on the Mersey, the Tame, the Wedlock, the Irk, the Irwell, &c. have been destroyed, as well as numerous mills on their banks; the aqueducts and banks of some of the canals have given way, and all the adjoining country has been laid under water. Some dye-houses on the Irwell, &c. have been demolished, and immense quantities of cloth carried away; one house is stated to have lost 800 pieces.

In Worcestershire the inundations, occasioned by the overflow of the Severn, Team, and in fact all the streams and rivulets in the county, have been greatly destructive to the farmers of hay, corn, sheep, &c. The rain here has prevailed three weeks almost without intermission, and travelling during the last week was nearly suspended. The head of a mill-pond on the Ludlow road some days since gave way, owing to the unusual pressure of the water. Five horses in a coal team, some dis-

tance from the place, were overwhelmed in the torrent, and drowned before aſſiſtance could be procured; as were two horſes in a team on the Martley road, in conſequence of their being forced by the current into a deep ditch.

In Yorkſhire the floods were attended by a ſtorm, which greatly contributed to the damage they occaſioned. The canal at Huddersfield has been conſiderably injured, and ſeveral mills and houſes near Holmfirth, and other places in the Weſt Riding, have been entirely ſwept away, by the overflowing of different ſtreams. The rivers Ouſe and Tees roſe unuſually high.

In Glouceſterſhire, Warwickſhire, Oxfordſhire, Staffordſhire, and in fact in almoſt every county in the kingdom, the inundations have been extenſive and greatly injurious.

The aqueduct bridge for the duke of Bridgewater's canal over Chorlion brook, at Stratford, has given way; as has the aqueduct for the Aſhton canal, near Aſhton.

On the Cheadle road two horſes in a poſt chaiſe, were drowned, and the driver narrowly eſcaped by ſtanding on the top of the carriage.

About Sheffield, the rivers Dunn and Sheaf were ſwollen to an unuſual heighth, overflowed their banks, inundating the houſes and country adjoining.

Many parts of the Carliſle road were, for ſome time, impaſſable; the bridges, however, on that line have reſiſted the torrent.

Many hundred acres of graſs, ready for the ſcythe, have been laid under water, and materially injured, by the overflowing of the river Derwent, and a conſiderable quantity of new hay has been carried away. Markeaton brook, which runs through Derby, has likewiſe done much damage.

The riſe of the Trent, on Monday, was almoſt inſtantaneous; hundreds of perſons were employed on its banks during the morning making hay; and in the courſe of the evening, thouſands of acres were totally inundated, and many tons of hay carried down the ſtream. Near Sawley, a great number of ſheep were loſt; and at Catton, a fine boy, twelve years of age, was drowned.

The lower part of the town of Aſhbourn was inundated to ſuch extent, that the inhabitants were driven to the upper apartments.

The Mancheſter heavy coach, in paſſing Hanging bridge, was nearly loſt, the water waſhed over the bridge, and for a ſpace of nearly 300 yards, poured in a torrent acroſs the road: the carriage, for a conſiderable diſtance, was lifted from the road, while the horſes ſwam, till, by extraordinary and fortunate exertion, they regained the road: two hundred perſons were collected, expecting every inſtant to ſee the coach daſhed down a precipice of conſiderable height, but without being able to afford the leaſt aſſiſtance. On other parts of the road the water was ſo high, that the horſes were up to their necks, and the body of the coach in the water; the trees were their only guide, the hedges being in general waſhed away.

The road about Cardiff has been impaſſable. Two bridges near Congleton, one near Stone, and another near Newcaſtle, have been demoliſhed.

Died. At Annonny, in his 52d year, Stephen Montgolfier, celebrated for his invention of air-balloons.

balloons. He was a paper-maker, and extremely well verſed in mechanics and chymiſtry. The paper which he manufactured equalled the Dutch paper, and contributed conſiderably to the celebrity of French printing. He was the firſt who made vellum paper in France.

29th. At Valence, in France, after having reigned 24 years, 6 months, and 14 days, aged 81 years and 8 months, Pope Pius VI. formerly Cardinal John Angelo Braſchi. He was born at Ceſena, Dec. 27, 1717; was created cardinal by his predeceſſor, Clement XIV. in April, 1773; elected pope, Feb. 15, crowned the 22d of the ſame month, and took poſſeſſion at St. John Lateran's, Nov. 30, in the ſame year, 1775.

SEPTEMBER.

8th. The rain fell this day in ſuch torrents, that the flood next morning at Melbourn, in the county of Leiceſter, was by far the higheſt ever remembered by the oldeſt perſon, though ſome of the natives are near 90 years of age. In a few hours the rivulet there roſe 10 or 12 feet perpendicular; and ſeveral houſes were much inundated, in which formerly the water in the higheſt floods were never known to enter. A bed of large gravel and ſtones, containing about 60 or 70 loads, was brought down by the rapidity of the ſtream, and lay together in an oblong heap in the town ſtreet; and in ſome places the brook has changed its courſe, and entirely formed a new bed. Theſe uncommonly heavy rains are the more alarming, as the greateſt part of the wheat and barley are ſtanding in the fields; and in this neighbourhood much now is not inned, ſome not cut. The beans are nearly all mowed, but none carried; circumſtances which the oldeſt perſon cannot remember. A ſmall brook, alſo between Rothwell and Deſborough, in the county of Northampton, at the ſame time roſe 14 feet perpendicular.

Turin. Yeſterday our univerſity was ſhut, and the colleges ſealed, by order of the king. This morning 70 prieſts, who were hitherto confined in the archbiſhop's ſeminary, were embarked on the Po, to be tranſported. Among the proviſors of our univerſity were ſeveral jacobins. Our city has preſented field-marſhal Suvarroff with a beautiful gold-hilted ſword, as a token of gratitude for their delivery. He graciouſly received this preſent, and invited the deputies who delivered it to dine with him.

At Mantua the feaſt of the reconqueſt of that city was celebrated with great ſolemnity. Before the cathedral the following beautiful inſcription was exhibited: "*Deo redemptori qvod Mantva feliciter expvgnata, et a clementiſſimo D. N. Imp. Franciſco II. Semp. Aug. itervm in fidem recepta, Italiam a triennali captivitate liberaverit: plavſo orbis Chriſtiani vniverſo gratiarum ſolemnia.*"

Dreſden. On Friday laſt the princeſs of Hohenlohe, and ſuite, arrived here, and alighted at the Hotel de Pologne. This morning the doors of her apartment were found open; the bed of the princeſs, and the floor of her bed-room, ſtained with blood; and neither ſhe nor her jewels, money, clothes, and other effects, to be found. None of her ſervants or equipage are miſſing.

Horſemen

Horſemen have been diſpatched in different directions; and every body is anxious to unriddle this myſterious circumſtance.

Accounts from Sweden mention the accidental drowing of a woman of the name of Oloſſon, at the age of 96. The father of the woman was found dead in a ſtreet in Stockholm; her mother ſtabbed herſelf: of three huſbands, to whom ſhe had been married, the firſt was hanged for killing her own brother; the ſecond was blown up by a mine, at the ſiege of Schiveindtz; and the third, with whom ſhe lived near 20 years, was ſuffocated by the fumes of a laboratory. Her youngeſt ſon was drowned, and her eldeſt tranſported; her daughter, at the age of 20, diſappeared, and was never ſince heard of. In fine, the misfortunes of this family ſeemed to extend to the relatives of thoſe concerned with it, as a ſon and daughter of her firſt huſband's alſo came to an untimely death, ſoon after his marriage.

The following is a liſt of claimants in Ireland, who ſuffered in the rebellion, ſummer 1798. (Theſe claims were put in before the commiſſioners appointed, by act of parliament, for the relief of ſuffering loyaliſts), in the following counties:

	£	s.	d.
Antrim,	17,662	7	10½
Carlow,	26,273	5	8
Clare,	856	9	11½
Corke,	1,832	10	2½
Downe,	12,062	7	10
Dublin,	24,712	0	11
Galway,	4,093	9	8¼
Kildare,	93,223	6	3½
Kilkenny,	27,842	7	10
King's,	2,494	9	10½
Leitrim,	2,316	19	5½
Longford,	14,011	19	8
Mayo,	99,739	18	1¼½
Meath,	13,753	6	1½
Queen's,	1,815	16	11
Roſcommon,	329	5	10
Sligo,	15,671	18	2
Tipperary,	1,366	7	9
Waterford,	1,322	18	11
Weſtmeath,	2,808	3	7
Wexford,	311,341	1	7
Wicklow,	129,978	14	9
	£792,508	7	0¼

Before the count d'Artois left Edinburgh, he tranſmitted the following letter to the lord provoſt and magiſtrates:

"Circumſtances relative to the good of the ſervice of the king, my brother, making it requiſite that I ſhould leave this city, where, during my reſidence, I have conſtantly received the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of attention and regard; I ſhould reproach myſelf, were I to depart, without expreſſing to its reſpectable magiſtrates, and through them to the inhabitants at large, the grateful ſenſe with which my heart is penetrated for the noble manner, in which they have ſeconded the generous hoſpitality of his Britannic majeſty. I hope I ſhall one day have it in my power to make known, in happier moments, my feelings on this occaſion, and expreſs to you more fully the ſentiments with which you have inſpired me; the ſincere aſſurance of which, time only permits me to offer you at preſent."

15th. A large and brilliant meteor was obſerved about half paſt eight this evening. The ſky was tolerably clear, and it paſſed in a direction from the N. W. to the S. E. at a conſiderable elevation in the atmoſphere. It had the appearance

pearance of a beautifully blazing ball, rapidly paſſing along, with a gently tremulous motion, but without noiſe; and, juſt before it became extinct, a few red ſparks detached themſelves from it, as is the caſe when a rocket is falling. Though, probably, like other meteors, it was produced by inflammable air, kindled by an electric ſpark, the light was much more vivid than inflammable air uſually exhibits when burning, reſembling rather the white light in fire-works, which is produced by filings of zinc. Its real altitude, and exact courſe, could only be aſcertained by thoſe accuſtomed to aſtronomical obſervations, if any ſuch were fortunate enough to be in a good ſituation for a view of it; but, as it was certainly pretty high, it muſt have been viſible over a large ſurface of the earth. The day had been very rainy; in the afternoon there had been a little thunder; and, about ten minutes before the meteor appeared, there were ſome corruſcations of lightning towards the eaſt.

21ſt. Jeremiah Beck, a young man of fair character, was indicted for feloniouſly aſſaulting Jane Gibbs, in Kenſington-gardens, on the 20th of June laſt, and taking from her perſon a red leather pocket-book, ten guineas in gold, a half guinea, and two ſeven ſhilling pieces. Jane Gibbs having given her evidence to the above effect, with the particulars of her following the priſoner, and procuring a gentleman's ſervant to aſſiſt her in taking him; and the ſervant and another man (Thomas Winter) delivering their teſtimony likewiſe, of all they ſaw and knew of the tranſaction; the priſoner was called on for his defence: when he ſtated, that the charge made againſt him was wholly unfounded, and that he had taken nothing from the woman; he added a variety of circumſtances relating to his apprehenſion, and concluded by proteſting his innocence. A number of perſons were then called, to prove that the ſaid Jane Gibbs (an ill-favoured, diſguſting figure) had been in the habit of ſtopping, ſpeaking to, and afterwards charging gentlemen with robbing her. One of theſe gentlemen that had been ſo treated by her was Dr. Ford, the ordinary of Newgate; two of the jury alſo ſaid ſhe had acted in a ſimilar manner towards them.—The iſſue was, the acquittal of the priſoner, and the hiſſing and hooting the woman out of court.

28th. At a common hall this day for the election of lord mayor, the return was in favour of aldermen Combe and Skinner, but a poll was demanded for ſir William Staines.

Died. At Vienna (an example of the good effects of induſtry and parſimony), Charles Abraham Wetzlar, baron of Blankenberg, a baptized Jew, who began his career by performing ſlight-of-hand tricks, afterwards became an under-commiſſary in the ſeven years war, and ended it in the 85th year of his age as a baron. He has left three ſons and five daughters, three of whom are married to barons Aughlbergh, Lezency, and Lowenbrunn, and two to counts Teſtetics and Clary. His fortune is eſtimated at five millions of florins, about 500,000*l.* ſterling.

7th. At Bowood-park (the ſeat of the marquis of Lanſdown), John Ingenhouſz, M. D. phyſician to his Imperial majeſty, fellow of the royal ſociety of London, and of ſeveral other learned ſocieties; a man of great

great ſimplicity of manners and benevolence of diſpoſition; to whom the public are indebted for ſeveral curious and uſeful diſcoveries, particularly in the application of pneumatic chymiſtry and natural philoſophy to the purpoſes of medical and agricultural improvements. His "Experiments upon Vegetables, diſcovering their great Power of purifying the common Air in Sunſhine, and of injuring it in the Shade and at Night," firſt publiſhed in 8vo. 1779, have ſince been extended and improved, and republiſhed lately on the continent, in collections of his works, in French and German editions, which include his papers in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions." Prefixed to theſe editions is a portrait of the author. He was a native of Breda, and for ſome time practiſed phyſic in his native country. He came to England about the year 1767, to acquire information concerning the Suttonian method of inoculating the ſmall-pox; and in 1768, (on the recommendation of the late ſir John Pringle, who very highly eſteemed him) he was engaged to go to Vienna to inoculate the archduchefs Thereſa-Elizabeth (the only daughter of the emperor Joſeph II.) and the archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian, brothers of the emperor. In the Spring of the following year he went to Italy, and inoculated the grand duke of Tuſcany. The rewards of theſe ſervices were the rank of body phyſician and counſellor of ſtate to their imperial majeſties, with a penſion for life of about 600*l.* ſterling *per annum*. For ſeveral years paſt he has reſided in this country, to which, from his firſt acquaintance with it, he has always been much attached, and where he paſſed his time almoſt unceaſingly in ſcientific purſuits. In "Philoſophical Tranſactions," vol. LXV. are his experiments on the torpedo; LXVI. eaſy methods of meaſuring the diminution of bulk taking place on the mixture of common and nitrous air, with experiments on platina; LXVIII. a ready way of lighting a candle by a very ſmall electrical ſpark; *ibid* 1027, electrical experiments to explain how far the phænomena of the electrophorus may be accounted for by Dr. Franklin's theory of poſitive and negative electricity; LXIX. account of a new kind of inflammable air or gas; *ibid.* 537, ſome new methods of ſuſpending magnetical needles; *ibid.* 661, improvements in electricity; LXX. on the degree of ſalubrity of the common air at ſea, compared with that of the ſea-ſhore, and that of places removed from the ſea; LXXII. ſome farther conſiderations on the influence of the vegetable kingdom on the animal creation.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. *Lewes.* The rains which fell yeſterday were, in the eaſtern part of the county, heavy to an extent almoſt beyond conception. The damage done by the high and rapid flowings of the water to bridges, mills, roads, hop-gardens, and cornfields, is immenſe. Many families, whoſe habitations were ſituated nigh to rivers and ſtreams, and on low ground, were obliged to fly to the upper apartments for the ſafety of their lives, and there remain until this extraordinary flood had ſubſided. At our bridge, and at a variety of other places, the water roſe

to

to the height of ſeveral feet above what it had ever done before in the memory of the oldeſt man living; and the ſwell was ſo powerful, that it roſe at Uckfield, five feet in the ſpace of one minute. Two unfortunate men, who at Uckfield were, by the impetuoſity of the torrent, ſwept away from before their own doors, after in vain attempting to dam the water from their houſes, were carried off by the current in ſight of ſome hundreds of perſons, who could render them no aſſiſtance. They were, however, in 3 hours after diſcovered, about 50 rods down the ſtream, lodged againſt a willow tree, when a man, at the peril of his own life, ſwam to them, and found Mr. Curteis yet alive, but could then afford him no relief. He was, however, by the help of ropes and a long ladder, ſoon afterwards got out, and taken to a public houſe, where he appeared ſenſible, and uttered ſeveral words, but expired in about an hour and a half afterwards. Attempts were at the ſame time made to get out the body of Wood, the other ſufferer, but it again got afloat, and was not found till the next day. Curteis was a very uſeful man in his neighbourhood, and much reſpected. He kept the pariſh accounts, which, with a number of other accounts, of conſequence to individuals, was carried away by the flood; but the deſk that contained moſt of them was found, a few days ſince, at the bottom of the river, and the pariſh poor-book picked up yeſterday. This diſaſtrous event was witneſſed by lord Gage, who gave the man that ventured into the water 2 guineas, for his humane exertions.

8th. Sir William Staines having early declined the poll for lord mayor; and alderman Coombe and Skinner being returned to the court of aldermen; the latter, on a ſcrutiny, was declared duly elected; but declined taking on him the high office.

In conſequence of a miſunderſtanding which took place between admiral lord St. Vincent and vice-admiral ſir John Orde, while they were employed on the ſervice of their country in the Mediterranean, a challenge was ſent by the latter a few days ſince to the noble earl, and accepted by him. Yeſterday morning was the time appointed for the hoſtile meeting; but their intention having been privately made known to Mr. juſtice Ford, a warrant was granted againſt both thoſe brave and meritorious officers, under the authority of which, ſir John was arreſted early yeſterday morning, at Durant's hotel in Jermyn-ſtreet, by Townſhend and Sayers, who kept him in cuſtody till ten o'clock, when Mr. Ford bound him over in the penalty of 2000*l.* to keep the peace, and two ſureties in 1000*l.* each. Mr. Ford then ſet off expreſs, attended by Townſhend, to the ſeat of lord St. Vincent, at Brentwood, near which the duel was to have been fought, and where they found his lordſhip preparing to ſet out to receive his antagoniſt. Mr. Ford immediately informed him of the nature of his errand, and bound him over to keep the peace in the ſame terms as thoſe to which ſir John Orde had been obliged to ſubſcribe. We underſtand that earl Spencer and Mr. ſecretary Dundas are the ſureties for each. Thus terminated a buſineſs, which, had it proceeded to the extremity intended, might have afforded a moſt

ſerious cauſe of regret to the country, which muſt naturally be intereſted in the perſonal ſafety of two ſuch excellent officers.—The miſunderſtanding alluded to, originated, it is ſaid, in the neglect which the latter conceived to have been manifeſted towards him, by rear-admiral Nelſon being appointed to the command of the ſquadron with which he vanquiſhed the French fleet off the coaſt of Egypt, although ſir John was his ſuperior in naval rank in the fleet of lord St. Vincent, from which it was detached. Sir John remonſtrated on the ſubject, and the correſpondence which paſſed between him and the noble admiral on the occaſion was of ſo unpleaſant a nature that he reſigned his command, and returned to England. On his arrival he applied to the admiralty to be allowed an opportunity of juſtifying his conduct; but lord Spencer, in the moſt handſome and becoming terms, endeavoured to diſſuade him from his purpoſe; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that their lordſhips entertained the higheſt opinion of his conduct, both as an officer and a gentleman. In this ſituation the affair reſted, till the recent return of lord St. Vincent afforded ſir John an opportunity of making a perſonal application to his lordſhip for the ſatisfaction to which he conſidered himſelf to be entitled

19th. Intelligence was this day received at the admiralty, from admiral Mitchell, communicating the total loſs of La Lutine, of 32 guns, captain Skynner, on the outward bank of the Fly iſland paſſage, on the night of the 9th inſtant, in a heavy gale at N. N. W. La Lutine had, on the ſame morning, ſailed from Yarmouth roads with ſeveral paſſengers, and an immenſe quantity of treaſure, for the Texel; but a ſtrong lee-tide rendered every effort of captain Skynner, to avoid the threatened danger, unavailable, and it was alike impoſſible, during the night, to receive any aſſiſtance, either from the Arrow, captain Portlock, which was in company, or the ſhore, from whence ſeveral ſchoots were in readineſs to go to her. When the dawn broke, La Lutine was in vain looked for; ſhe had gone to pieces, and all on board unfortunately periſhed, except two men, who were picked up, and one of whom has ſince died from the fatigue he had encountered. The ſurvivor is Mr. Schabracq, a notary public. In the annals of our naval hiſtory, there has ſcarcely ever happened a loſs attended with ſo much calamity, both of a public as well as private nature. The return from the bullion-office makes the whole amount to 600,000 dollars, about 140,000*l.* ſterling, in ſpecie, on board the Lutine, which had been ſhipped by individual merchants in this country, for the relief of different commercial houſes in Hamburgh. There were alſo ſeveral merchants on board.

22d. This day another common hall was held, for the election of a lord-mayor. Alderman Combe and ſir William Plomer were returned by the livery to the court of aldermen; whoſe choice falling upon the former, he was accordingly inveſted with the gold chain, &c.

23d. A grand requeim and ſolemn dirge were this day performed, at the chapel of the Sardinian ambaſſador, on the occaſion of the death of pope Pius VI. The titular biſhop officiated at the altar; and Mr. Dignum, of Drury-lane theatre,

theatre, ſung the dirge in a maſterly and impreſſive ſtyle. A ſplendid mauſoleum was erected in the middle of the chapel; and the whole ceremony was truly graceful and magnificent.

Died. 28th. At Norwich, ſir George Dunbar, baronet, major in the 14th regiment of light dragoons, quartered there, and where he was unhappily involved in a diſpute at meſs with his brother officers. He was a man of quick ſenſibility, which may have betrayed him into error on the occaſion; but, whichever party was to blame, the quarrel was of a moſt violent nature, and he returned home much bruiſed from blows received in the ſcuffle. The next day, repairing to the meſs-room, he declared to the other officers, "that, if he had offended any of them, he was ready to make an apology; or, if that was not thought ſufficient, to give them honourable ſatisfaction." This propoſal was refuſed; and the officers inſiſted, "that he muſt fell out; for that, as he had abuſed the whole regiment, nothing elſe would or could ſatisfy them." To this ſir George replied, "that he would live and die in the regiment, of which he had been an officer for 20 years, and that a piſtol ſhould end the diſpute." Here ended all communication; but the buſineſs made a moſt deep impreſſion on his mind. For two ſucceſſive days he neither took food or ſlept, and his melancholy appearance filled his family with the moſt lively apprehenſions. Lady Dunbar locked up his razors, piſtols, &c. and watched him with unceaſing vigilance. Her diſtreſs at ſeeing him ſo wretched was very great, and in the night ſhe moaned very much, and was quite reſtleſs. Sir George ſaid, "Maria, you diſturb me, I will get up," which he immediately did, put on his watch-coat, and lay down on the floor. Lady Dunbar then endeavoured to conceal the anguiſh of her mind, in hopes to pacify him, and being overcome with watching fell aſleep. Sir George, as ſoon as he perceived it, left the room, and at about five or ſix in the morning walked out. Her ladyſhip, when ſhe awoke, being much alarmed by his abſence, eagerly inquired for him, and was told he had taken a morning walk, having a violent head ach, and thinking the air would do him good. This however, proved only a pretence; for he had gone to purchaſe a caſe of piſtols, and ſtood by while the bullets were caſting, which, with the piſtols, he brought home concealed under his watch-coat. On his return he went to lady Dunbar, who took hold of his hand, obſerving, at the ſame time, 'How cold you are!' To which he anſwered, "Yes I ſhall be better preſently." She then propoſed to make breakfaſt; but he declined it, ſaying, that he had a letter to write firſt, and that he would ring to let her know when he ſhould have finiſhed it. He then parted from her, after preſſing her hand very hard; went to his ſtudy, wrote his will, and inſtantly after blew out his brains. Lady Dunbar, who heard the report of the piſtol, ran down into the room, and fell inſenſible on his body, which lay extended on the floor, and from which ſhe was taken up all covered with his blood, and immediately removed to a friend's houſe. They were a very happy couple, and ſhe had accompanied him in all his campaigns. His remains were interred,

with military honours, at St. Peter's church, the dean having refuſed leave (which was applied for) to have him buried in the cathedral. He is ſucceeded by his couſin-germane, George Dunbar, eſq. a gentleman of the higheſt reſpectability as a merchant and magiſtrate in Liverpool, of which he ſerved the office of mayor 1797.

NOVEMBER.

6th. Laſt night, on the receding of the tide, the body of a middle aged man was found in an erect poſition upon the mud of the Thames near Black-friers bridge. From circumſtances it is believed, that the deceaſed walked deliberately into the water. The body proved to be that of a watchmaker, of St. John's ſtreet, Clerkenwell, who had been abſent from his family eight days. He was ſkilful and ingenious in his profeſſion; and has left a wife and five young children. He had been for ſome weeks in a deſponding way.

Nice. The funeral ceremonies of pope Pius VI. ended on the 31ſt ult. They diſpenſed with the uſual form of opening a conclave, for the election of a new pope, on the laſt day of the funeral of the deceaſed one, in order to know from Vienna, where they diſpatched a courier, the ſentiments of that court, and which of the cardinals the emperor would wiſh to ſee elevated to the papal dignity.

The brilliant ſword given by his Neapolitan majeſty to lord Nelſon was made a preſent to the king of Naples by Charles III. on his departure for Spain, in the following words:—"With this ſword I conquered the kingdom which I now reſign to thee:—it ought in future, to be poſſeſſed by the firſt defender of the ſame, or by him who reſtoreth it to thee, in caſe it ſhould ever be loſt."

Mr. Horneman, the preſent African traveller, who is a young Hanoverian, full of health and enterprize, has written a letter to ſir Joſeph Banks, from Tripoli. He had travelled from Cairo, in Egypt, through the Lybian deſart, to Fezzan, the largeſt Oaſis in the Great Sahara, a route hitherto unexplored by any European whoſe travels have been communicated to the public. In the journey from Cairo to Fezzan he halted at Sewah, which, from the notices of Mr. Brown, ſome months ago, had been clearly aſcertained to be the Oaſis of Ammon. Mr. Horneman's new obſervations, made at his leiſure on the ſpot, now place the matter beyond all manner of doubt. Mr. Horneman was too late this ſeaſon for the caravan that goes from Fezzan to Soudan, comprehending under that name Hourſes Caſhnou Bournon, the great kingdom near the Niger. Meanwhile he has ſent from Tripoli, by another conveyance not yet arrived, the journal of his preſent travels; and there is every reaſon to hope, that he will accompliſh his great undertaking of viſiting the unknown central regions of Africa, eſpecially from the following occurrences mentioned in his letter: he was followed from Sewah by a large party ſent to ſeize him, on ſuſpicion of his being a French ſpy. But, his manners and behaviour were ſo completely Moſlem, and he proved himſelf ſo thoroughly maſter of the Koran, that he was releaſed with bleſſings and alms as a good muſ-

ſulman,

ſulman, and ſent forward on his journey.

A blackiſh worm, not unlike a caterpillar, has this year deſtroyed whole foreſts of trees in America. The oaks are the firſt objects of their depredation. In ſome places ſcores of acres are as naked as in the middle of winter.

16th. A ſolemn dirge was this day chaunted at St. Patrick's chapel, Soho-ſquare, for the repoſe of the ſoul of the Roman pontiff, pope Pius VI. to whoſe remains the accuſtomed ſepulchral rites were refuſed by the abbé Sieyes and his accomplices. The ſervice was performed in a very ſplendid ſtyle by Dr. Douglas, the Roman catholic biſhop of London, aſſiſted by Dr. Huſſey, biſhop of Waterford, ſeveral French biſhops, and moſt of the clergy of that perſuaſion in the vicinity of the metropolis.—A very eloquent and affecting funeral oration was delivered by Dr. O'Leary, who concluded by felicitating his flock on the happineſs they enjoyed in this country, on which, and its conſtitution, he pronounced a glowing panegyrick. Though the ceremony began at 10 in the morning, yet the audience, which, beſide a great concourſe of thoſe who are numbered, but not named, conſiſted of ſeveral foreign ambaſſadors, and many of the nobility of both ſexes, waited patiently till half paſt four in the evening, when they retired highly gratified.

27th. A very dreadful accident happened laſt night in Fitzroy-ſquare. The earl of Scarborough, with his ſiſter, lady Louiſa Hartley, paſſing in his lordſhip's carriage through that ſquare, which is badly lighted, the coachman miſtook his way, and unfortunately drove over into the area which is dug on the North, for the row of houſes on that ſide of the ſquare. Mr. Shield, the celebrated muſical compoſer, happening to paſs that way ſoon after, was alarmed by violent groanings, iſſuing from the dark ſide of the ſquare. He haſtened to the ſpot, and procuring a light, diſcovered the very melancholy accident which had taken place. He immediately got proper aſſiſtance; and lord Scarborough and his ſiſter, who had both fainted, but moſt providentially had received no very dangerous hurt, were removed to the houſe of a French ſurgeon in the neighbourhood, together with the coachman, who had his ribs broke, and the footman, whoſe leg was ſhattered in ſo dreadful a manner, that immediate amputation was declared neceſſary. Lord Scarborough very humanely ordered the beſt aſſiſtance to be procured; and Mr. Heaviſide, the ſurgeon, was ſent for, who concuring in opinion with the French gentleman, the operation was immediately performed. A hackney coach having been procured, lord Scarborough and his ſiſter went to Mr, Hartley's houſe, in Gower-ſtreet; and we are happy to learn, that they have ſuſſerred no material injury from the accident, except that his lordſhip received a ſmall contuſion in his head. Their eſcape is to be conſidered as very providential, as the height of the fall could not be leſs than 10 or 12 feet.

Died. Kien Long, upwards of 64 years emperor of China, over which kingdom he began to reign 1735. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Ka Hing, who has for two years adminiſtered the government of that country. He was perhaps the beſt

known to Europe of all the monarchs of China who had preceded him; and more particularly to England by the embaſſy ſent thence to him in 1792. The author of the "Purſuits of Literature" has addreſſed a poetical epiſtle to him; and Voltaire had before done the ſame, on his majeſty's talent for verſifying, in which he ſtyles him "*Monarque au nez camus.*" Peter Pindar alſo wrote a poetical epiſtle to him. The whole empire is in great diſtreſs on account of the death of the emperor, whoſe virtues had endeared him to all his ſubjects. He was a perſon of a very graceful appearance, of about five feet ten inches in height, and of a ſlender and elegant form; his noſe was rather aquiline; and the whole of his countenance preſented a perfect regularity of features, which by no means announced the great age he was ſaid to have attained; his perſon was attracting and his deportment accompanied by an affability which, without leſſening the dignity of the prince, evinced the amiable character of the man. His dreſs conſiſted generally of a looſe robe of yellow ſilk, a cap of black velvet, with a red ball on the top, and adorned with a peacock's feather which is the peculiar deſcription of Mandarians of the firſt claſs; he uſually wore boots embroidered with gold; and a ſaſh of blue ſilk girded his waiſt. The emperor died in the 90th year, and the grand Cloula, who is the prime miniſter, and retained in office, ſtill preſerves the affections of the people. The late emperor of China, Kien Long, began his reign in 1735, and his grandfather Canghy reigned almoſt as long, he having aſcended the throne in 1660, and died in 1722. It was Canghy, who, with alluſion to the one ſtoried houſes of his ſubjects, exclaimed, "Undoubtedly, this Europe muſt be a very ſmall and pitiful country, ſince the inhabitants cannot find ground enough to ſpread out their towns, but are obliged to live up thus in the air."

DECEMBER.

2d. This afternoon two uninhabited houſes, on Snow-hill, fell down. They were uſed as warehouſes by a wholeſale grocer; but, being old, and the floors extremely overloaded, they came down, and very fortunately without any perſon receiving any injury.

4th. Six waggons, loaded with part of the treaſure taken in two rich Spaniſh frigates, reached the Bank from Plymouth. At nine o'clock the waggons arrived at Kenſington, where they were met by a captain's guard of the grenadier battalion of the guards, and the proceſſion moved along Piccadilly, St. James's ſtreet, Pall-Mall, the Strand, Fleet-ſtreet, and Cheapſide. When the cavalcade reached the Manſion-houſe, the lord mayor, the lady mayoreſs, capt. Young, &c. came in front of the houſe, and drank out of a golden cup, "Succeſs to the Britiſh navy," the band playing Rule Britannia, while the honeſt tars, who were regaled at the ſame time, gave his lordſhip three cheers.

6th. A numerous meeting took place at the London Tavern, for the purpoſe of alleviating the wants of the induſtrious poor. Mr. Devaynes, being called to the chair, recommended an extenſion of the plan commenced

commenced with ſo good effect, in 1795. Mr. W. Forſter entered largely into the benefits that had reſulted from that ſubſcription, and ſtated, that in the months ending the 27th of laſt April, 40,000 perſons had been relieved by 750,918 meals from the ſoup-ſhops, at an aggregate expenſe of 3,476*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* and concluded by moving reſolutions to extend the meritorious eſtabliſhment. A ſubſcription then took place, and a committee of 35 perſons was appointed to conduct the ſame.

12th. *Waterford.* On Saturday night the moſt tremendous fire, we have ever had the mortification of being witneſs to, broke out in the ſugar-houſe of Meſſrs. Perriers, which, notwithſtanding the moſt extraordinary exertions of the mayor and ſheriffs, of gen. Myers, the officers and privates of the garriſon, and of the gentlemen, and other inhabitants, who attended, the entire fabric, with an amazing quantity of ſugars, the utenſils, &c. were reduced to aſhes.

14th. The ſword which has been voted to earl St. Vincent, by the corporation of London, was this day delivered to his lordſhip, by Richard Clark, eſq. the preſent chamberlain.

22d. The footman who was with earl Scarborough, when his carriage was overſet near Fitzroy-ſquare, died of his wounds, and was this day buried.

23d. Jean Baptiſt Prevot, a Frenchman, was taken from Newgate to Execution-Dock, attended by the water-bailiff, carrying the ſilver oar, the ſheriffs, and city marſhals, to ſuffer the ſentence of the law, for the murder of capt. Wilcox, on board the Lady Shore tranſport. He was accompanied in the cart by a Romiſh prieſt, to whom he paid great attention, being penitently reſigned to his fate. The body, after hanging the uſual time, was brought back for diſſection.

24th. Early this morning, a terrible fire broke out at the premiſes of Meſſrs. Lucas and Martin, ſugar-bakers, in Oſborne-ſtreet, Whitechapel, which conſumed the ſame. The cauſe is not known, but it is generally ſuppoſed to have been from accident. On the preceding evening, about eight, Mr. Martin went over the premiſes to ſee if all was ſafe, as was his uſual cuſtom, previous to returning home. About the hour firſt mentioned, the people in a warehouſe oppoſite were made ſenſible of an approaching conflagration by the exceſſive heat ariſing from the flames, and on going into the ſtreet (which was totally enveloped in fire and ſmoke), fortunately recollected the imminent danger in which the two porters were placed, who ſlept over the ſugar warerooms; upon which they, with difficulty, found their way to the principal gate, where they endeavoured to force an entrance: in this, however, they could not ſucceed; but, happily, the noiſe which they made with ſledge-hammers ſo far anſwered their purpoſe, as to awaken and preſerve the lives of the men, one of whom eſcaped over the roof; the other, in his ſhirt, ventured down ſtairs, and jumped from the lower windows into the ſtreet, without ſuſtaining any other injury than being ſcorched by the fire. The premiſes were built in the ſummer of 1798, at upwards of 5,000*l.* expenſe; and the whole property was inſured much under its real value.

30th. The conſuls of the French republic conſidering that for ſix months paſt, the body of Pius VI. has been lying in the city of Valence without having had the honours of burial granted to it, have publiſhed a decree, reciting,—that, though this old man, reſpectable by his misfortunes, was for a moment the enemy of France, it was only when ſeduced by the councils of men who ſurrounded his old age; —that it becomes the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to the ſenſibility of the national character, to beſtow marks of conſideration upon a man who occupied one of the higheſt ranks upon earth: and therefore, "1ſt. The miniſter of the interior ſhall give orders that the body of Pius VI. be buried with the honours due to thoſe of his rank. 2d. That a ſimple monument be raiſed to him, on the place of his burial, expreſſing the dignity which he bore."

The light-houſe erected on the iſland of Anbolt, being 112 feet above the ſurface of the water, ſo that the fire on it, on account of its extraordinary height, often miſleads mariners in point of diſtance; meaſures have been taken for placing a lanthorn, at about half the height above-mentioned, on the eaſt ſide of the light-houſe, facing the flat and point of Knoben, which may alſo be ſeen from a ſouthern and northern direction; but to ſhips coming from a weſtern direction it will not be viſible, being covered by the light-houſe. This lanthorn-fire will be lighted, for the firſt time, on the 1ſt of January, 1800, from which time it will be continued every night, in addition to the uſual fire.

The largeſt bell in the known world, is in the cathedral of Moſcow, preſented by the empreſs Anne, and weighs the moſt extraordinary weight of 432,000lbs. or 193 tons.

The following veſſels, of different nations, paſſed through the Sound, in the courſe of the year 1799:

Engliſh	2,599
Daniſh	1,571
Swediſh	1,674
Pruſſians	1,420
Americans ..	152
Roſtockers ..	137
Pappenburgers,	97
Hamburgers,	5
Oldenburgers,	33
Bremeners ..	61
Lubeckers ..	54
Ruſſians	13
Portugueſe ..	2
Together	7,818 ſhips

of all nations.

The following is a ſtatement of the quantity of table beer brewed by the firſt twelve houſes in London, for the laſt two years, ending on the 5th of July in each year.

1798.

	Barrels.
Kirkman and co. .	30,029
Sandford and co. .	20,217
Charrington and co.	14,482
Edmonds and co. .	13,543
Nieman and co. .	13,294
Cape and ſon .. .	12,793
Bond, Edward . .	10,372
Satchell, Richard .	9,686
Park and co. . . .	9,633
Leveſque, John .	8,335
Cowell and co. . . .	7,575
Holbrook, James .	6,957

1799.	*Barrels.*
Kirkman and co.	28,266
Sandford and co.	18,726
Combrune, Gideon,	18,667
Charrington and co.	14,363
Edmonds and co.	13,964
Cape and ſon	12,327
Satchell, Richard	10,253
Park and co.	10,129
Leveſque, John	9,317
Bond, Edward	9,245
Cowell and co	7,547
Holbrook, James	6,486

DIED. Of an apoplexy, at Abbeville, in the department of the Lower Seine, where he had for ſeveral years lived in great retirement, in a ſtate bordering upon want, in his 79th year, Marmontel, author of "Beliſarius." When, three years ago, he was nominated to the legiſlature, he went to the electoral aſſembly; and, thanking his fellow-citizens for this mark of reſpect, ſaid to them, "You behold, my friends, a body enfeebled by age; but the heart of an honeſt man never grows old." He was ill only a few hours before he died. He has left a wife and two children in very indifferent circumſtances.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1799.

Jan. 3d. The lady of ſir J. Kennaway, bart. a daughter.

22d. The lady of ſir Francis Linley Wood, bart. a ſon and heir.

The lady of ſir John Harrington, bart. a daughter.

29th. Lady Margaret M'Lean, a ſon.

Feb. 16. Counteſs Conyngham, a daughter.

Ducheſs of Athol, a ſon.

Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a daughter.

March 4th. Lady of lord Robert Fitzgerald, miniſter at Copenhagen, two daughters.

5th. Counteſs of Derby, a daughter.

17th. Lady of ſir John Trollope, bart. a daughter.

20th. Lady Charlotte Wingfield, a ſon.

April 3d. Lady Bruce, a daughter.

5th. Lady Brownlow, a daughter.

8th. Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a daughter.

9th. At Vienna, the empreſs of Germany, an archduke, baptized by the name of Joſeph Francis Leopold.

23d. Lady of A. Allardyce, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

25th. Lady of Inigo Freeman Thomas, M. P. a daughter.

Lady Riverſdale, a ſon.

The lady of ſir Thomas Parkyns, bart. a daughter.

May 2d. Counteſs Camden, a ſon and heir.

4th. Counteſs of Caſſilis, a daughter.

The lady of the Hon. Col. Vaughan, M. P. a ſon.

8th. The lady of William Baker, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

12th. The hon. Mrs. Gunning, a ſon.

14th. The lady of Sam. Smith, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

25th. Lady Rodney, a ſon.

28th. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

29th. At St. Peterſburg, the young grand ducheſs, conſort of the grand duke Alexander, a princeſs.

June 11. The marchioneſs of Donegal, a ſon.

14th. The

14th. The lady of ſir John Chardin Muſgrave, bart. a ſon.

21ſt. Counteſs of Harborough, a daughter.

The lady of Edward Berkeley Portman, eſq. a ſon.

Lady of the hon. and rev. T. J. Twiſleton, a ſon.

25th. The lady mayoreſs, a ſon.

July 6th. The marchioneſs of Tichfield, a ſon.

10th. The right hon. lady Auckland, a ſon.

11th. The ducheſs of Mancheſter, a ſon and heir.

15th. Viſcounteſs Deerhurſt, a daughter.

The lady of Sackville Gwynne, eſq. a daughter.

16th. The ducheſs of Montroſe, a ſon and heir.

18th. Right hon. lady Charlotte Nares, a ſon.

The counteſs of Aylesford, two children

21ſt. The right hon. lady Rous, a daughter.

Lady Mary Fludyer, a daughter.

Auguſt 15th. Counteſs of Aboyne, a daughter.

16th. Lady of the hon. Lawrence Dundas, a ſon.

September 2d. The lady of ſir James Saumarez, a ſon.

6th. The lady of Edward Law, eſq. a daughter.

14th. Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a daughter.

At Potſdam, the queen of Pruſſia, a princeſs.

16th. The lady of alderman Perring, a daughter.

19th. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a ſon.

22d. The counteſs of Cork, a ſon.

31ſt. Viſcounteſs Fielding, a ſon.

November 4th. The lady of his excellency Mr. Spencer Smith, Engliſh ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, a daughter.

The lady of gen. Cradock, one of the daughters of the earl of Clanwilliam, a ſon and heir, at Dublin,

The lady of ſir Edward Pellew, bart. a ſon.

7th. Lady Dynevor, a daughter,

The lady of Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

The hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.

Lady Charles Aynſley, a ſon.

9th. At Stockholm, her majeſty the queen of Sweden, a prince and heir to the throne.

13th. Lady Inverary, a ſon.

22d. Lady Arden, a ſon.

27th. The lady of George Henry Roſe, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

The lady of Robert Brudenell, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

Counteſs Spencer, a ſon.

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1799.

Jan. 8th. Count Francis Byland, of the Hague, to the hon. Mrs. Naylor.

14th. The hon. Hugh Lindſay, to Miſs J. Gordon.

25th. George Abercrombie, eſq. ſon of ſir Ralph Abercrombie, to Miſs Montagu Dundas, youngeſt daughter of the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Feb. 13th. Major-general Jones, to Miſs E. A. Williams.

25th. Sir Thomas Boulden Thompſon, knight, to Miſs Raikes.

March 10th. Lord Charles Fitzroy, ſecond ſon of the duke of Grafton, to lady Frances Stewart, eldeſt daughter

daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

14th. Sir Thomas Webb, bart. to the hon. Miſs Dillon, daughter of lord viſcount Dillon.

28th. Captain Durham, of the royal navy, to lady Charlotte Bruce.

The right hon. lord William Beauclerk, ſecond ſon to the duke of St. Alban's, to Miſs Nelthorpe.

30th. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart Worthy, to lady Caroline Creighton, youngeſt daughter of the earl of Erne.

The right hon. earl of Clanricarde, to Miſs Burke, daughter of ſir Thomas Burke, bart.

April 16. Major-general ſir Charles Roſs, bart. to lady Mary Fitzgerald, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Leinſter.

22d. The duke of Rutland, to lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Carliſle.

26th. Sir Harry Vane Tempeſt, bart. to the right hon. Anne, counteſs of Antrim.

May 1. The earl of Cheſterfield, to lady H. Thynne.

14th. Viſcount Southwell, to Miſs Jane Berkeley.

19th. Lord Wentworth, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Stafford, to Miſs Louiſa Packington, eldeſt daughter of ſir John Packington, bart.

21ſt. Captain Copley, of the guards, to lady Cecil Hamilton, late marchioneſs of Abercorn.

23d. The hon. Joſeph Bourke, dean of Offory, to Miſs Gardiner.

Colonel viſcount de Bruges, a French nobleman, to Miſs Sarah Harvey, eldeſt daughter of the late colonel Stanhope Harvey.

30th. Lieutenant-colonel Driſfield, of his majeſty's marine forces, to Miſs Anne Caroline Bligh, ſecond daughter of vice-admiral Bligh.

Lord Bagot, to the hon. Miſs Fitzroy, ſiſter to lord Southampton.

The right hon. Francis, earl of Llandaff, to Miſs Coghlan, ſiſter to the counteſs of Barrymore.

June 1. Lord Hobart, to the hon. Miſs Eleanor Agnes Eden, eldeſt daughter of lord Auckland.

11th. Sir Robert Williams, bart. M. P. to Miſs Ann Hughes.

July 25. Colonel de Charmilly, to Miſs D. Blackwood, daughter of ſir J. Blackwood, bart.

Auguſt 1. The hon. Richard Ryder, M. P. for Tiverton, ſecond ſon of lord Harrowby, to Miſs Frederica Skinner, daughter of ſir John Skinner, with a fortune of 100,000*l.*

4th. Vere Iſham, eſq. ſecond ſon of ſir Juſtinian Iſham, bart. to Miſs Chambers.

6th. Francis Barlow, eſq, to the right hon. lady Catharine Brabazon, fifth ſiſter of William, the late and ninth earl of Meath, and couſin to Edward, the preſent earl of Meath.

7th. Captain Carrington Smith, to the hon. Charlotte Juliana Butler, only daughter of Edmond, the late, and eleventh lord viſcount Mountgarret, and ſiſter of Edmund, preſent and firſt earl of Kilkenny, and twelfth viſcount of Mountgarret.

9th. Culling Smith, eſq. to the right hon. lady Anne Fitzroy, daughter of Garret, late earl of Mornington, ſiſter to Richard, the preſent earl of Mornington, and relict of the hon. Henry Fitzroy, fourth ſon of the late, and brother of the preſent, lord Southampton.

Lieutenant-colonel Noughton, of the royal artillery, to Miſs Thurlow, eldeſt

eldeſt daughter of the late biſhop of Durham.

Lieutenant-colonel Cheſter, of the Coldſtream regiment of guards, to Miſs Clinton, daughter of ſir Henry Clinton, K. B. deceaſed.

James Duff, eſq. nephew and heir to the earl of Fife, to Miſs Maria Manners, one of the daughters of lady Louiſa Manners, and ſiſter to lady Heathcote.

Charles Nathaniel Bayly, eſq. to lady Sarah Villiers, fourth daughter of the earl of Jerſey.

Sir Henry Wilſon, to lady Frances Elizabeth Brudenel Bruce, daughter of the earl of Ayleſbury.

James Frampton, of Moreton, Dorſetſhire, eſq. to lady Harriet Strangeways, third daughter of the earl of Ilcheſter.

Sir Thomas Maryon Wilſon, bart. to Miſs Elizabeth Smith.

Sept. 28th. The right hon. earl Ferrers, to Miſs Elizabeth Mundy.

John Angerſteim, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Amelia Lock.

Sir Thomas Durrant, bart. of Scottow, in Norfolk, to Miſs Steenbergen.

Rear-admiral Chichagoff, of the Ruſſian navy, to Miſs Proby, youngeſt daughter of the late commiſſioner Proby.

Sir William Loraine, bart. to Miſs Campart, of Kenſington-Gore.

Oct. 16th. Hon. Edward John Tournour, youngeſt ſon of the late earl Winterton, to Miſs Richardſon.

Major John Macdonald, of the regiment of the Iſles, to Miſs Chambers, daughter of ſir Robert Chambers.

Sir Charles Wale Mallet, to Miſs Wale, late of Bombay.

The right hon. lord Riverſdale, to Miſs Charlotte St. Ledger, daughter of lord viſcount Doneraile.

26th. Major O'Loghlin, of the 14th light dragoons, to Miſs Dupré, daughter of Mrs. Dupré, of Portland-place.

At the Imperial reſidence of Gatchina, near St. Peterſburg, his royal highneſs the archduke Joſeph palatine of Hungary, to her Imperial highneſs the great ducheſs Alexandrina.

Nov. 3d. At Peterſburg, her Imperial highneſs Helena Pawlowna, to his ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince Frederick, of Mecklenburg.

Vice-admiral Dickſon, to Miſs Willins.

14th. James Carſtairs Bruce, eſq. of Tillicoultry, to the hon. Elizabeth Cecilia Rollo, fourth daughter of the late lord Rollo.

Sir William Cunningham, of Coprington, to Miſs Græme.

Lord Bantry, to Miſs Hare.

23d. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clinton, of the 1ſt foot-guards, ſecond ſon of the late gen. ſir Henry Clinton, to the hon. Suſan Charteris, ſecond daughter of lord Elcho.

The earl of Portſmouth, to Miſs Norton, ſiſter to lord Grantley.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1799.

Jan. 8th. Lieutenant-general the hon. Charles Stuart, created knight of the bath.

9th. Dr. Thomas Somerville, to be one of his majeſty's chaplains in ordinary, in Scotland.

Dr. Gerald, to be one of his majeſty's chaplains in ordinary, in Scotland.

Dr. Wm. Gloag, to be his majeſty's almoner, in Scotland.

12th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as ſuch

ſo

ſo long only as the reſpective regiments of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice; col. the right hon. William, lord Milſintown, of the North Lincolnſhire militia; col. George, earl of Buckinghamſhire, of the 3d regiment of Lincolnſhire militia.—Staff. Col. Henry Calvert, of the Coldſtream foot-guards, to be adjutant-general to his majeſty's forces. Lieutenant-colonel William Wynyard, of the Coldſtream foot-guards, to be deputy adjutant-general to the ſaid forces, *vice* Calvert. Captain James Mackenzie, of the 85th foot, to be major of brigade in the forces in South Britain; capt. Allan Cameron, of the 66th foot, to be major of brigade to the ſaid forces. Garriſon. Col. Charles Crauford, of the 2d dragoon guards, to be lieutenant-governor of Tynemouth and Clifford's fort.

19th. Hoſpital-Staff. Surgeon William Holmes, from the 5th foot, to be garriſon-ſurgeon of Quebec.

22d. Sir John Macartney, of Leſh, county of Armagh, created a baronet.

23d. General ſir William Fawcett, K. B. ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

Right rev. Dr. Hugh Hamilton, biſhop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, tranſlated to Oſſory; rev. Matthew Young, D. D. promoted to the united biſhopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh.

Right hon. Iſaac Corry, to be chancellor of the exchequer, in Ireland.

Sir George Daly, eſq. to be his majeſty's prime ſerjeant-at-law.

26th. Thomas Barclay, eſq. appointed his majeſty's conſul-general for the Eaſtern States of America.

Brevet. Col. ſir John Morſhead, bart. of the Devon and Cornwall miners, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as the ſaid miners ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice. Major Thomas Vincent Reynolds, of the 30th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Colonel Donald Macdonald, of the 55th foot, to be brigadier-general in the iſland of Guernſey only; captain Drigue Morgan, of the 36th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces.

Right rev. Tho. Lewis O'Beirne, biſhop of Meath, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

31ſt. Charles Fauquier, eſq. to be page of honour to her majeſty.

Feb. 5. George Wardell, M. D. to be phyſician to the forces.

9th. Charles Arbuthnot, eſq. to be his majeſty's conſul-general in Portugal. Alexander Cockburn, eſq. to be his majeſty's agent and conſul to the circle of Lower Saxony, and to the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck.

Staff. John Gordon, gent. to be aſſiſtant-commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions in the iſland of Dominica.

13th. Thomas Boulden Thompſon, eſq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

14th. Admirals of the blue, ſir Chaloner Ogle, knt. right hon. Samuel viſcount Hood, ſir Richard Huges, bart. John Elliot, eſq. right hon. William lord Hotham, Joſeph Peyton, eſq. John Carter Allen, eſq. ſir Charles Middleton, bart. ſir Richard King, bart. Philip Affleck, eſq. right hon. John, earl of St. Vincent, K. B. right hon. Adam, viſcount Duncan, to be admirals of the white.—Vice-admirals of the red, Richard Braithwaite, eſq. Philip Coſby,

Coſby, eſq. Samuel Corniſh, eſq. John Briſbane, eſq. Charles Wolſeley, eſq Samuel Cranſton Goodall, eſq. his royal highneſs William Henry duke of Clarence, ſir Richard Onſlow, bart. Robert Kingſmill, eſq. ſir George Bowyer, bart. ſir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjaman Caldwell, eſq. hon. Wiliam Cornwallis, to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, William Allen, eſq. John Macbride, eſq. George Vandeput, eſq. Charles Buckner, eſq. John Gell, eſq. William Dickſon, eſq. ſir Alan Gardner, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the blue, Robert Linzee, eſq. ſir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, eſq. ſir Thomas Paſley, bart. John Symons, eſq. ſir Thomas Rich, bart. ſir Charles Thompſon, bart. James Cumming, eſq. ſir John Colpoys, K. B. Skeffington Lutwich, eſq. Archibald Dickſon, eſq. George Montagu, eſq. Thomas Dumareſq, eſq. right hon. George lord Keith, K. B. James Pigott, eſq. hon. William Waldegrave, to be vice-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the red, Thomas Mackenzie, eſq. Thomas Pringle, eſq, ſir Roger Curtis, bart. Henry Harvey, eſq. Robert Man, eſq. ſir William Parker, bart. Charles Holmes Everitt Calmady, eſq. John Bourmaſter, eſq. ſir George Young, knt. John Henry, eſq. Richard Rodney Bligh, eſq. Alexander Gram, eſq. George Keppel, eſq. Samuel Reeve, eſq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals of the white, Robert Biggs, eſq. Francis Parry, eſq. Iſaac Preſcott, eſq. John Bazeley, eſq. Chriſtopher Maſon, eſq. Thomas Spry, eſq. ſir John Orde, bart. William Young, eſq. James Gambier, eſq. Andrew Mitchell, eſq. Charles Chamberlayne, eſq. Peter Rainier, eſq. right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the blue, John Stanhope, eſq. Chriſtopher Parker, eſq. Philip Patton, eſq. Charles Morice Pole, eſq. John Brown, eſq. John Leigh Douglas, eſq. William Swiney, eſq. Charles Edmund Nugent, eſq. Charles Powell Hamilton, eſq. Edmund Dod, eſq. right hon. Horatio lord Nelſon, K. B. Thomas Lenox Frederick eſq, ſir George Home, bart. ſir Charles Cotton, bart. to be rear-admirals of the red.—The undermentioned captains were alſo appointed flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet, viz. captains Matthew Squire, Roddam Home, John Thomas, to be rear-admirals of the red.—Captains James Blake, John Pakenham, ſir Eraſmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, John Blanket, George Wilſon, ſir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deane, Cuthbert Collingwood, Jas Hawkins Whitſhed, Arthur Kempe, Smith Child, right hon. lord Charles Fitzgerald, Thomas Taylor, John Thomas Duckworth, to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains John Knowles, John Willet Payne, ſir Robert Calder, bart. James Richard Dacres, hon. George Berkeley, Thomas Weſt, James Douglas, Peter Aplin, Henry Savage, Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, ſir Richard Bickerton, bart. George Bowen, Robert Montagu, John Ferguſſon, Edward Edwards, ſir John Borlaſe Warren, bart. and K. B. to be rear-admirals of the blue.—Edward Thornborough, eſq. ſir William George Fairfax, knt. and ſir James Saumarez, knt. to be colonels of his majeſtys marine forces, *vice* hon. Thomas Pakenham, hon. George Berkeley,

Berkeley, and John Thomas Duckworth, esq. appointed flag-officers of the fleet.

19th. Ralph lord Lavingdon, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. B. to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anquilla, and all other countries and plantations in America, commonly called or known by the name of the Charibee islands *vice* major general C. Leigh.

Staff. Capt. James Muter, of the 42d foot, to be major of brigade to the forces in the island of Minorca: capt. Richard Pigott, of the 14th light dragoons, to be major of brigade to the said forces.

Hon. George Napier, appointed examinator and comptroller of army accounts in Ireland.

25th. George Granville Leveson Gower (commonly called earl Gower), called to the house of peers, by the title of baron Gower, of Sittenham, in the county of York.

26th. Frederick, earl of Carlisle, appointed lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the East-riding of the county of York, and of the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull, *vice* the duke of Leeds, deceased.

Staff. Brevet major William Lumsden, of the 55th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces, in the island of Guernsey, *vice* Donnellan, who resigns. James Laughnan, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces in the East Indies, *vice* Strachey resigned. Richard Yeldham, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces on the coast of Coromandel. Garrison. major general Thomas Murray, to be lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Portsmouth.

March 1st. George-John, earl Spencer, created a knight of the garter.

6th. John Bodenham, esq. of Discord, to be sheriff of the county of Radnor.

13th. Lord Hawkesbury, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

James Durno, esq. of Atrochie, late consul at Memel, knighted.

19th. Staff. Major Alexander Stewart, of the 42d foot, to be quarter-master-general to the forces serving in Minorca, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Hospital staff. ——Moore, M. D. acting inspector of hospitals, to be inspector of hospitals in Portugal. Garrison. ——Moodie, D. D. to be chaplain of the garrison of Stirling-castle.

26th. Rev. George William Lukin, L. L. D. and prebendary of Westminster, to be dean of Wells, and the reverend Thomas Causton, to be a prebendary of Westminster.

30th. George Canning, esq. appointed one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of India.

April 3d. Sir George Yonge, bart. K. B. took the oaths on being appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

9th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments shall remain embodied for actual service; col. John Kemys Tynte, of the West Somersetshire militia; col. John Strode, of the East Somersetshire militia; col. John Colby, of the royal Pembrokeshire militia.

13th. The earl of Elgin, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary at the Sublime Porte.

Thomas Jackſon, eſq. to be miniſter-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia.

James Talbot, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation at the court of Stockholm.

Juſtinian Caſamajor, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation at the court of Peterſburg.

Anthony Merry, eſq. to be conſul-general in the dominions of the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Pruſſia.

16th. Staff. Col. John Scerret, of the late 7th Weſt India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces in the iſland of Newfoundland. Capt. John Lawrenſon, of the 18th light-dragoons, to be major of brigade in North Britain.

23d. His royal highneſs prince Edward, created duke of Kent, and of Strathern, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland.

His royal highneſs prince Erneſt Auguſtus, created duke of Cumberland, and of Teviotdale, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland.

23d. Staff. Col. the hon. Cochrane Johnſtone, of the 8th Weſt India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward Iſlands only.

May 3d. John Harriſon, eſq. to be one of the commiſſioners for victualling the royal navy.

10th. Thomas Hayward, eſquire, knighted.

The earl of Leven and Melvill, appointed his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

William Macleod Bannatyne, eſq. appointed one of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland.

10th. Lieut. general his royal highneſs the duke of Kent, appointed a general in the army.

14th. Philip Lybbe Powys, jun. eſq. appointed clerk of the checque to the band of gentlemen-penſioners.

17th. His royal highneſs gen. Edward duke of Kent, K. G. to be general and commander-in-chief of his majeſty's forces in North America.

29th. David Rae, eſq. of Eſkgrove, one of the lords of ſeſſion, and a ſenator of the college of juſtice, appointed his majeſty's juſtice clerk in Scotland.

June 4th. Staff. Colonel George Moncrieffe, of the 90th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces ſerving in the Mediterranean only. Major Kenneth Mackenzie, of the 90th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the ſaid forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major John Duncan, of the royal artillery, to be deputy quarter-maſter general to the ſaid forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Serjeant J. Mitchell, from the 2d battalion royals, to be provoſt-marſhal to the ſaid forces.

5th. Their royal highneſſes the dukes of Kent and Cumberland, ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council.

11th. Francis Drake, eſq. to be his majeſty's envoy-extraordinary to the Elector-Palatine, and miniſter to the diet at Ratiſbon.

14th. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot, to be deputy quartermaſter-general in Ireland. Lieut. col. Quin John Freeman, to be deputy barrack maſter-general in Ireland.

22d. Claud Irvine Boſwell, eſq. appointed one of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland, and Neil Ferguſon, eſq. advocate

advocate, to be ſheriff-depute of Fife and Kinroſs.

26th. Chriſtopher Pegge, M. D. reader of anatomy in the univerſity of Oxford, and major of the Oxford univerſity aſſociation, knighted.

Lord Grenville, elected governor of the Levant company, *vice* the duke of Leeds, dec.

John Vaughan, eſq. of Lincoln's Inn, barriſter-at-law, and recorder of Leiceſter, called to the degree of ſerjeant-at-law.

25th. Brevet. Col. John lord Cawdor, of the Caermarthenſhire militia, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as the ſaid regiment of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice.—Staff. Brevet. Lieutenant colonel John Le Couteur, from the 16th foot, to be inſpector of the militia ſerving in the iſland of Jerſey. Brevet. Lieut. col. ſir Thomas Saumarez, from the royal fuzileers, to be inſpector of the militia in the iſland of Guernſey. Wm. Boothby, eſq. to be paymaſter of a recruiting diſtrict.

28th. Sir Frederick Morton Eden, bart. K. B. created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, ſtyle, and title of baron Henley, of Chardſtock.

29th. Major-generals Edmund Fanning, William Gardiner, Henry Johnſon, honourable Henry Edward Fox, John W. T. Watſon, James Lumſdaine, Lowther Pennington, Philip Goldſworthy, Duncan Drummond, William Spry, Charles Euſtace, Francis Edward Gwyn, Robert Morſe, Francis lord Heathfield, T. S. Stanwix, and ſir James Pulteney, bart. to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Garriſons. Major-general John Whitelock, to be lieutenant-governor of the garriſon of Portſmouth, vice Murray, reſigned. Captain Flaylett Framingham, of the royal artillery, to be governor of the fort of Fornelles, in the iſland of Minorca.

July 2d. Right hon. Gilbert, lord Minto, appointed his majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

3d. Thomas, earl of Elgin, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

— James Allan Park, of Lincoln's Inn, conſtituted and appointed one of his majeſty's counſel learned in the law.

6th. Staff. Lieut. col. Albert Gledſtanes, of the 57th foot, to be adjutant-general to the forces ſerving in the Leeward Iſlands. Lieut. colonel Frederick Maitland, of the 27th foot, to be quartermaſter-general to the ſaid forces.

10th. John Henry, duke of Rutland took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Leiceſter.

Robert Cullen, of Cullen, eſq. one of the lords of ſeſſion, appointed a lord of juſticiary in Scotland. William Honeyman of Armadale, eſq. to be a lord of juſticiary in Scotland. George Ferguſſon, eſq. to be one of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland. Mr. John Anſtruther, to be one of the four commiſſaries of Edinburgh. Dr. George Hill, to be one of his majeſty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

13th. His royal highneſs Erneſt Auguſtus duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be lieutenant-general in the army.

17th Right hon. ſir John Scott, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

18th. Right hon. ſir John Scott, knt. late his majeſty's attorney-general, created a baron of the king-

dom of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Eldon, of Eldon, in the county of Durham.

18. Rev. John Kearney, D. D. to be provoſt of Trinity college, Dublin, ſir Geo. Shee, bart. to be ſecretary to the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury in this kingdom.

23d. Garriſon. Hon. lieut. gen. ſir Charles Stuart, K. B. to be governor, and the hon. lieut. gen. Henry Edward Fox, to be lieutenant governor of the iſland of Minorca.

27th. Garriſons. Col. John Callow, of the 3d dragoons, to be lieutenant-governor of Quebec. E. B. Brenton, eſq. deputy judge-advocate of Nova-Scotia and New Brunſwick, to be deputy judge-advocate to the forces in all the Britiſh provinces of North America.

Aug. 6th. Staff. George Brinley eſq. to be commiſſary-general in Britiſh North America. John Butler Butler, eſq. to be deputy-commiſſary-general in Nova Scotia, New Brunſwick, Newfoundland, St. John's Iſland, and Cape Breton. John Craigie, eſq. to be deputy-commiſſary-general in the Canadas.

10th. Brevet. Major Lewis Hay, of the royal engineers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Staff. Major gen. George Hewitt, to be inſpector-general of the recruiting ſervice. Capt. Henry Erſkine, of the Scotch brigade, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces at the Cape of Good Hope, with the rank of major in the army.

12th. Right hon. John Berreſford, right hon. ſir Hercules Langriſhe, bart. right hon. Richard Hely viſcount Donoughmore, right hon. Richard Annefley, Charles Henry Coote, Maurice Fitzgerald, John Ormſby Vandeleur, John Townſhend, and Montifort Longfield, eſqrs. to be chief commiſſioners of his majeſty's revenues of exciſe and cuſtoms in the kingdom of Ireland.

13th. Staff. Hon. col. J. Hope, of the 25th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces under the command of lieut. gen. ſir Ralph Abercromby. Lieut.-colonel Robert Anſtruther, of the 68th foot, to be deputy-quarter-maſter-general to the ſaid forces. Henry Motz, eſq. to be commiſſary-general to the ſaid forces.——Hoſpital ſtaff. Thomas Young, eſq. from half-pay, to be inſpector-general of hoſpitals for the ſaid forces.

John Falcon, eſquire, to be his majeſty's agent and conſul-general for the city and kingdom of Algiers.

Rev. John Randolph, D. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected biſhop of Oxford.

14th. Right hon. John Jefferys earl Camden, inſtalled a knight of the garter.

17th. Shadrach Moyſe, eſq. appointed a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms of Scotland.

20th. Staff. Lieut.-col. J. Drinkwater, on the half-pay of the late 109th foot, to be commiſſary of accompts to the forces under the command of ſir Ralph Abercromby.

Hon. Samuel Barrington, admiral of the white, to be general of his majeſty's marine forces, and the right hon. Alexander, lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, to be lieutenant-general of the ſaid forces.

Sept. 3d. Right hon. John, earl of Clare, of the kingdom of Ireland, and lord-chancellor of the ſaid kingdom, created an Engliſh baron, by the title of baron Fitz-Gibbon, of Sidbury, in the county of Devon.

Brevet

Brevet. Capt. Rowland Edward, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.—Hoſpital ſtaff. To be phyſician to the forces, Dr. Stewart Crawford.

4th. Brevet-major William Raymond, of the 89th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

7th. His royal highneſs field-marſhall Frederick, duke of York, K. G. to be captain-general of all and ſingular his majeſty's land forces raiſed, or to be raiſed and employed, in his majeſty's ſervice within the kingdom of Great Britain; and alſo of all and ſingular his majeſty's land forces which are or ſhall be employed on the continent of Europe, in conjunction with the troops of his majeſty's allies.

William Meikleham, LL. D. to be profeſſor of practical aſtronomy, and obſerver in the univerſity of Glaſgow. Rev. Alexander Fleming, to be one of his majeſty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland. Rev. John Thomſon, preſented to the church and pariſh of Dailly, in the preſbytery and county of Ayr.

10th. Brevet. Major Oliver Grace, of the Minorca regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major James Kempt, on the half-pay of the late 113th foot, to be lieutenant colonel in the army.

23d. Andrew Stewart, eſq. and Robert Dundas, eſq. (lord advocate for Scotland), conſtituted and appointed conjunctly to the ſole and only clerks and keepers of the general regiſter for ſeiſins and other writs in Scotland.

25th. Right hon. Iſaac Corry, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

Right hon. George Granville Leviſon Gower, earl Gower, took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Stafford.

Oct. 8. Hoſpital ſtaff. Andrew Mitchell, M. D. to be phyſician to the forces.

16th. Richard Maſter, eſq. took the oaths on being appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the iſland of Tobago, and its dependencies.

19th. Brevet count Bentinck de Rhone, to be colonel in the army on the continent of Europe only. Capt. James Fitzgerald, of the 3d foot guards, to be major in the army. Capt. Thomas Browne, of the 59th foot, to be major in the army. Frederick Vander Hooven, gent. aid-du-camp to count Bentinck de Rhone, to be captain in the army on the continent of Europe only.—Staff. Hon. col. John Hope, deputy-adjutant-general, to be adjutant-general to the army ſerving under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of York. Hon. lieut.-col. Alexander Hope, aſſiſtant-adjutant-general, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the ſaid army, *vice* John Hope. Lieut.-col. John Sontag, to be military commiſſary to the troops forming under his ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Orange. Capt. Stephen Watts, to be aſſiſtant-barrack-maſter-general in the iſland of Jerſey, with the rank of major in the army, ſo long only as he ſhall continue in the barrack-department. Henry Caſtleman, eſq. to be aſſiſtant-barrack-maſter-general.

26th. Staff. Lachlan Maclean, gent. to be barrack-maſter at Fort St. George. John Johnſton, gent. to be barrack-maſter in the iſland of Minorca.

30th. Right hon. Ralph, lord Lavingdon, K. B. ſworn of his ma-

jeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

Nov. 2d. Brevet. Col. Samuel Twentyman, of the 87th foot, to be brigadier-general in the Weſt Indies only.—Capt. R. Sacheverell Newton, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Lieut.-col. George Townſhend Walker, of the 50th foot, to be military commiſſary to the Ruſſian troops.—Hoſpital ſtaff. Samuel Cave, M. D. from half-pay, to be phyſician to the forces. Rob. Jackſon, M. D. from half-pay, to be inſpector of hoſpitals for the Ruſſian troops.

12th. Brevet. Capt. William Cullen, of the Scotch brigade, to be major in the army.

13th. Major-general his highneſs prince William to be lieutenant-general in the army.

16th. Dr. James Playfair, to be principal of the united colleges of St. Salvator, and St. Leonard, in the univerſity of St. Andrew.

19th. Garriſon. Rev. Frederick Neve, to be chaplain to the garriſon of Minorca.

23d. Thomas Troubridge, eſq. captain in the royal navy, and of Plymouth, created a baronet.

Geo. Napier, eſq. to be commiſſary of the commiſſariot of Caithneſs. Mr. William Taylor, to be commiſſary-clerk of Caithneſs and Sutherland.

26th. Rev. Charles Henry Hall, B. D. to be a canon of Chriſt Church, Oxford.

Garriſon. Major-general John Graves Simcoe, to be commandant of the garriſon of Plymouth in the abſence of the governor and of lieut. gen. Grenville.

Dec. 2d. Richard, earl of Mornington, K. P. created a marquis of Ireland, by the title of marquis Wellesley, of Norrah, in that kingdom.

3d. Major-general Eccles Nixon, knighted.

Brevet. Capt. Henry Bird, of the 54th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Jonathan Page, gent. to be aſſiſtant barrack-maſter to the barracks occupied by the Dutch troops in the Iſle of Wight.

10th. Hoſpital ſtaff. Surgeons James Borland and Alex. Baillie, to be aſſiſtant-inſpectors of Ruſſian hoſpitals.

14th. Brevet. Major-gen. ſir Hew Dalrymple, knt. to be lieut.-gen. in the iſland of Guernſey only. Major-gen. Andrew Gordon, to be lieutenant general in the iſland of Jerſey only.

21ſt. Staff. Serjeant-major James Lee, from the 1ſt foot guards, to be provoſt-marſhal, with the rank of captain in the army, on the continent of Europe only.

23d. Major Colyer, to be equerry to the duke of Cumberland.

28th. Staff. Lieut.-col. Rob. Anſtruther, of the 3d foot guards, to be a deputy-quarter-maſter-general to the forces.

DEATHS *in* 1799.

Jan. 1ſt. Aged 80, lady dowager Clementina Elphinſtone, mother of lord Keith, and only daughter of John earl of Wigton.

Sir George Rich, bart.

Lord Swinton, one of the judges of the high court of juſticiary, and one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice.

The right hon. Arthur Chicheſter, marquis of Donegal. He was born on the 13th of June, 1730, and ſucceeded

ceeded his uncle in the title and eſtates in 1756. In 1761, he married a daughter of the duke of Hamilton, by whom he had iſſue four daughters and three ſons, all of whom died young, except lord Belfaſt, born in 1769, and his brother Spencer. Lady Donegal dying in 1780, his lordſhip married in 1788, Mrs. Moore, who died a year afterwards without iſſue. The marquis next married a Miſs Godfrey, a daughter to the late Dr. Godfrey, a clergyman of the county of Kerry in Ireland.

At Port Royal, Jamaica, of the yellow fever, the hon. lieut. Roger Montgomerie, of the royal navy, ſecond ſon of the earl of Eglintoune.

6th. Prince William George Frederic, ſecond ſon of the Stadtholder of Holland.

11th. The right hon. lady Charlotte Bertie, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Abington.

Lady Rebecca Honora Lewes, wife of ſir Watkin Lewes.

22d, Frances lady Ongley, relict of the firſt lord, who died 1785.

Lady Chriſtian, wife of admiral ſir Hugh Cloberry Chriſtian, K. B. commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

Lady Wilſon, wife of ſir Henry W. Her remains were removed for interment in the family-vault at Croſton, in the county of York.

31ſt. After a ſhort illneſs, of an eryſipelas in his ſide, which turned to a mortification, the moſt noble Francis Godolphin Oſborne, fifth duke of Leeds, marquis of Carmarthen, earl of Danby, viſcount Latimer, and viſcount Dunblaine, in Scotland, baron Oſborne of Kiveton, a baronet, K. G. lord lieutenant and *cuſtus rotulorum* of the eaſt-riding of the county of York, governor of the Scilly Iſlands, one of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, governor of the Levant company, high ſteward of Hull, &c. and filled the office of principal ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department, from December 1783 to April 1791. His grace was born Jan. 29, 1751, and married, 1773, lady Amelia D'Arcy, only ſurviving child of the late earl of Holderneſſe, by whom he had iſſue George-William-Frederick, (who ſucceeds him), born July 15, 1775, and, on the death of his mother, in 1784, ſucceeded to the barrony of Conyers; Mary-Henrietta, born Sept. 7, 1776; and Francis Godolphin, born Oct. 11, 1777; and who, in the early years of conjugal intercourſe, diſplayed the utmoſt degree of domeſtic virtue, and held forth the faireſt proſpect of connubial happineſs: but theſe flattering proſpects of nuptial felicity were all blighted, for this accompliſhed and amiable woman liſtened to the voice of ſeduction, and was the mark of public obloquy. This marriage was diſſolved in 1779, when her grace married Mr. Byron, and died in 1784. The ſecond wife of the late duke, was Miſs Catharine Anguiſh, daughter of the late Thomas A. eſq. a maſter in chancery, and one of the commiſſioners of public accompts, to whom he was married Oct. 14, 1788, and by whom he had one ſon, Sidney Godolphin, born Dec. 16, 1789, and a daughter, Catharine-Anne-Sarah. The now dowager ducheſs chiefly attracted the attention of his grace by her peculiar taſte and ſkill in muſic. The preſent duke married, Auguſt 7, 1797, Charlotte, daughter of the marquis Townſhend.

Sir Hugh Chriſtian, K. B. commander-in-chief of the ſhips at the Cape of Good Hope.

Hon. Henry Grey, ſon of the earl of Stamford and Warrington, wrecked on board his ſhip, the Weazle.

The dowager lady Tichbourne.

Thomas Maud, eſq. of Burley-Hall, near Otley, Yorkſhire, aged 81. He was the author of 1. Wenſley Dale; or Rural Contemplation; a poem, 4to. 1771. 2. Verbeia; or, Wharfdale; a poem, deſcriptive and didactic, 4to. 1782. 3. Viator, a Poem; or, a journey from London to Scarborough, by the way of York, with notes hiſtorical and topographical, 4to. 1782. 4. The Invitation; or, Urbanity; a poem, 4to. 1791.

Feb. 9. Hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, ſon of the duke of Somerſet.

12th. George Auguſtus Clavering Cowper, earl Cowper.

20th. Lionel, twelfth earl of Dyſart.

In her 85th year, the hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Kerr, laſt ſurviving daughter of the late lord Charles Kerr.

At Munich, of an apoplexy, with which he had been ſtruck four days before, Charles Theodore, elector of Bavaria, the only remaining heir of the branch of Saltzbach, one of thoſe of the houſe of Bavaria Palatine. Few ſovereign princes have had ſo long a reign. He was born in 1724, and became elector palatine in 1742; ſo that, including the time at Manheim and Munich, he reigned 57 years; for, as the elder branch of the houſe of Bavaria became extinct in 1778, by the death of Maximilian-Joſeph, Charles-Theodore united the palatine electorate to that of Bavaria, and transferred his reſidence from Manheim to Munich. At that period Auſtria aſſerted its pretenſions to Bavaria, which it had long coveted, and, after a ſhort war, in which the great Frederick interfered, the emperor obtained, by the peace of Teſchen, the eaſtern portion of that duchy, which included a ſpace of 38,000 ſquare German miles, and a population of 60,000 ſouls. The late elector, though twice married, left no children. His firſt wife was his couſin, Maria Elizabeth; by her he had a male child, which died in the birth. This electreſs died in Auguſt, 1794. In ſix months afterwards Charles-Theodore, notwithſtanding his advanced age, married Maria-Leopoldine of Auſtria, the daughter of the archduke Ferdinand, then governor of Auſtrian Lombardy, but, as might be expected, had no children by her. His territories, on his death, devolved to his neareſt relation, Maximilian-Joſeph, the duke of Deux Ponts, who was born in 1756. The elector was diſtinguiſhed for the patronage which he beſtowed on the arts, with the profeſſors of which he was conſtantly ſurrounded, whether he was at Munich or at Manheim. The two electorates are indebted to him for ſome moſt uſeful inſtitutions, which were ſuggeſted to him and carried into effect by our countryman, count Rumford. Including the palatinate and the duchies of Juliers and Berg, he reigned over more than two millions of ſubjects. His character was diſtinguiſhed by many amiable qualities, and he is univerſally regretted on the continent.

At Leipzig, in his 68th year, John Hedwig, profeſſor of botany. His reſearches reſpecting the Cryptogamia claſs of plants will ſecure him

him immortal fame. His death will be a great loſs to the General Literary Journal of Jena, to which he was a contributor, and which was indebted to him for many intereſting communications.

Lazarus Spallanzani, of Reggio, the celebrated natural hiſtorian, died at Pavia, on the 11th of February.

George-Chriſtopher Lichtenberg, public profeſſor of philoſophy in the univerſity of Gottingen, and counſellor of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty.

In a very advanced age, Thomas Birmingham, earl of Louth, and 22d baron Athenry de Birmingham, premier baron of Ireland, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council. By his death the earldom of Louth becomes extinct, and the barony of Athenry lies in abeyance. His lordſhip was born 1717; choſen 1745, to repreſent the county of Galway in parliament; and was created, 1759, earl of Louth. He married, firſt, Jane, eldeſt daughter of ſir John Bingham, of Caſtlebar, in the county of Mayo, bart. by whom he had a daughter, who died an infant; and ſecondly, 1750, Margaret, youngeſt daughter of Peter Daly, of Quanſbury, in the county of Galway, counſellor-at-law, by whom he had two ſons, who died young, and four daughters: 1. Elizabeth, married to William lord St. Laurence, eldeſt ſon of Thomas earl of Howth; 2d. Mary, born 1756, married, 1759, to Francis Duffield, eſq. late captain in the 60th regiment of foot; 3. Louiſa-Catharine Mary, born 1764, married 1784, to Joſeph-Henry Blake, of Ardfry, in the county of Galway, eſq. 4. Matilda-Dorothea-Margaretta, died 1788. He is ſucceeded in his eſtates by lady Elizabeth Duffield and lady Louiſa Blake.

The right hon. Robert Roſs, one of the commiſſioners of his majeſty's revenue, and M. P. for Newry.

At Aberdeen, the right rev. John Geddes, whoſe extenſive learning and amiable manners endeared him to a numerous and reſpectable acquaintance.

4th. The right hon. William Ann Hollis Capel, earl of Eſſex, viſcount Malden, baron Hadham. He was born 7th October, 1732, and married, firſt, Frances, daughter and heireſs of ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, by his wife lady Frances, daughter of Thomas, earl of Coningſby, by whom he had iſſue William, the preſent earl, and lady Elizabeth, who married John lord Monſon. His lordſhip ſecondly married on March 3, 1767, Harriet, daughter of col. Thomas Bladon, by whom he has four ſons now living. His lordſhip was lord of the bedchamber to the late and preſent king.

6th. Miſs Seddon, daughter of Mr. Seddon, upholſterer, of Alderſgate-ſtreet, aged 24 years She was ſitting alone by the fire, reading a book, a coal flew out and caught her clothes, which immediately blazed into a flame. The young lady ran down ſtairs, but finding no one there, ſhe went up again. The maid ſervants were ſo alarmed at this ſhocking ſpectacle, that they fainted, and the unfortunate young lady was nearly conſumed, before any aſſiſtance could be given. She lingered till this morning, and then expired.

8th. At his houſe in Fenchurch-ſtreet, Abraham Newman, eſq. He was one of the richeſt citizens of London, and a happy inſtance of the wonderful powers of accumulation by the ſteady purſuit of honourable

nourable induſtry. Without ſpeculation or adventure, he acquired 600,000*l.* as a grocer. He retired from trade about four years ago; but, ſo forcible was his habit, that he came every day to the ſhop, and ate his mutton at two o'clock, the good old city hour, with his ſucceſſors. He has bequeathed upwards of 100,000*l.* to each of his two daughters, Mrs. Caſwall, of Portland-place, and Jane, married, May 22d, 1788, to William Thoyts, eſq. of Sulhamſtead-Abbot, Berks.

In an advanced age, at Bognor, Suſſex, ſir Richard Hotham, knt. formerly M. P. for the borough of Southwark. To the ſpirit and liberality of this gentleman this country is indebted for the eſtabliſhment of the new and faſhionable watering-place called Hothampton, but better known by the name of Bognor-Rocks, which was erected entirely at his expenſe, and was ſolely his property. He is ſucceeded in his eſtates by his great nephew William Knott, eſq.

14th. At Bladud's Buildings, Bath, William Melmoth, eſq. aged 89 years. He was the ſon of William Melmoth, eſq. author of "The Great Importance of a Religious Life," of which the numerous impreſſions ſufficiently ſpeak the praiſe. He was himſelf the author of 1. "Of Active and retired Life, an Epiſtle to Henry Coventry, eſq. 2. The Letters of Pliny, the Conſul, with occaſional remarks, 2 vol. 8vo. 1747. 3. The Letters of ſir Thomas Fitzoſborne, 2 vol. 1748. 4. The Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero, to ſeveral of his Friends, with remarks, 3 vol. 8vo. 1753. 5. Cato, or an Eſſay on Old Age, by Marcus Tullius Cicero, with remarks, 8vo. 1773. 6. Lelius, or an Eſſay on Friendſhip, by Marcus Tullius Cicero, with remarks, 8vo. 1777. 7. The Tranſlator of Pliny's Letters vindicated from certain objections to his Remarks reſpecting Trajan's Perſecution of the Chriſtians in Bithynia, 4to. 1793. 8. Memoirs of a late eminent Advocate and Member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, (the author's father) 8vo. 1796."

Lately, aged 67, John Strange, eſq. of Portland-place, LL. D. F. R. S. and F. S. A. alſo member of many of the learned and literary ſocieties of Europe. Mr. Strange was many years Britiſh reſident at Venice, where he formed one of the beſt collection of pictures, (particularly of the Venetian ſchool) now in England; his library was alſo moſt extenſive and ſplendid. By his will he has directed the whole to be ſold. Thomas Gould, eſq. his brother-in-law; Edward Nares, his nephew; and Mr. Alexander, his ſolicitor, are appointed truſtees and executors. Several papers by him are publiſhed in the Archæologia.

17th. Chas. Thompſon, bart. M.P. for the borough of Monmouth, vice-admiral of the red, and third in command under admiral lord Bridport, of the channel fleet.

18th. At Exmouth, Devon, after a ſhort illneſs, aged 45, Dr. James Ford formerly phyſician of St. George's hoſpital.

21ſt. The counteſs of Portmore, youngeſt daughter of John, earl of Rothes, born Aug. 29, 1753.

At his houſe in Charles-ſtreet, Berkley-ſquare, in his 69th year, the right hon. Charles Bingham, earl of Lucan, baron Bingham of Caſtle-bar, in the kingdom of Ireland, and a baronet of Scotland.

At

At Edinburgh, Mr. Gilleſpie, the celebrated Scotch ſnuff-maker. He has left about 40,000*l.* to be applied to the eſtabliſhing of an hoſpital for the maintenance of old men and women.

At Durham, the rev. Dr. Charles Cooper, prebendary of the firſt ſtall in that cathedral, to which he was tranſlated from a prebend of York 1779.

At Leiceſter, John Howard, eſq. only ſon of the late great Philanhropiſt.

26th. In Paul-ſtreet, Shoreditch, aged 61, Mr. James Calvert, formerly of Old-ſtreet, vinegar-merchant. He was the perſon who obtained the firſt 20,000*l.* in the lottery, about thirty years ſince, but died in a ſtate of poverty.

30th. Elzabeth lady Gordon, relict of ſir Samuel Gordon, bart. and mother of ſir Jeniſon Gordon of Haverholm-Priory, and three daughters.

The right hon. Robert King, earl of Kingſton, viſcount Kingſborough, and baron Kingſton, of Rockingham, and a baronet. His lordſhip was the ſixth baronet, and ſecond earl, of this noble family (which has been three times elevated to the peerage. His lordſhip was born in 1754; and, before the deceaſe of his noble father, repreſented the county of Cork in parliament. He ſucceeded his father Edward in 1797; and married, Dec. 5, 1769, Caroline, only daughter of Richard Fitzgerald, of Mount Ophaly. His lordſhip has left iſſue, George viſcount Kingſborough, born in April, 1771, who ſucceeds to the earldom; Robert-Edward; Edward; Henry; lady Margaret; lady Jane; lady Caroline, married to the right hon. Stephen earl of Montcaſhel, and has iſſue lord Kilworth and others; lady Iſabella Letitia. George the preſent and third earl of Kingſton, before his father's deceaſe, was member in parliament for the county of Roſcommon, and ſucceeds to a clear eſtate of 26,000*l.* *per annum*. Caroline, counteſs of Kingſton, has for ſome years been ſeparated from her huſhand Robert, the late earl, through ſome unfortunate miſunderſtanding, and retired to Old Windſor, in England.

At Demarara, ſir C. Lindſay, bart. commander of the Daphne frigate. He had dined on ſhore; and, though the night was dark and windy, could not be diſſuaded from going off to his veſſel in a very ſmall boat he had aſhore, and the Daphne at leaſt ten miles out. The conſequence was, the boat filled, and the ſervice loſt a valuable officer. Two men were waſhed on ſhore alive, one of whom died ſoon after. The body of ſir Charles was alſo waſhed aſhore.

April. Aged 43, Gregory Lewis Way, eſq. author of a verſion of "Fabliaux; or, Tales abridged from French Manuſcripts of the 12th and 13th centuries." 8vo. 1796.

7th. Mr. John Churchill, apothecary, brother of the celebrated Charles Churchill.

10th. In his 61ſt year the hon. H. Hobart, brother to the earl of Buckinghamſhire and member for Norwich.

In his 60th year, ſir Robert Clayton, bart. member for Ilcheſter.

11th. Sir William Bowyer, bart. of Denham, Bucks, a captain in the army, who ſucceeded his father, ſir William, 1768.

Mrs Elizabeth Hollier, of Pancras-lane. This lady, amongſt other charitable legacies has bequeathed to St. Anne's Society 200*l.*

3 per

3 per cent Conſols; Society of poor pious Clergymen 300*l.*; Orphan Working ſchool 300*l.*; Hoxton Academy 300*l.*; Society for promoting religious Knowledge among the Poor 200*l.*; Coporation of Sons of the Clergy 150*l.*; Society for Relief of neceſſitous Widows and Children of Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters 300*l.*; Lady Huntingdon's College at Cheſhunt 1000*l.*; Miſſionary Society 2000*l.*; Society for Relief of caſual Poor 100*l.*; Society called *Societus Evangelica* 200*l.*; Society called the Congregational Society in London 300*l.* In money: Homerton Academy 200*l.*; Independent Fund 300*l.*; Society in Lilypot-lane for Relief of ſick Poor at their own Habitations 200*l.*; London Itinerant Society 100*l.*; Homerton Itinerant Society 200*l.*; Tabernacle in Moorfields 100*l.*; Baptiſt fund 50*l.*; Lying-in Charity 50*l.*; Preſbyterian fund 30*l.* And amongſt other legacies to her friends, has given to the rev. John Gill, St. Alban's 20*l.*; rev. Mr Reynolds, of Hoxton-ſquare, 50*l.*; rev. John Newton, of Coleman-ſtreet 50*l.*; rev. Robert Winter, of Iſlington, 20*l.*; to two poor pious clergymen 8*l.* each; William Parker, eſq. of South Lambert 200*l.*; Mrs. Rachel Taylor, 50*l.* &c. &c. &c.

12th. The hon. Mrs. Cary, relict of the hon. gen. Cary, and mother of lady Amherſt and the late lady Ruſſel.

19th. Lady Margery Murray, niece to William the firſt earl of Mansfield, and ſiſter to the late earl.

The right hon. H. Yelverton, earl of Suſſex, in the 70th year of his age.

21ſt. In his 80th year, the rev. Robert Sherrard, earl of Harborough. He was born Oct. 1, 1719, ſucceeded his brother Feb. 20, 1770, and in 1773 reſigned his eccleſiaſtical preferments.

24th. William Seward, eſq. F.R.S. and A. S. S.

In her 81ſt year, Elizabeth duchefs-dowager of Beaufort, relict of Charles Noel, duke of Beaufort, baroneſs Botetourt, and ſiſter to Norborne lord Botetourt.

At Paris, the celebrated Beaumarchais.

At Paris, in the 64th year of his age, Charles Borda, an eminent mathematician, and one of the authors of the new French ſyſtem of weights and meaſures. He was lieutenant *du vaiſſeau de roi* under the old French government, and with de la Crene and Pingre made a voyage to America in order to aſcertain the utility of certain inſtruments for determining the latitude and longitude. The account of this voyage was publiſhed under his inſpection, with the title of "Voyage fait par Ordre du Roi en 1771 et 1772, en diverſes parties de l'Europe et de l'Amerique, pour verifier l'Utilite de pluſieurs Methodes, et Inſtrumens ſervant a determiner la Latitude et la Longitude tant du vaiſſeau que des Cotes, Iſles, &c. par M. M. Verdun de la Crene, les Chevaliers de Borda, et Pingre," 1778, 2 vol. 4to. He was author alſo of "Deſcription et Uſage du Circle de Reflexion," 1737, 4to. and ſeveral phyſical and mathematical memoirs in different journals. He has been ſucceeded in the Bureau des Longitude by C. Bourganville.

At Paris, aged 60 years and upwards, the chevalier St. George, celebrated for fencing and other bodily exerciſes.

26th. The rev. Mr. Villette, almoſt 30 years chaplain to Newgate; which important office he ſuſtained,

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it may with truth be ſaid, to the general ſatisfaction of the numerous magiſtrates under whom he ſerved. He has left a widow and 6 children to lament his death.

At the Cape of Good Hope, colonel Harvey Aſton, in a duel. An unfortunate quarrel with his officers induced him to go out on two ſucceſſive days with the two majors of his regiment. In the ſecond duel he fell; major Allan was his antagoniſt. When the eccentricities and irregularities of this gentleman, while in England, are recollected, his fate will create but little ſurpriſe or concern. He appears however to be leſs in fault in this than on ſome former occaſions.

May 9th. Counteſs of Kerry. She was the ſecond daughter of the late Peter Daly, eſq. of Quanſbury, in the county of Galway, in Ireland; and, upon the deaths of her ſiſters, the counteſs of Louth and viſcounteſs Kingſland, ſhe inherited the whole of his very great eſtates in that and the adjoining counties.

At Cork, ſir John Haly, M. D. He received the honour of knighthood from the late duke of Rutland when lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Hon. John Tufton, M. P. brother of the earl of Thanet.

Hon. Robert M'Queen, lord Braxfield, lord-chief-juſtice clerk of Scotland.

Murdered, lieut.-col. Shadwell, of the 25th light dragoons. He was a native of Caſtlebar, in Ireland, and, by his merit as a ſoldier, had riſen from the ranks; he was, a few years ſince, adjutant to the prince of Wales's regiment of dragoons; was always deemed a ſtrict diſciplinarian; and to an indiſcreet zeal ſeems to have ſacrificed a life fitted for higher duties in his country's ſervice.—The following facts tranſpired before the coroner's inqueſt: That the colonel ſuppoſing two men, going along the Kentiſh road, near Wrotham, to be deſerters, walked up to them, and began to examine them, and, on receiving very impertinent anſwers, collared one of them, and aſked him for his furlough; the ruffian replied, "I'll ſhew you my furlough and be d—d to you"; and, drawing a piſtol from his pantaloon-pocket, ſhot the colonel immediately through the heart: that a farmer, who was fortunately going about one of his fields adjoining the road, with his fowling-piece ſeeing the colonel fall, and the two men walk haſtily off, purſued them to the gate of a wood, when the murderer halted, and began to recharge his piſtol in great haſte; whereupon the farmer leveled his gun at his head, and, though it was loaded only with ſmall ſhot, wounded him ſo ſeverely in his face, that he found no difficulty in ſecuring him; that, ſome other perſons now coming up, the other man was ſoon purſued and alſo taken. The verdict of the jury was wilful murder againſt both.

20th. Sir John Lambert, bart. of Vatchel, Surrey, who had lately returned from Paris, where he reſided many years, as a banker.

June. Other Windſor Hickman, earl of Plymouth, lord Hickman, a vice-preſident of the Welſh charity, and F. R. S.; born May 30, 1751; ſucceeded his father 1771. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Howel-grange, in the county of Worceſter.

Mrs. Herbert, ſiſter of the earl of Carnarvon, and bedchamber-woman to her majeſty.

7th.

7th. Of a dropſy, at the houſe of the Spaniſh conſul, Monſ. de Lellis, at Trieſte, the French princeſs Marie Victoire, aunt to Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII.; and born May 3, 1733. She arrived there from Corfu, on the 20th of May. The funeral was celebrated with due ceremony; and the ſepulchral monument of her highneſs, in the cathedral church, has an appropriate Latin inſcription.

Lady-dowager Dungannon, relict of the late lord viſcount Dungannon, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Mr. Samuel Galton, aged near 80. He was formerly a gun-maker of Duddleſton, near Birmingham, and had acquired by his buſineſs a fortune of 200,000*l.*

26th. The right rev. Edward Smallwell, D. D. biſhop of St. David's in 1783; and tranſlated thence to Oxford in 1788; canon alſo of Chriſt's Church; and rector of Batſford in the county of Glouceſter.

July 4. Sir John Anſtruſher, of Anſtruther, bart.

Sir William Lee, bart. of an ancient and diſtinguiſhed family, in the county of Bucks. He was born in 1726.

In his 65th year, the right hon. ſir James Eyre, knt. lord-chief-juſtice of the court of common pleas.

At Briſtol Hot Wells, of a deep decline, Anthony Morris Storer, eſq. of Devonſhire-ſtreet, and Purley, Berks.

19th, Aged 77, lady Betty Mackenzie, fourth daughter, by his ſecond wife, of John, duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and married to James Stuart Mackenzie, ſecond ſon of James ſecond earl of Bute.

At his ſeat at Knowle, Kent, in his 55th year, the right hon. John Frederick Sackville, duke of Dorſet, earl of Middleſex, baron Buckhurſt, in Suſſex, and baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, co. Bedford, hereditary high ſteward of Stratford-upon-Avon, vice-admiral of the coaſts, colonel of the weſt regiment of Kent militia, lord-lieutenant of that county, lord-ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold, and K. G. He ſucceeded his uncle, Jan. 6, 1769, and, in 1790, married Miſs Arabella-Diana Cope, daughter of the preſent counteſs of Liverpool, by her firſt marriage with ſir Charles Cope. The ſurviving iſſue are, lady Mary Sackville, born July 30, 1792; George-John-Frederick, earl of Middleſex, who ſucceeds to the title and eſtates, born Nov. 15, 1793; and lady Elizabeth Sackvile, born Auguſt 9, 1795. His grace, previous to his ſucceeding to the peerage, repreſented the county of Kent. He filled the office of ambaſſador to France at the commencement of the revolution. On his return, he was inveſted with the order of the garter, made lord-ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, which laſt ſituation he retained till within a ſhort period of his death, being ſucceeded by lord Romney. He was not diſtinguiſhed for mental vigour or literary attainment. At one time his grace was quite the faſhion in the annals of gallantry. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Withyam, Suſſex.

The hon. Miſs Upton, only daughter of lord Templetown.

25th. At Athens, on his travels, of a fever, which terminated fatally in a few days, in his 32d year, John Tweddell, eſq. of the Inner Temple, London, B. A. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge; a very diſtinguiſhed claſſical ſcholar. While reſident

reſident in the univerſity, he obtained unprecedented honours by the numerous prizes adjudged to him for his claſſical compoſitions. Encouraged by Dr. Parr, and other diſtinguiſhed ſcholars, he publiſhed 1793, when only twenty-two, a collection of theſe pieces in an octavo volume, under the title of "Proluſiones juveniles Præmiis Academicis dignatæ." If this volume have a fault, it is the occaſional appearance of affectation in the author; as one inſtance of which, among others, it may be remarked, that his beautiful Latin proſe ſometimes appears unnatural, and even obſcure, from his efforts to introduce choice phraſes and expreſſions which may diſplay his learning. He had reſided abroad near four years, in the courſe of which he had viſited many different parts of Europe, particularly Ruſſia, and the Turkiſh empire.

Aug 1ſt. At Hamilton-palace, Scotland, his grace Douglas Hamilton, duke of Hamilton in Scotland, duke of Brandon in England, duke of Chatelherault in France, marquis of Hamilton, of Clydeſdale, and of Douglas, earl of Angus, of Arran, and of Lanerk, lord Macanſhire, Polmont, Abernethey, and Aberbrothick, in Scotland, and baron Dutton and Hamilton in England, lord-lieutenant of Lanerkſhire, and hereditary keeper of the palaces of Holyroodhouſe and Linlithgow. His grace was born July 25, 1756; married April 5, 1778, to Elizabeth daughter of the late Peter Burrell, eſq. of Beckenham, Kent, ſiſter to the ducheſs of Northumberland, to the counteſs of Beverley, and to lord Gwydir, deputy lord chamberlain of England; from this lady he was divorced in February, 1797, at her grace's ſuit. His grace's father, James, ſixth duke of Hamilton, married, on Feb. 24, 1752, Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of John Gunning, eſq. of Ireland, (by his wife Bridget, daughter of Theobald lord viſcount Mayo,) by whom he had iſſue James George, late duke; Douglas Hamilton, afterwards duke; Elizabeth, married Edward, earl of Derby, and died in 1797. The duke died in 1758; and her grace married ſecondly, John, duke of Argyle, then marquis of Lorn, and had iſſue. Her grace was created a peereſs of England May 20, 1770, by the title of baroneſs Hamilton, of Hameldon, in the county of Leiceſter. James George, the ſeventh duke, ſucceeded his father in the title Jan. 17, 1758, and alſo ſucceeded to the titles of marquis of Douglas and earl of Angus, on the death of Archibald laſt duke of Douglas, who died without iſſue, July 21, 1701. His grace being lineally deſcended of William, earl of Selkirk, eldeſt ſon, by the ſecond marriage, of William firſt marquis of Douglas, and his grace dying unmarried July 7, 1769, was ſucceeded by his brother, Douglas Hamilton, late duke, whoſe death we now commemorate. By the ſecond marriage of his mother Elizabeth Gunning ducheſs of Hamilton, with the duke of Argyle, his grace was brother to the marquis of Lorn, and nephew to lord Coventry. Her grace died Dec. 30, 1790, when her barony of Hamilton deſcended to her ſon, the late duke. His grace is ſucceeded in the Engliſh dukedom of Brandon, by lord Archibald Hamilton, his uncle (being ſon of the ſecond duke of Brandon, by his third ducheſs); and the ſon of the earl of Derby by his grace's

ſiſter ſucceeds to the dukedom of Hamilton, it being an honour in fee.

4th. At his houſe in Dublin, in his 71ſt year, the right hon. James Caulfield, earl of Charlemont, viſcount Caulfeild, baron Caulfeild of Charlemont, knight of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, a member of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, governor of the county of Armagh, preſident of the royal Iriſh academy, fellow of the royal and antiquarian ſocieties in London, and LL. D. He was born Auguſt 18, 1728, and from June, 1746, to July, 1754, purſued his travels in foreign countries. In July, 1754, he was created LL. D. appointed governor of the county of Armagh, and member of the privy council in Ireland. October 7, ſame year, he took his ſeat in the houſe of lords, as fourth viſcount Charlemont; and, by patent 23d December, 1763, was advanced to the title of earl. His lordſhip married, July 2d, 1768, Mary, daughter of Thomas Hickman, of Clare, eſq. (a deſcendant of the noble family of Windſor Hickman, viſcount Windſor, which family have now the title of earl of Plymouth); and hath left iſſue by her ladyſhip, one daughter, lady Elizabeth Caulfeild, born Dec. 13, 1773, and three ſons, Francis William, lord Caulfeild, now earl of Charlemont, born Jan. 3, 1775; James Thomas, born Aug. 1, 1776; and Henry, born July 29, 1779. His lordſhip was the eighth nobleman of this illuſtrious houſe of Charlemont.

Sir Peter Nugent, bart. of Weſt Meath, Ireland.

5th. In his 3d year, the right hon. Richard Howe, earl and viſcount Howe, of Langar, in Northamptonſhire, viſcount Howe and baron Clenawley, in Ireland. He ſucceeded his brother George Auguſtus, the late viſcount, July 5, 1758.

Lady Anne Heathcote, daughter of the rev. Mr. Tollet, of Weſtminſter, and relict of the late ſir Thomas H. of Hurſley, Hants, baronet, which laſt died an infant.

Frederick Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, viſcount Wentworth, baron Stainborough, and baron of Raby, New March, and Overſley, and a baronet. He was born 1730; ſucceeded his couſin William, the late earl, in 1791. His lordſhip came to the White Lion inn, Nottingham, where he ſupped, and went to bed in perfect health. On the next morning he was found dead.

Maj. general Wm. Rob. Fielding, lord viſcount Fielding. He was born June 15, 1763, and married, April 26, 1791, to Miſs Powis.

Charles Townſhend, eſq. of Chiſlehurſt, in Kent, ſecond ſon of the hon. Thomas T. one of his majeſty's tellers of the exchequer, and M. P. for the univerſity of Cambridge, by Albinia, the daughter of the hon. col. John Selwyn, and brother to lord viſcount Sydney.

Lady Williams, relict of ſir Booth Williams.

10th. William Champion, eſq. joint ſheriff of the city of London, and alderman of Billingſgate ward.

At Oſborn's hotel, in the Adelphi, Cha. Barber, eſq. late a free merchant at Calcutta, and chief partner in the well-known houſe of Barber, Palmer, and Co. the buſineſs of which, for ſome years, is ſuppoſed to have cleared 30,000*l.* a year. He had realized in India a fortune certainly of upwards of 200,000*l.*

200,000*l.* since it is known he had lodged 80,000*l.* in the English funds, and brought home with him 100,000*l.* in Danish bills. He declared on his death bed that he did not know any relation, and that it was out of his power to name an heir to his great wealth. Inquiries are set on foot to discover the proper heir; and a young woman, who says she is a second cousin by the mother's side, has appeared; but attempts are making to discover a nearer relation.

Aged 22, Philip Shelley Sidney, esq. of Penshurst, in Kent. While paddling in a canoe, which he brought with him from Nova Scotia, it suddenly overset in the large pond before the castle. Notwithstanding there were three persons on the spot, one of them Mr. Sidney's brother, the unfortunate young gentleman, though an excellent swimmer, by being entangled with weeds, sunk, and was not found till nine hours after the accident.

At the palace of St. Asaph, Mrs. Bagot, wife of the bishop of St. Asaph, and daughter of the late Henry Edward Hay, governor of Barbadoes.

At Xanten, near Aix-la-Chapelle, M. De Pauw, the anthor of three ingenious French works, intituled, "Researches on the Americans, the Egyptians and Chinese, and the Greeks," and uncle of Anacharsis Cloots.

On the continent, Madame Rossi, the celebrated dancer, who performed a few years since at the Opera-house here.

At Paris, Le Monnier, the French astronomer. He was one of those on whom the journey made to the north, in 1735, for the admeasurement of the globe, principally rested.

The right hon. Nicholas lord Cloncurry, baron of Cloncurry, in the county of Kildare, and a baronet. His lordship was eldest son and heir of the late Patrick Lawles, esq. of Cloncurry, who left issue, beside the lord Cloncurry, one daughter, Margaret, countess of Clonmell, (who married, June 23, 1779, the right honourable John Scott, earl of Clonmell, late lord-chief-justice of his majesty's court of King's Bench in Ireland, and has issue by his lordship, who died June 23, 1798, Thomas lord Earlsfort, now earl Clonmell, born August 15, 1783, and lady Charlotte Scott, born May 11, 1787.) Lord Cloncurry, in the early part of his life, was of the Romish persuasion.

Sept. 1st. Gen. Lascelles, colonel of the 3d or king's own regiment of dragoons, and groom of the bedchamber to his majesty. He was a very respectable character through life. The celebrated Miss Catley,* who had been so distinguished in the circles of wit and gallantry, lived with him many years, and attached herself wholly to him, with the utmost fidelity. It is believed that he at length privately married her.

Elizabeth countess Ferrers, wife of the present earl F. She has left one son, the present lord viscount Tamworth.

8th. Arthur Robinson, esq. formerly treasurer to the prince of Wales, and lately managing the affairs of the dukes of York and Clarence. Returning from the North in a stage-coach, about three miles from Stone, in Staffordshire, the vehicle was upset, in a torrent, occasioned by the heavy rain, and Mr. Robinson, his wife, and servant,

* For an account of this lady, see our Annual Register for 1789, p. 226.

three out of ſix paſſengers, were drowned.

11th. At Cagnart, in his 37th year, Maurice Joſeph Maria, duke of Montſerrat, brother to the king of Sardinia, born Sept. 13, 1762.

Samuel More, eſq. aged 74 years, ſecretary to the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce; a place which he had held with great ability upwards of 29 years.

John Kenrick, eſq. a bencher of the Middle Temple, and formerly member for Blechenly.

20th. Lady Hales, wife of ſir John Hales, bart.

24th. The lady of ſir John Cox Hippeſley, bart. daughter of the late ſir John Stuart, bart. of Allan Bank, in the county of Berwick.

26th. The right hon. Willoughby Bertie, earl of Abingdon, and baron Norreys of Rycote; and high ſteward of Abingdon and Wallingford. He was born January 16, 1740; ſucceeded his father William, the third earl, June 20, 1760; married July 7, 1768, Charlotte, daughter of the late admiral ſir Peter Warren, K. B. and had iſſue, (by her ladyſhip, who deceaſed Jan. 28, 1794,) lady Charlotte Bertie, born October 12, 1769; died Jan. 11, 1799. 2. Lady Amelia, born Jan. 6, 1774; died in May, 1784. 3. Willoughby, lord Norreys, born Feb. 8, 1779; died an infant. 4. Lord Norreys, now earl of Abingdon, born in April 1781. 5. Lady Louiſa Anna Maria Bridget, born March 8, 1786; and another daughter, born October 18, 1788. He was educated at Geneva, and imbibed ſome of the democratic principles of that republic. He generally oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration; and his frequent ſpeeches in the houſe of peers were peculiarly eccentric. In 1777, he publiſhed "Thoughts on Mr. Burke's Letter to the Sheriffs of Briſtol, on the Affairs of America," which was read with conſiderable applauſe, and anſwered in a ſtyle of the moſt exquiſite irony, by an anonymous writer, in another anonymous pamphlet. This pamphlet went through five editions, and was, in 1780, addreſſed a ſixth time in "Dedication to the collective Body of the People of England, in which the Sources of our preſent political Diſtractions are pointed out, and a Plan propoſed for their Remedy and Redreſs." "A Letter to Lady Loughborough, in conſequence of her Preſentation of the Colours to the Bloomſbury and Inns of Court Aſſociation, with a public Letter to the Univerſity of Oxford, 1798." It was cuſtomary with his lordſhip to ſend copies of his ſpeeches to the different news-papers, which brought him into a diſagreeable ſituation; for, having, in one of them, made a violent attack on the character of Mr. Sermon, an attorney, the court of King's Bench ſentenced him to a few months impriſonment, as the publiſher of a libel.

In the 59th year of his age, William Withering, M. D. fellow of the royal ſocieties of London, Edinburgh, and Liſbon.

Oct. 1ſt. In his 68th year, at Vienna, count Leopold Palffy, imperial chamberlain.

8th. Sir Tho. Hayward, knt. late an officer of the honourable band of gentleman penſioners; upon quitting which he received the honour of knighthood in May laſt. He has left a widow, who is daughter of the late ſir James Harrington, bart. of Peniſound, in the county of Monmouth;

mouth; and an only daughter, who inherits the greateſt part of the property by the will of her late uncle, Henry Southby, eſq.

Thomas Bromley lord Montfort. He was born Feb. 11, 1733, and ſucceeded his father Jan. 1, 1755. He married Feb. 29, 1772, Mary Ann Blake, by whom he has left ſeveral children.

Aged 40, The reverend ſir John Bankes I'Anſon, bart. and, Nov. 4, his remains were interred in the family-vault at Corſe-caſtle, of which pariſh he was rector, having, in February laſt, ſucceeded his father, ſir Thomas, who had enjoyed the living 51 years.

Lady Anne Howard, ſiſter to the earl of Carliſle.

Major ſir George Dunbar, bart. of the 14th regiment of light dragoons, at Norwich. He deliberately put an end to his exiſtence in the public ſtreet at noon-day, by ſhooting himſelf through the head.

In Germany, lady Elizabeth Luttrell, ſiſter to the ducheſs of Cumberland.

In Italy, the moſt famous of its poets, Abbé Marini, a Milaneſe, the author of a poem, intituled, "The Morning: or, The Faſhionable Day."

At Prague, the cardinal Bathiany, prince primate of Hungary, who, by his will, has appropriated 38,000 florins for the expenſes of his funeral; and who has, among many other uſeful legacies, bequeathed his ſtores of wines and proviſions, eſtimated at 300,000 florins to the emperor's magazines. He has appointed his brother, by the father's ſide, the count Theodore Barthiany, heir of his immenſe poſſeſſions. It is thought that the primateſhip will remain vacant for two years, and that the crown will enjoy, during that period, its immenſe revenues.

Nov. 13th. Michael Dodſon, eſq. of Boſwell-court, Lincoln's Inn Fields, barriſter-at-law. He was nephew of ſir Michael Foſter, and publiſhed an edition of his reports.

Right hon. lady Martha Daſhwood, wife of the rev. James D. of that place, and ſiſter of the hon. and rev. Francis Knollis, of Burthorne, in the county of Glouceſter.

General George Morriſon, colonel of the 4th or king's own regiment of foot, and the oldeſt ſtaff-officer in the ſervice, having been appointed quarter-maſter-general in November 1761.

18th. In her 72d year, Mrs. Parker, wife of Dr. William Parker, rector of St. James's, Weſtminſter, and ſiſter of the late lord Howard, on whoſe death ſhe became a baroneſs in her own right, but never aſſumed the title.

23d. Lady Knatchbull, wife of ſir Edward K. bart. M. P. for Kent.

Charles Erſkine, earl Kellie, viſcount Fenton, and a captain in the Fifeſhire ſencible cavalry. The late earl ſuccceded his brother Archibald, 8th earl, 1797, and is ſucceeded by Thomas Erſkine, eſq. of Cambo, his couſin. The earl of Kellie is the premier viſcount of Scotland.

At Buckeburg, after a ſhort and painful illneſs, in her 39th year, her ſerene highneſs Juliana Wilhelmina Louiſa, princeſs dowager of Schaumburg Lippe, regent and guardian. This princeſs was ſiſter to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and one of the brighteſt ornaments of her ſex and age. In many of her public and private actions ſhe imitated the

illuſtrious Frederick the Great: like him, ſhe roſe early in the morning to work in her cabinet, in the affairs of ſtate; and there was hardly a petty law-ſuit the judgement of which ſhe did not reviſe. Like Joſeph II. ſhe travelled all over the Continent, for obſervation and inſtruction; the fruits of her travels ſhe applied to the good of her ſmall dominions, which travellers will find more cultivated and improved than the countries which ſurround it.

Sir John William de la Pole, bart. of Shute, Devon, and Colleton and Colcombe-caſtle, the reſidence of ſir William.

Mark Robinſon, eſq. ſenior rear-admiral on the ſuperannuated liſt; a gentleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit in his profeſſion. He was born on St. Mark's day, 1722, O. S.; and, at the age of fourteen, entered into the ſervice of his country.

Dec. 7th. Hon. lady Forbes, of Cragievar.

Lady Affleck, relict of ſir E. Affleck, bart. late an admiral in the royal navy.

Sir David Ogilvy, bart. of Barras.

19th. Lady Mackworth, relict of ſir Herbert Mackworth, bart. of Gnoll-caſtle, ſiſter of the late Robert Trefuſis, eſq. and mother of Mrs. Drake.

In his 89th year, ſir James Napier, knight, F. R. and A. SS. and formerly inſpector-general of his majeſty's hoſpitals in North America.

Philip Affleck, eſq. admiral of the white; a zealous and brave officer; a firm advocate, both in theory and practice, for the Chriſtian religion; an honeſt man, and a faithfully affectionate friend. He was made captain in 1759, rear-admiral, 1787, vice-admiral, 1793, and full admiral, 1795.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1799.

Berkſhire, James Sibbald, of Sunninghill.

Bedfordſhire, Robert Trevor, of Flitwick.

Bucks, George Morgan, of Biddleſdon-park.

Cumberland, John Hamilton, of Whitehaven.

Cheſhire, Joſeph Green, of Poulton-Lancelyn.

Cambridge and Huntingdonſhires, John Weſtwood, of Chatteris.

Devonſhire, John Burton, of Jacobſtowe.

Dorſetſhire, Henry Seymer, of Handford.

Derbyſhire, Joſeph Walker, of Aſton-upon-Trent.

Eſſex, Capell Cure, of Blakehall.

Glouceſterſhire, John Elwes, of Coleſbourne.

Hertfordſhire, Archibald Paxton, of Watford.

Herefordſhire, Sir Henry Tempeſt, of Caldwell.

Kent, Samuel Chambers, of Woodſtock-houſe.

Leiceſterſhire, Henry Green, of Rolleſton.

Lincolnſhire, Henry Hopkinſon, of Caſtle-Bytham.

Monmouthſhire, Capel Leigh, of Pontypool.

Northumberland, Sir John Edward Swinburne, of Capheaton.

Northamptonſhire, Martin Lucas, of Northampton.

Norfolk, John Motteux, of Beauchamp Wells.

Nottinghamſhire, Samuel Briſtowe, of Beeſthorpe.

Oxfordſhire, George Stratton, of Great Dew.

Rutlandſhire,

Rutlandſhire, Samuel Reeve, of Ketton.

Shropſhire, Thomas Dicken, of Wem.

Somerſetſhire, James Bennet, of North Cadbury.

Staffordſhire, Joſeph Scott, of Great-Barr.

Suffolk, George Ruſh, of Benhall.

County of Southampton, John Norris, of Hawley-houſe.

Surry, Robert Hankey, of Putney.

Suſſex, Charles Pigou, of Frant.

Warwickſhire, Francis Fauquier, of Stoney-Thorpe.

Worceſterſhire, Edward Dixon, of Dudley.

Wiltſhire, Edward Hinxman, of Great Durnford.

Yorkſhire, Sir Rowland Winn, of Noſtell.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen, Richard Manſel Phillips, of Coedgain.

Pembroke, Gwynne Vaughan, of Jordanſton.

Cardigan, Pryce Lovedon, of Goverthan.

Glamorgan, John Goodrich, of Energlyn.

Brecon, Edward Loveden Loveden, of Langorſe.

Radnor, John Boddenham, of Diſcord.

NORTH WALES.

Carnarvon, Evan Lloyd, of Porth yr Aur.

Angleſea, Hugh Wynne, of Beaumaris.

Merioneth, Sir Thomas Moſtyn, of Corfygedol.

Montgomery, John P. Chicheſter, of Gengrogfawr.

Denbigh, John Wilkinſon, of Brymbo-hall.

Flint, Thomas Moſtyn Edwards, of Kilken-hall.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1799.

Cornwall, Edward John Glynn, of Glynn.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, June 22.
Admiralty Office.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, to Mr. Nepean, dated Tigre, off Tripoly, in Syria, the 2d of April.

I Beg leave to tranſmit, for the information of my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, a copy of my report to the right hon. earl St. Vincent, of the late events in this quarter.

Tigre off St. John d'Acre, 23d March.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform you that, in conſequence of information from Ghezar Pacha, governor of Syria, of the incurſion of general Buonaparte's army into that province, and approach to its capital, Acre, I haſtened, with a portion of the naval force under my orders, to its relief, and had the ſatisfaction to arrive there two days before the enemy made his appearance.

Much was done in this interval under the direction of captain Miller, of the Theſeus, and colonel Pelypeaux, towards putting the place in a better ſtate of defence, to reſiſt the attack of an European army; and the preſence of a Britiſh naval force appeared to encourage and decide the Pacha and his troops to make a vigorous reſiſtance.

The enemy's advanced guard was diſcovered at the foot of mount Carmel, in the night of the 17th, by the Tigre's guard-boats: theſe troops, not expecting to find a naval force of any deſcription in Syria, took up their ground cloſe to the water-ſide, and were conſequently expoſed to the fire of grape ſhot from the boats, which put them to the rout the inſtant it opened upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the ſide of the mount. The main body of the army finding the road between the ſea and mount Carmel thus expoſed, came in by that of Nazereth, and inveſted the town of Acre to the eaſt, but not without being much haraſſed by the Samaritan Arabs, who are even more inimical to the French than the Egyptians, and better armed.

As the enemy returned our fire by muſketry only, it was evident they had not brought cannon with them, which were therefore to be expected by ſea, and meaſures were taken accordingly for intercepting them; the Theſeus was already detached off Jaffa (Joppa.) The enemy's flotilla, which came in from ſea, fell in with and captured the Torride, and was coming round mount Carmel, when it was diſcovered from the Tigre, conſiſting of a corvette and nine ſail of gun-veſſels, on ſeeing us they hauled

off

off. The alacrity of the ſhip's company in making ſail after them was highly praiſeworthy: our guns ſoon reached them, and ſeven, as per enclоſed liſt, ſtruck; the corvette, containing Buonaparte's private property, and two ſmall veſſels, eſcaped, ſince it became an object to ſecure the prizes without chaſing farther; their cargoes, conſiſting of the battering train of artillery, ammunition, platforms, &c. deſtined for the ſiege of Acre, being much wanted for its defence. The prizes were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ſhips, and immediately employed in haraſſing the enemy's poſts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ſhip's boats ſent farther in ſhore to cut off his ſupplies and proviſions conveyed coaſtwiſe. They have been conſtantly occupied in theſe ſervices for theſe five days and nights paſt; and ſuch has been the zeal of their crews, that they requeſted not to be relieved, after many hours exceſſive labour at their guns and oars.

I am ſorry to ſay we have met with ſome loſs, as per enclоſed liſt, which, however, is balanced by greater on the part of the enemy, by the encouragement given to the Turkiſh troops from our example, and by the time that is gained for the arrival of a ſufficient force to render Buonaparte's whole project abortive. I have had reaſon to be perfectly ſatisfied with the gallantry and perſeverance of lieutenants Buſhby, Ingleſield, Knight, Stokes, and lieutenant Burton of the marines, and of the petty officers and men under their orders.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. earl St. Vincent, commander-in-chief.

Liſt of the Gun-veſſels compoſing the French Flotilla, bound from Alexandria and Damietta to St. John d'Acre, taken off Cape Carmel by his Majeſty's Ship Tigre, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, K. S. the 18th March, after a Chaſe of three Hours.

La Negreſſe, of 6 guns and 53 men; La Fondre, of 8 guns and 52 men; La Dangereuſe, of 6 guns and 23 men; La Maria Roſe, of 4 guns and 22 men; La Dame de Grace, of 4 guns and 35 men; Les Deux Freres, of 4 guns and 23 men; La Torride, taken in the morning of that day, and retaken, of 2 guns and 30 men.

Total—7 gun-boats, 34 guns, and 238 men.

Theſe gun-boats were loaded, beſides their own complements, with battering cannon, ammunition, and every kind of ſiege-equipage, for Buonaparte's army before Acre.

(Signed) W. S. Smith.

On-board the Tigre, off Acre, March 23.

N. B. The Marianne gun-boat was taken previouſly, and the tranſport, No. 1, ſubſequently, by the Tigre.

Return of the killed and wounded in the Boats of his Majeſty's Ships Tigre and Theſeus, and in the Gun-veſſels employed againſt the French Army before Acre, from the 17th to the 25th of March.

Total—4 midſhipmen and 8 ſeamen killed; 1 midſhipman and 26 ſeamen wounded.

W. S. Smith.

On-board the Tigre, March 23.

London Gazette, August 3, 1799.

Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Acre, the 3d of May.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose you copies of my letters to earl St. Vincent, of the 7th of April and 2d instant, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty; as also a sketch of the position of the forces. The enemy have made two attempts since yesterday morning to force the two English ravelines, but were repulsed with loss. The works have now cannon mounted on them, and are nearly completed. We have thus the satisfaction of finding ourselves, on the 46th day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day the enemy opened their trenches, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect; and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy, in several sorties, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre Bay, April 7.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that as soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gale, allowed me to approach this unsheltered anchorage, I resumed my station in the bay with the squadron under my orders. I found the enemy had profited, by our forced absence, to push their approaches to the counterscarp, and even in the ditch of the N. E. angle of the town-wall, where they were employed in mining the tower, to increase a breach they had already made in it, and which had been found impracticable when they attempted to storm on the 1st instant. The Alliance and prize gun-boats, which had been caught in the gale, had fortunately rode it out except one; and captain Wilmot had been so indefatigable in mounting the prize-guns, under the direction of an able officer of engineers, colonel Phelipeaux, that the fire therefrom had already slackened that of the enemy; still, however, much was to be apprehended from the effect of the mine, and a sortie was determined on, in which the British marines and seamen were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place this morning, just before daylight; the impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered the attempt to surprise the enemy abortive, though in other respects they did their part well. Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm, as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its then state, by pulling down its supporters.

Colonel Douglas, to whom I had given the necessary step of rank to enable him to command the Turkish colonels, supported the seamen in this desperate service with his usual gallantry, under the increased fire of the enemy, bringing off lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench,

from which they were not diſlodged, as alſo Mr. Janverin, midſhipman of the Tigre, and the reſt of the wounded. The action, altogether, ſpeaks for itſelf, and ſays more than could be ſaid by me in praiſe of all concerned. I feel doubly indebted to colonel Douglas for having preſerved my gallant friend, lieutenant Wright, whoſe life, I am happy to ſay, is not deſpaired of by the ſurgeon. We have, however, to lament the loſs of a brave and tried officer, major Oldfield, who commanded the Theſeus's marines, and fell glorioufly on this occaſion, with two of the men under his command.

Our loſs in wounded is 23, among which is lieutenant Beatty, of the marines, ſlightly. The Turks brought in above 60 heads, a greater number of muſkets, and ſome intrenching tools, much wanted in the garriſon. A farther attack on the enemy's ſecond parallel was not to be attempted without a greater number of regular troops. The return of the detachment was well covered by the Theſeus's fire, captain Miller having taken an excellent poſition to that effect.

The reſult of our day's work is, that we have taught the beſiegers to reſpect the enemy they have to deal with, ſo as to keep at a greater diſtance. The apprehenſions of the garriſon are quieted as to the effect of the mine, which we have beſides learnt how to countermine with advantage, and more time is gained for the arrival of the reinforcements daily expected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. earl St. Vincent, commander-in-chief, &c.

Tigre, moored under the Walls of Acre, May 2.

My lord,

The enemy continue to make the moſt vigorous efforts to overcome our reſiſtance in the defence of this place. The garriſon has made occaſional ſorties, protected by our ſmall boats, on their flank, with field-pieces, in which the moſt eſſential ſervice has been performed by lieutenant Brodie and Mr. Atkinſon, of the Theſeus, and Mr. Joes, maſter of the Tigre, who commanded them.

Yeſterday the enemy, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery brought from Jaffa, made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, now much widened, but were repulſed, with loſs. The Tigre moored on one ſide, and the Theſeus on the other, flank the town walls; the gun-boats, launches, and other rowing-boats, continue to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance. Nothing but deſperation can induce them to make the ſort of attempts they do to mount a breach practicable only by the means of ſcaling-ladders, under ſuch a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impoſſible to ſee the lives even of our enemies thus ſacrificed, and ſo much bravery miſapplied, without regret.

Our loſs is as per liſt encloſed; and we have therein to lament ſome of the braveſt and beſt among us. Captain Wilmot was ſhot on the 8th ult. by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach: his loſs is ſeverely felt.

We have run out a ravelin on each ſide of the enemy's neareſt approach, in which the marines of the Tigre and Theſeus have worked under a heavy and inceſſant fire from the enemy, in a way that commands

the

the admiration and gratitude of the Turks, as it is evident the flanking fire produced from them contributed much to save the place yesterday. Colonel Phelipeaux, of the engineers, who projected and superintended the execution, has fallen a sacrifice to his zeal for this service; want of rest and exposure to the sun having given him a fever, of which he died this morning: our grief for this loss is excessive on every account. Colonel Douglas supplies his place, having hitherto carried on the work under his direction, and is indefatigable in completing it for the reception of cannon. I must not omit to mention, to the credit of the Turks, that they fetch the gabions, fascines, and those materials which the garrison does not afford, from the face of the enemy's works, setting fire to what they cannot bring away. The enemy repair in one night all the mischief we do them in the day, and continue within half pistol-shot of the walls, in spite of the constant fire kept up from the ramparts, under the direction of lieutenant Knight.

I hope I need not assure your lordship that we shall continue to do our duty to the utmost of our power, in spite of all obstacles; among which, climate, as it affects health, and the exposed nature of our rocky anchorage, are the most formidable, since they are not to be overcome, which I trust the enemy are by our exertions.

I am, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

The right hon. earl St. Vincent, commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Return of the killed and wounded belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, at the Sortie from the Town of Acre, against the French besieging that Town, on the 7th Day of April.

Tigre—Lieutenant Wright, Mr. Janverin, midshipman, and 11 men, wounded.

Theseus—Major Oldfield, of marines, and 2 private marines, killed; lieutenant Beatty, of marines, Mr. James M. B. Forbes, midshipman (slightly), sergeant Cavanagh, and 4 private marines, wounded.

Alliance—One seaman and 2 marines, wounded.

Total—One major and 2 private marines, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 lieutenant of marines, 2 midshipmen, 1 sergeant, 6 private marines, and 12 seamen, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.

On-board his majesty's ship Tigre, off Acre, April 8.

Return of the Casualties, killed, and wounded, belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, between the 8th of April and the 2d of May following, employed in the Defence of Acre.

Tigre—Mr. Edward Morris, midshipman, and James Maugham, Andrew Wall, and Robert Bennet, seamen, killed; lieutenant Knight, a contusion on his breast; John Bolton, boatswain's mate, William Hutchinson, William Pickard, James Bailey, Joseph Hudson, Joseph Vincquez, and William Price, seamen, wounded.

Theseus—John Rich, seaman, killed; John Chidlow, marine, wounded.

Alliance—Captain Wilmot, killed by a rifle-shot, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach.

Total—One captain, 1 midshipman, and 4 seamen, killed; 1 lieutenant,

lenant, 1 boatſwain's mate, ſix ſeamen, and 1 marine, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.

On-board his majeſty's ſhip Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre bay, the 2d day of May.

London Gazette, Auguſt 17, 1799.

Admiralty-Office, Auguſt 13.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelſon, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Bay of Naples, 27th of June.

I am happy in being able to congratulate their lordſhips on the poſſeſſion of the city of Naples. St. Elmo is yet in the hands of the French; but the caſtles of Ovo and Nuovo I took poſſeſſion of laſt evening, and his Sicilian majeſty's colours are now flying on them.

Extract of another Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelſon, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Bay of Naples, 14th of July.

Herewith I have the honour of ſending you copies of my letters to the commander-in-chief, and the capitulation granted to the French in St. Elmo. All the chief rebels are now on-board his majeſty's fleet. Capua and Gaieta will very ſoon be in our poſſeſſion, when the kingdom will be liberated from anarchy and miſery.

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 13th July.

My lord,

I have the pleaſure to inform you of the ſurrender of fort St. Elmo (on the terms of the enclóſed capitulation), after open batteries of eight days, during which time our heavy batteries were advanced within 180 yards of the ditch. The very great ſtrength of St. Elmo, and its more formidable poſition, will mark with what fortitude, perſeverance, and activity, the combined forces muſt have acted. Captain Troubridge was the officer ſelected for the command of all the forces landed from the ſquadron. Captain Ball aſſiſted him for ſeven days, till his ſervices were wanted at Malta, when his place was ably ſupplied by captain Hallowell, an officer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, and to whom captain Troubridge expreſſes the higheſt obligation. Captain Hood, with a garriſon for the caſtle of Nuovo, and to keep good order in the capital, an arduous taſk at that time, was alſo landed from the ſquadron: and I have the pleaſure to tell you, that no capital is more quiet than Naples. I tranſmit you captain Troubridge's letter to me, with returns of killed and wounded. I have alſo to ſtate to your lordſhip, that although the abilities and reſources of my brave friend Troubridge are well known to all the world, yet even he had difficulties to ſtruggle with in every way, which the ſtate of the capital will eaſily bring to your idea, that has raiſed his great character even higher than it was before.

I am, &c.

Nelſon.

Right hon. lord Keith, commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Antignano, near St. Elmo, July 13.

My lord,

Agreeable to your lordſhip's orders I landed with the Engliſh and Portugueſe marines of the fleet on the 27th of June; and after embarking the garriſons of the caſtles Ovo and Nuovo, compoſed of French and

and rebels, I put a garriſon in each, and on the 29th took poſt againſt fort St. Elmo, which I ſummoned to ſurrender; but the commandant being determined to ſtand a ſiege, we opened a battery of three 36-pounders and four mortars, on the 3d inſtant, within 700 yards of the fort, and on the 5th, another of two 36-pounders. The Ruſſians, under captain Baillie, opened another battery of four 36-pounders and four mortars, againſt the oppoſite angle, intending to ſtorm it in different places as ſoon as we could make two practicable breaches in the work. On the 6th, I added four more mortars; and on the 11th, by inceſſant labour, we opened another battery of ſix 36-pounders within 180 yards of the wall of the garriſon, and had another of one 18-pounder and two howitzers, at the ſame diſtance, nearly completed. After a few hours cannonading from the laſt battery, the enemy diſplayed a flag of truce, when our firing ceaſed; and their guns being moſtly diſmounted, and their works nearly deſtroyed, the encloſed terms of capitulation were agreed to and ſigned.

In performing this ſervice I feel much ſatisfaction in informing your lordſhip, that I received every poſſible aſſiſtance from captain Ball for the firſt ſeven days, when your lordſhip ordered him on other ſervice, and did me the honour to place captain Hallowell under my orders in his room, whoſe exertions and abilities your lordſhip is well acquainted with, and merit every attention.

Lieutenant-colonel Strickland, major Creſwell, and all the officers of marines, and men, merit every praiſe I can beſtow; as does Antonio Saldineo de Gama, and the officers and men belonging to her moſt faithful majeſty the queen of Portugal; their readineſs on all occaſions does them great honour. The very commanding ſituation of St. Elmo rendered our approaches difficult, or I truſt it would have been reduced much ſooner; the ready acquieſcence to all our demands, and the aſſiſtance received from the duke de Sallandra, I beg may be made known by your lordſhip to his Sicilian majeſty.

I feel myſelf alſo much indebted to colonel Tſchudy for his great zeal and exertions on all occaſions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. Troubridge.

The right hon. lord Nelſon, K. B.

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between the Garriſon of Fort St. Elmo and the Troops of his Sicilian Majeſty and his Allies.

Art. I. The French garriſon of fort St. Elmo ſhall ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to his Neapolitan majeſty and his allies, and ſhall not ſerve againſt any of the powers actually at war with the French republic, until regularly exchanged.

II. The Engliſh grenadiers ſhall take poſſeſſion of the gate of the fort in the courſe of the day.

III. The French garriſon ſhall march out of the fort to-morrow, with their arms and drums beating. The troops ſhall lay down their arms on the outſide of the gate of the fort; and a detachment of Engliſh, Ruſſian, Portugueſe, and Neapolitan, troops, ſhall take poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

IV. The officers ſhall keep their arms.

V. The

V. The garriſon ſhall be embarked on-board the Engliſh ſquadron, until the neceſſary ſhipping are provided to convey them to France.

VI. When the Engliſh grenadiers take poſſeſſion of the gate, all the ſubjects of his Sicilian majeſty ſhall be delivered up to the allies.

VII. A guard of French ſoldiers ſhall be placed round the French colours, to prevent their being deſtroyed: that guard ſhall remain until all the garriſon has marched out, and it is relieved by an Engliſh officer and guard, to whom orders ſhall be given to ſtrike the French flag, and hoiſt that of his Sicilian majeſty.

VIII. All private property ſhall be reſerved for thoſe to whom the ſame appertains; and all public property ſhall be given up with the fort, as well as the effects pillaged.

IX. The ſick, not in a ſtate to be removed, ſhall remain at Naples, with French ſurgeons, and ſhall be taken care of at the expenſe of the republic. They ſhall be ſent back to France as ſoon as poſſible after their recovery.

Done at fort St. Elmo, the 22d Meſſidor, in the ſeventh year of the French republic, or 12th July, 1799.

(Signed) The duke Della Salandra, captain-general of the forces of his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies.

Thomas Troubridge, of his majeſty's ſhip Culloden, and commander of the Britiſh and Portugueſe troops at the attack of St. Elmo.

Chevalier Belle, captain-lieutenant, commanding the troops of his Imperial Ruſſian majeſty at the attack of St. Elmo.

Jh. Mejau, commanding fort St. Elmo.

Return of killed and wounded at the Siege of the Caſtle St. Elmo, which ſurrendered July 12.

Five officers, 32 rank and file, killed.

Five officers, 79 rank and file, wounded.

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, July 13.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelſon, K. B. to Vice-admiral Lord Keith, K. B. dated Foudroyant, Naples Bay, July 13.

My lord,

His Sicilian majeſty arrived in this bay on the 10th, and immediately hoiſted his ſtandard on-board the Foudroyant, where his majeſty ſtill remains with all his miniſters.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelſon.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 3, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 2.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Day received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercrombie, K. B.

Helder, Aug. 28.

Sir,

From the firſt day of our departure from England, we experienced ſuch a ſeries of bad weather, as is very

very uncommon at this ſeaſon of the year.

The ardour of admiral Mitchell for the ſervice in which we were jointly engaged, left it only for me to follow his example of zeal and perſeverance, in which I was encouraged by the manner that he kept a numerous convoy collected.

It was our determination not to depart from the reſolution of attacking the Helder, unleſs we ſhould have been prevented by the want of water and proviſions.

On the forenoon of the 21ſt inſtant, the weather proved ſo favourable that we ſtood in upon the Dutch coaſt, and had made every preparation to land on the 22d, when we were forced to ſea by a heavy gale of wind.

It was not until the evening of the 25th that the weather began once more to clear up.

On the 26th we came to anchor near the ſhore of the Helder, and on the 27th, in the morning, the troops began to diſembark at daylight.

Although the enemy did not oppoſe our landing, yet the firſt diviſion had ſcarcely began to move forward before they got into action, which continued from five in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy had aſſembled a very conſiderable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, near Callanſtoog, and made repeated attacks on our right with freſh troops.

Our poſition was on a ridge of ſand-hills, ſtretching along the coaſt from north to ſouth. Our right flank was unavoidably expoſed to the whole force of the enemy. We had no where ſufficient ground on our right to form more than a battalion in line; yet, on the whole, the poſition, though ſingular, was not, in our ſituation, diſadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery.

By the courage and perſeverance of the troops, the enemy was fairly worn out, and obliged to retire in the evening to a poſition two leagues in his rear.

The conteſt was arduous, and the loſs has been conſiderable. We have to regret many valuable officers loſt to the ſervice, who have either fallen or been diſabled by their wounds. The corps principally engaged were the reſerve, under the command of colonel Macdonald, conſiſting of the 23d and 55th regiments.

The regiments of major-general Coote's brigade, which have been much engaged, were the Queen's, the 27th, 29th, and 85th regiments.

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade was brought into action towards the cloſe of the day, and has ſuſtained ſome loſs.

As the enemy ſtill held the Helder with a garriſon of near 2000 men, it was determined to attack it before day-break in the morning of the 28th, and the brigade under major-general Moore, ſupported by major-general Burrard's, were deſtined for this ſervice; but about eight o'clock yeſterday evening the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under way, and the garriſon was withdrawn, taking their route through the marſhes towards Medemblick, having previouſly ſpiked the guns on the batteries, and deſtroyed ſome of the carriages.—About nine at night, major-general Moore, with the ſecond battalion of the Royals, and the 92d regiment, under the command of lord Huntley,

ley, took poſſeſſion of this important poſt, in which he found a numerous artillery of the beſt kind, both of heavy and field train.

All that part of the Dutch fleet in the Nieueve Diep, together with the naval magazine at Nieueve Werk, fell into our hands this morning, a full detail of which it is not in my power to ſend. This day we have the ſatisfaction to ſee the Britiſh flag flying in the Mars Diep, and part of 5000 men, under the command of major-general Don, diſembarking under the batteries of the Helder.

During the courſe of the action I had the misfortune to loſe the ſervice of lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney, from a wound he received in his arm, but not before he had done himſelf the greateſt honour, and I was fully ſenſible of the loſs of him. Major-general Coote ſupplied his place with ability.

Colonel Macdonald, who commanded the reſerve, and who was very much engaged during the courſe of the day, though wounded, did not quit the field.

Lieutenent-colonel Maitland, returning to England, to go on another ſervice, and major Kempt, my aid-du-camp and bearer of this letter, whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice and protection, will be able to give any farther information which may be required.

A liſt of the killed and wounded, as far as we have been able to aſcertain it, accompanies this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Ralph Abercrombie.

To the right honourable
Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Klein Keeten, Auguſt 28.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his Majeſty's Forces, under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. in the Action of the Helder, on the 27th Auguſt, 1799.

Total — 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 ſubaltern, 3 ſergeants, 51 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 9 captains, 6 ſubalterns, 18 ſergeants, 1 drummer, 334 rank and file, wounded; 26 rank and file, miſſing.

Return of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed.—Lieut.-colonel Smollett, of the 1ſt regiment of the guards, brigade-major of 1ſt brigade; lieutenant-colonel Hay, of the royal engineers; lieutenant Crow, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot.

Wounded. — Lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney, bart. ſecond in command; the hon. colonel John Hope, of the 25th foot, deputy adjutant-general; lieutenant-colonel Murray, of the 3d regiment of guards, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general; captain Arthur M'Donald, of the 5th Weſt India regiment, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general; captain Manners, of the 82d regiment, aid-du-camp to major-general Coote; lieutenant Chapman and lieutenant Squire, of the royal engineers; captain Gunthorpe, of the 1ſt brigade of the grenadier battalion of the guards; captain Ruddock, of the 1ſt brigade of the 3d battalion of the 1ſt regiment of guards; lieutenant Swan of the 3d brigade, of the 2d (or queen's) regiment; lieutenant-colonel

colonel Graham, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot; captain Wyatt and lieutenant Grove, of the 3d brigade of the 29th regiment of foot; major Otley, captain M'Intosh, lieutenant Traverse, lieutenant Berry, of the 3d brigade of the 85th regiment of foot.

The reserve—Captain Berry, captain Ellis, captain hon. G. M'Donald, of the 23d regiment of foot; colonel M'Donald, captain Brown, capt. Power, volunteer, John M'Gregor, of the 55th regiment of foot; 1 non-commissioned officer and 4 gunners of the royal artillery; 1 sergeant and 14 rank and file of the 92d regiment, drowned in landing.

N. B. The casualties in the general staff are noticed in the detail, but not in the body of the return.

Alex. Hope,
Lieutenant-colonel,
R. A. general.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 2.

Captain Hope, of his majesty's ship Kent, and captain Oughton, of his majesty's ship Isis, arrived this afternoon with a dispatch from admiral lord viscount Duncan, of which the following is a copy:

Kent, off Aldborough, 1st Sept.

Sir,

I transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter to me from vice-admiral Mitchell, giving a distinct detail of the great success with which it has pleased Almighty God to crown his majesty's arms. The boldness of the vice-admiral, in running in on an open shore with so numerous a fleet, and in so very unsettled weather, could only be equalled by the gallantry of sir Ralph Abercrombie and his brave troops, landing in the face of a most formidable opposition. During the whole of the conflict, on Tuesday, I could plainly perceive the vast superiority of the British troops over those of the enemy, though opposed with obstinacy; and, in justice to both the land and sea service, I must say, that I never witnessed more unanimity and zeal than have pervaded all ranks to bring the expedition to its present happy issue.

Finding the Kent, with several of the Russian 74-gun ships, to draw too much water to be able to get into the harbour, I have returned with them to this anchorage; but previous to my getting under weigh at eight o'clock on Friday morning, I had the pleasure to see vice-admiral Mitchell, with the men of war, transports, and armed vessels, in a fair way of entering the Texel, with a fair wind, and have not the least doubt but the whole of the Dutch fleet were in our possession by noon on that day.

The dispatches will be delivered by captains Hope and Oughton, both able and intelligent officers, and who will give their lordships more satisfactory information relative to our successful operations.

I shall now only add my sincere congratulations to their lordships on this great event, which, I think, in its consequences may be ranked among one of the greatest that has happened during the war.

I am sir, &c.
Duncan.

P. S. The winds having proved unfavourable has occasioned my anchoring here; but I shall proceed to Yarmouth as soon as the weather moderates.

Isis,

Iſis, at Anchor off the Texel, Auguſt 29.

My lord,

In a former letter I had the honour to write your lordſhip, I there mentioned the reaſons that had determined ſir Ralph Abercrombie and myſelf, not to perſevere longer than the 26th in our reſolution to attack the Helder and port of the Texel, unleſs the wind became more moderate. Fortunately, the gale abated that morning, and although a very heavy ſwell continued to ſet in from the northward, I thought a moment was not to be loſt in making the final attempt. The fleet, therefore, bore up to take the anchorage, and I was happy to ſee the tranſports and all the bombs, ſloops, and gun-veſſels in their ſtations, to cover the landing of the troops, by three in the afternoon of that day, when the ſignal was made to prepare for landing. The general, however, not thinking it prudent to begin diſembarking ſo late on that day, it was determined to delay it until two in the morning of the 27th. The intervening time was occupied in making the former arrangements more complete, and by explaining to all the captains, individually, my ideas fully to them, that the ſervice might profit by their united exertions. The troops were accordingly all in the boats by three o'clock, and the ſignal being made to row towards the ſhore, the line of gun-brigs, ſloops of war, and bombs, opened a warm and well-directed fire to ſcour the beach, and a landing was effected with little loſs. After the firſt party had gained the ſhore, I went with ſir Ralph Abercrombie, that I might ſuperintend the landing of the reſt, and with the aid of the different captains, who appeared animated but with one mind, the whole were diſembarked with as great regularity as poſſible. The ardour and glorious intrepidity which the troops diſplayed, ſoon drove the enemy from the neareſt Sand-hills, and the preſence of ſir Ralph Abercrombie himſelf, whoſe appearance gave confidence to all, ſecured to us, after a long and very warm conteſt, the poſſeſſion of the whole neck of land between Kiek Down and the road leading to Alkmaar, and near to the village of Callanſtoog.

Late that night the Helder Point was evacuated by the enemy, and taken poſſeſſion of by our troops quietly in the morning, as were the men of war named in the encloſed liſt, and many large tranſports and Indiamen by us the next day. I diſpatched captain Oughton, my own captain, to the Helder Point laſt evening, to bring off the pilots, and he has returned with enough to take in all the ſhips neceſſary to reducing the remaining force of the Dutch fleet, which I am determined to follow to the walls of Amſterdam, until they ſurrender, or capitulate for his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange's ſervice.

I muſt now, my lord, acknowledge, in the warmeſt manner, the high degree of obligation I am under to your lordſhip, for the liberal manner in which you continued to entruſt to my direction the ſervice I have had the honour to execute under your immediate eye; a behaviour which added to my wiſh to do all in my power to forward the views of ſir Ralph Abercrombie.

It is impoſſible for me ſufficiently to expreſs my admiration of the bravery and conduct of the general and the whole army, or the unanimity with which our whole operations

tions were carried on; the army and navy, on this occaſion, having (to uſe a ſeaman's phraſe) pulled heartily together.

Where the exertions of all you did me the honour to put under my orders, have been ſo great, it is almoſt impoſſible to particulariſe any; but captain Oughton has had ſo much to do, from the firſt embarking the troops to the preſent moment, and has ſhewn himſelf ſo ſtrenuous in his exertions for the good of the expedition, as well as given me much aſſiſtance from his advice on every occaſion, that I cannot but mention him in the higheſt manner to your lordſhip; and at the ſame time expreſs my wiſh that your lordſhip will ſuffer him to accompany whoever may bear your diſpatches to England, as I think the local knowledge he has gained may be highly uſeful to be communicated to their lordſhips of the admiralty.

The manner in which the captains, officers, and ſeamen landed from the fleet, behaved, while getting the cannon and ammunition along to the army, requires my particular thanks; and here let me include, in a ſpecial manner, the Ruſſian detachment of boats, from whoſe aid and moſt orderly behaviour the ſervice was much benefited indeed.

I am alſo much indebted to captain Hope, for the clear manner in which he communicated to me your lordſhip's ideas at all times, when ſent to me by your lordſhip for that purpoſe, as every thing was better underſtood from ſuch explanation, than they could otherwiſe have been by letter.

It is impoſſible for me to furniſh your lordſhip, at preſent, with any liſt of the killed, wounded, or miſſing ſeamen, or of thoſe that were unfortunately drowned on the beach in landing the troops, having as yet no return made, but I am very ſorry to ſay, that I was myſelf witneſs to ſeveral boats overſetting in the ſurf, in which I fear ſeveral lives were loſt.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

Right hon. admiral lord viſcount Duncan, commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.

A Liſt of Men of War, &c. taken Poſſeſſion of in the Nieueve Diep.

Broederſchap (guard ſhip), 54 guns; Veſwagting, of 64 guns; Helder, of 32 guns; Venus, of 24 guns; Dalk, of 24 guns; Minerva, of 24 guns; Hector, of 44 guns; and about 13 Indiamen and tranſports.

A. Mitchell.

Admiralty-Office, September 2.

Diſpatches, of which the following are copies, were this morning received by Mr. Nepean, from rear-admiral lord Nelſon, commanding his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Mediterranean:

Foudroyant, Naples-Bay, 1ſt Auguſt.

Sir,

I have the honour to tranſmit you copies of my letter to the commander-in-chief, with its ſeveral enclоſures, and moſt ſincerely congratulate their lordſhips on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from the French robbers, for by no other name can they be called, for their conduct in this kingdom. This happy event will not, I am ſure, be

the

the leſs acceptable, from being principally brought about by part of the crews of his majeſty's ſhips under my orders, under the command of captain Trowbridge. His merits ſpeak for themſelves; his own modeſty makes it my duty to ſtate, that to him alone is the chief merit due. The commendation beſtowed on the brave and excellent captain Hollowell, will not eſcape their lordſhips' notice, any more than the exceeding good conduct of captain Oſwald, colonel Strickland, captain Creſwell, to whom I ordered the temporary rank of major, and all the officers and men of the marine corps; alſo the party of artillery, and the officers and men landed from the Portugueſe ſquadron.

I muſt not omit to ſtate that captain Hood, with a garriſon of ſeamen, in Caſtel Nuovo, has, for theſe five weeks, very much contributed to the peace of the capital; and Naples, I am told, was never more quiet than under his directions.

I ſend captain Oſwald, of the Perſeus bomb, with this letter, and I have put lieutenant Henry Compton (who has ſerved with me ſince January, 1796, as a lieutenant) into the Perſeus; and I beg leave to recommend theſe two officers as highly meriting promotion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelſon.

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 1ſt Auguſt.

My lord,

I have the honour to tranſmit you a copy of captain Trowbridge's letter to me, and the capitualation of Capua and Gaeta, &c. Too much praiſe cannot be given to captain Trowbridge, for his wonderful exertion, in bringing about theſe happy events, and in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. Captain Hollowell has alſo the greateſt merit. Captain Oſwald, whom I ſend to England with a copy of my letter, is an officer moſt highly deſerving promotion. I have put lieutenant Henry Compton, who has ſerved as a lieutenant with me from January, 1796, in the Perſeus bomb, in his room, and whom I recommend to your lordſhip.

I ſincerely congratulate your lordſhip on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from a band of robbers; and am, with the greateſt reſpect, &c. &c.

Nelſon.

Right hon. lord Keith, K. B.
commander-in-chief, &c.

Culloden, Naples-Bay, July 29.

My lord,

Agreeable to your lordſhip's orders, I marched, on the 20th inſtant, with the Engliſh and Portugueſe troops from Naples, and arrived at Caſerta the following morning. After reſting the people, we marched, and encamped near Capua. The Swiſs under colonel Tchudy, the cavalry under general Acton, and the different corps of infantry under general Boucard and colonel Gams, took up their appointed ſituations; the former to the left of our camp, and the latter to the right of the river.

On the 22d, a brigade of pontoons was thrown over the river, to eſtabliſh a communication; batteries of guns and mortars were immediately begun, within five hundred yards of the enemy's works; and on the 25th, the gun-battery of four 24-pounders, another with two howitzers, and two mortar-batteries,

were opened, and kept up a conſtant and heavy fire, which was returned by the enemy, from eleven pieces of cannon: on the 26th, trenches were opened, and new batteries began within a few yards of the glacis.

The enemy, on finding our approach ſo rapid, ſent out the encloſed terms, which I rejected *in toto*, and offered, in return, the encloſed capitulation, which the French general agreed to, and ſigned the following morning at ſix o'clock. The French garriſon marched out this morning, at three A. M. and grounded their arms, and proceeded to Naples, under the eſcort of 400 Engliſh marines, and two ſquadrons of general Acton's cavalry.

In performing this ſervice, I feel much indebted to captains Hollowell and Oſwald, to whoſe abilities and exertions I attribute the reduction of the place in ſo ſhort a time, as they ſtaid night and day in the field, to forward the erecting of the batteries. I alſo beg leave to recommend lieutenant-colonel Strickland and major Creſwell, the officers and marines, for their conſtant and unremitted attention, as well as the officers and men of her moſt faithful majeſty, the queen of Portugal. The Ruſſian forces, under captain Builie, rendered every aſſiſtance. Generals Action and Boucard, and colonel Gams, merit much for their zeal in cheerfully performing all the different ſervices that aroſe. Colonel Tchudy's zeal merits great attention, for his conſtant readineſs to ſend working parties to the batteries, as well as puſhing his men forward on all occaſions.

To M. Monfrere, a volunteer gentleman, from the Sea Horſe, whom I had the honour to recommend to your lordſhip's notice, at Saint Elmo, I feel indebted for his great ability and aſſiſtance as an engineer, which forwarded our operations much.

Lieutenants Lowcay and Davis, who ſerved as aides-du-camp to me, have alſo great merit, as well as Mr. Greig, an officer in the Ruſſian ſervice (ſerving as a volunteer in his majeſty's ſhip under my command), whom I beg your lordſhip to recommend to the court of Peterſburgh as a promiſing officer.

Count de Lucci, chief of the etat-major, was unremitting in his attention. I have the honour to encloſe to your lordſhip a return of the ordnance, ſtores, and proviſions, found in Capua, as well as a return of the garriſon (not including jacobins), which were ſerving with the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.

Right hon. lord Nelſon,
K. B. &c. &c.

Articles of the Capitulation concluded between the Troops of his Sicilian Majeſty and his Allies, and the Garriſon of Capua.

Article I. The French garriſon, Ciſalpine, aad Poloneſe, of Capua, ſhall ſurrender priſoners of war to his Neapolitan majeſty and his allies, and ſhall not ſerve againſt any of the powers actually at war with the republic, until regularly exchanged.

II. The Engliſh grenadiers ſhall take poſſeſſion of the two gates, and of the town, after the articles ſhall have been exchanged.

III. The French garriſon ſhall march out of the town to-morrow, bearing

bearing their arms, and with drums beating. The troops ſhall lay down their arms and colours outſide the gate; and a detachment of Engliſh, Ruſſian, Portugueſe, and Neapolitan troops, ſhall take poſſeſſion of the place to-morrow night.

IV. The officers ſhall retain their arms.

V. The garriſon ſhall be embarked on board the Engliſh ſquadron, until the neceſſary ſhipping can be provided for tranſporting it to France. It ſhall be eſcorted, under the guarantee of the Engliſh, to Naples.

VI. When the Engliſh grenadiers ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of the place, all the ſubjects of his Sicilian majeſty ſhall be delivered up to the allies.

VII. A guard of French ſoldiers ſhall be ſtationed round the French colours, to prevent their being deſtroyed. This guard ſhall remain ſo ſtationed until the whole of the garriſon ſhall have marched out, and until it ſhall have been relieved by an Engliſh officer and guard, to whom orders ſhall be given to haul down the French colours, and to hoiſt thoſe of his Sicilian majeſty.

VIII. All private property ſhall be ſecured to its proprietors, and all public property given up with the place.

IX. The ſick, who may not be in a condition to be removed, ſhall remain at Capua, under the care of French ſurgeons, and be maintained at the expenſe of the republic, and ſhall be ſent to France as ſoon as poſſible after their cure.

Done at Capua, the 6th Thermidor, 7th year of the French republic, (28th July, 1799.)

(Signed) Girardon, general of brigade, commanding at Capua.

Tho. Trowbridge, captain of his majeſty's ſhip Culloden, and commander-in-chief of the forces employed at the ſiege of Capua.

De Boucard, marſhal commanding his Sicilian majeſty's troops.

Builie, captain-lieutenant, and commander of his Imperial majeſty's troops, at the ſiege of Capua.

————, commander of the Ottoman troops, at the ſiege.

Articles for the Surrender of the Town of Gaeta.

Article I. Conſidering that the garriſon of Gaeta has not been regularly beſieged, but only blockaded, his majeſty, the king of the two Sicilies, will allow the troops of the ſaid garriſon to march out of the place with the honours of war, taking with them their firelocks, bayonets, ſwords, and cartouch-boxes, without deeming them priſoners of war, on their being ſent to France.

II. In virtue of the preceding article, the place ſhall be delivered up, free of all pillage, and without any part of the effects being removed or injured, to the officer who ſhall be appointed to take poſſeſſion thereof.

III. The French garriſon ſhall be allowed to remove all their effects, being perſonal or private property; but all public property ſhall be given up with the place.

IV. No ſubject of his Sicilian majeſty ſhall be ſent to France with the French garriſon, but the whole,

 without

without exception, given up to the officer appointed to take poſſeſſion of the place.

V. The ſick belonging to the garriſon ſhall be taken care of by their own ſurgeons, at the expenſe of the French republic, and ſhall be ſent to France as ſoon after their cure as poſſible.

VI. A detachment of his Sicilian majeſty's troops, and of his allies, ſhall take poſſeſſion of the place two hours after this capitulation ſhall have been delivered; and the embarkation of the garriſon ſhall have effect twenty-four hours after the gates are given up, according as may be agreed upon and ſettled between the reſpective commanding officers.

Done at Naples, the 12th Thermidor, ſeventh year (July 31, 1799).

(Signed) General Acton.
Nelſon.
Girardon, general of brigade.

Return of the Cannon and the Garriſon at Capua.

Ordnance from 24 to 4 pounders—108 ſerviceable, 10 unſerviceable.

French troops—199 officers, 2618 non-commiſſioned officers and privates.

12,000 muſkets—414,000 muſket cartridges, filled — 67,348 pounds weight of powder.

Return of Cannon and the Garriſon at Gaeta.

Ordnance—58 braſs guns, from 24 to 18 pounders; 12 iron 6 ditto; 2 braſs 4 ditto; 4 mortars, 12-inch; 9 ditto, 10-inch; with an immenſe quantity of powder and other garriſon-ſtores.

French troops—83 officers, 1415 privates, beſides rebels.

T. Trowbridge.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Admiralty-Office, September 3.

Lieutenant Collier, of his majeſty's ſhip Iſis, arrived this day with diſpatches from vice-admiral Mitchell to Evan Nepean, eſq. ſecretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies.

Iſis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, Auguſt 30, two P. M.

Sir,

I have the very great ſatisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that the whole of the Dutch fleet near the Vleiter ſurrendered to the ſquadron under my command, without firing a gun, agreeably to a ſummons I ſent this morning. The Dutch ſquadron was to be held for the orders of his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange, and the orders I may receive from the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty for my farther proceedings.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, &c. &c.
(Signed) A. Mitchell.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

Iſis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, Auguſt 31.

Sir,

It blowing ſtrong from the ſouth-weſt, and alſo the flood tide, I could not ſend away my ſhort letter of laſt night; I therefore have, in addition, to requeſt you will lay before the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that on the morning of yeſterday I got the ſquadron under weigh at five

o'clock,

o'clock, and immediately formed the line of battle, and to prepare for battle.

In running in, two of the line-of-battle ships, Ratvisan and America, and the Latona frigate, took the ground. We passed the Helder Point and Mars Diep, and continued our course along the Texel, in the channel that leads to the Vleiter, the Dutch squadron lying at anchor in a line at the Red Buoy in the east-south-east course.

The Latona frigate got off and joined me; but as the two line-of-battle ships did not, I closed the line. About half past ten I sent captain Reinnie, of the Victor, with a summons to the Dutch admiral, as it was lord Duncan's wish that I should do so; and in her way she picked up a flag of truce, with two Dutch captains, from the Dutch admiral, to me. Captain Reinnie very properly brought them on-board; and from a conversation of a few minutes I was induced to anchor in a line, a short distance from the Dutch squadron, at their earnest request. They returned with my positive orders not to alter the position of the ships, nor do any thing whatsoever to them, and in one hour to submit, or take the consequences.

In less than the time, they returned with a verbal answer, that they submitted according to the summons, and should consider themselves (the officers) on parole, until I heard from the lords commissioners of the admiralty and the prince of Orange, for my farther proceedings.

I have now the honour to enclose you herewith the line of battle in which the squadron advanced, a copy of my summons to the Dutch admiral, and also a list of the Dutch fleet.

Admiral Storey's flag is down, and I have sent an officer on-board each of his ships, to have an eye over and the charge of them, as they themselves requested that it should be so.

I have also furnished them with the prince of Orange's standard, many of them not having had it before, and they are now all under these colours.

To maintain quiet among their crews, I issued a short manifesto, of which I also enclose a copy herewith.

The animated exertions and conduct of the whole squadron are far above any praise I can bestow on them; but I shall ever feel most sensibly impressed on my heart their spirited conduct during the whole of this business. We have all felt the same zeal for the honour of our sovereign and our country; and although the conclusion has not turned out as we expected, yet the merit, I may say, in some measure, is still not the less due to my squadron; and if I had brought them to action, I trust it would have added another laurel to the navy of England in this present war. The Dutch were astonished and thunderstruck at the approach of our squadron, never believing it possible that we could so soon have laid down the buoys, and led down to them in line of battle in a channel where they themselves go through but with one or two ships at a time.

I have sent lieutenant Collier with these dispatches, who will give their lordships every information, as he has been employed in the whole of the communication with the Dutch

squadron, and was also on-shore with me as my aid-du-camp on the day of landing.

I have the honour to be, &c.
A. Mitchell.

P. S. Since writing the above, I received the Dutch admiral's answer in writing, which I enclose herewith.

Line of Battle, at Noon, August 30.

Glatton—Captain Charles Cobb, 54 guns, 343 men.

Romney—Captain John Lawford, 50 guns, 343 men.

Isis—Vice-admiral Mitchell, captain James Oughton, 50 guns, 343 men.

Veteran—Captain A. C. Dickson, 64 guns, 491 men.

Ardent—Captain T. Bertie, 64 guns, 491 men.

Belliqueux—Captain R. Bulteel, 64 guns, 491 men.

Monmouth—Captain Geo. Hart, 64 guns, 491 men.

Overyssel—Captain J. Bazeley, 64 guns, 491 men.

Mistisloff—Captain A. Moller, 66 guns, 672 men.

Melpomone, Latona, Shannon, Juno, and Lutine, frigates.

Given on-board the Isis, in the Vleiter Channel, August 30.
A. Mitchell.

To ——, captain of his majesty's ship the ——, by command of the vice-admiral.

Isis, under Sail, in Line of Battle, August 30.

Sir,

I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his serene highness the prince of Orange. If you do, you will be immediately considered friends of the king of Great Britain, my most gracious sovereign, otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it may occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) Andrew Mitchell,
Vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships employed on the present expedition.

To rear-admiral Storey, or the commander-in-chief of the Dutch squadron.

A List of the Dutch Squadron taken Possession of in the Texel by Vice-admiral Mitchell, August 30.

Washington—Rear-admiral Storey, captain Capelle, 74 guns.

Gelderland—Captain Waldeck, 68 guns.

Admiral du Ruyter—Captain Huijs, 68 guns.

Utrecht—Captain Kolf, 68 guns.

Cerberus—Captain De Jong, 68 guns.

Leyden—Captain Van Braam, 68 guns.

Beschermer—Captain Eilbracht, 54 guns.

Batavier—Captain Van Senden, 54 guns, under the Vleiter.

Amphitrite—Captain Schutter, 44 guns, under the Vleiter.

Mars—Captain De Bock, 44 guns.

Ambuscade—Captain Riverij, 32 guns.

Galathea—Captain Droop, 16 guns.

A. Mitchell.

Isis, August 30.

The undersigned vice-admiral in the service of his majesty the king of Great Britain, charged with the execution

execution of the naval part of the expedition to reſtore the ſtadtholder and the old and lawful conſtitution of the Seven United Provinces guaranteed by his majeſty, having agreed that in conſequence of the ſummons to rear-admiral Storey, the ſhips, after hoiſting the ancient colours, will be conſidered as in the ſervice of the allies of the Britiſh crown, and under the orders of his ſerene highneſs the hereditary ſtadtholder, captain and admiral-general of the Seven United Provinces, has thought it proper to give an account of this agreement to the brave crews of the different ſhips, and to ſummon them by the ſame to behave in a peaceable and orderly manner, ſo that no complaints may be repreſented by the officer; the underſigned will ſend on-board of each of the ſhips to keep proper order, until the intentions of his majeſty and his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange, as admiral-general, ſhall be known, for the farther deſtination of theſe ſhips, on account of which diſpatches will be immediately ſent off. And to make them aware, that in caſe their conduct ſhould not be ſo as may be expected from the known loyalty and attachment of the Dutch navy to the illuſtrious houſe of Orange on this occaſion, any exceſs or irregularity will be puniſhed with the ſeverity which the diſorders may have been committed merit.

(Signed) Andrew Mitchell.

On-board the Waſhington, anchored under the Vleiter, 30th Auguſt.

Admiral,

Neither your ſuperiority, nor the threat that the ſpilling of human blood ſhould be laid to my account, could prevent my ſhewing to you, to the laſt moment, what I could do for my ſovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and its repreſentatives, when your prince's and the Orange flags have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refuſed to fight; and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage and the dreadful reflection of our preſent ſituation: I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded. From this moment it is your obligation to provide for the ſafety of my officers and the few brave men who are on-board the Batavian ſhips, as I declare myſelf and my officers priſoners of war, and remain to be conſidered as ſuch.

I am with reſpect,

S. Storey.

To admiral Mitchell, commanding his Britannic majeſty's ſquadron in the Texel.

Iſis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, Auguſt 31.

Sir,

Since my letter of the 29th, by captain Oughton, I received a letter from captain Winthrop, of the Circe, containing a more particular account of the men of war, &c. taken poſſeſſion of in the New Diep, than I had then in my power to ſend, of which you will receive a copy herewith, for the information of my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

Helder, Auguſt 28.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I this morning took poſſeſſion of

of the New Diep, with the ſhips and veſſels undermentioned, and alſo of the naval arſenal, containing 95 pieces of ordnance. A copy of the naval ſtores I will tranſmit you as ſoon as it can be made out.

I have the honour, &c.

R. Winthrop.

Ships. Urwachten, 66 guns.—Broederſchop, 54.—Hector, 44.—Diuffee, 44.—Expedition, 44.—Conſtitutie, 44.—Bell Antionette, 44.—Unie, 44.—Helder, 32.—Follock, 24.—Minerva, 24.—Venus, 24.—Alarm, 24.

Dreighlerlahn, Howda, Vreeddluſt, Indiamen; and a ſheer hulk.

Andrew Mitchell, eſq.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 9.

Downing-Street.

A diſpatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received from lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Head Quarters, Schager Brug, September 4.

From the 27th of Auguſt to the 1ſt of September, the troops continued to occupy the Sand Hills on which they fought. On that day the army marched and took poſt with its right to Petten, on the German Ocean, and its left to the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee, with the canal of the Zuype in front.

A better country is now open to us. We have found ſome horſes and waggons, and a plentiful ſupply of freſh proviſions.

The troops continue healthy, and behave extremely well.

The 11th regiment of dragoons are arrived, and have begun to diſembark. The tranſports have been ordered to return to the Downs.

I have the honour to encloſe herewith a return of the artillery, ammunition, and engineers' ſtores, captured at the Helder.

To the right hon. Henry Dundas.

Helder, Auguſt 31.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, taken on the 28th inſt. at the different Batteries and Magazines at and near this Place, viz.

Braſs ordnance, mounted.—24 24-pounders, 5 9-pounders, 4 6-pounders, 1 3-pounder, 13 8-inch and 4 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers; 5 10-inch mortars.

Iron ordnance, mounted.—18 24-pounders.

Ditto, diſmounted.—41 24-pounders, 56 9-pounders.

Round ſhot.—713 24-pounders, 2780 12-pounders, 164 9-pounders, 3492 6-pounders.

Caſe ſhot.—345 24-pounders, 64 9-pounders, 77 8-inch, and 61 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers.

Fixed ſhells.—148 10-inch, 224 8-inch, 394 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

Empty ſhells.—447 10-inch, 920 8-inch.

Round carcaſſes.—15 8-inch.

Cartridges (flannel filled with powder), 685 24-pounders, 37 9-pounders, 168 6-pounders; 530 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers—(paper filled with powder), 11 24-pounders, 620 9-pounders; (muſket ball), 77,888; (fuzee ball), 1800—521 whole barrels of corned powder.

J. Whitworth, lieutenant-colonel, commanding royal artillery.

General ſir Ralph Abercrombie, &c.

Helder,

Helder, Auguſt 31.

Return of Engineers' Stores taken Poſſeſſion of in the different Batteries in the Vicinity of the Helder.

Wheelbarrows 20, handbarrows 6, baſkets 22, ſpades 30, wooden mallets 10, palliſades 2200, pieces of ſcantling 70, ditto timber 30, boards 84, bricks 3000, barrels of tar 7, a very large proportion of faſcines, bundles of ſticks, and pickets.

R. H. Bruyeres,
Captain royal engineers,
commanding.

London Gazette, Sept. 10, 1799.

Admiralty-Office.

A letter from captain ſir Sidney Smith, of his majeſty's ſhip Tigre, to Evan Nepean, eſq. ſecretary to the admiralty, with its encloſures, of which the following are copies, were yeſterday received at this office.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, to Evan Nepean, Eſq.

On-board the Tigre, off Mount Lebanon, June 16.

Sir Morton Eden has forwarded a duplicate of your letter of the 4th of May, informing me of the ſailing of the French fleet from Breſt. I take for granted this fleet is bound for theſe ſeas, to ſupport Buonaparte's operations, not knowing that his expedition to Syria has completely failed, as the encloſed diſpatches will inform their lordſhips.

Tigre, Acre, May 9.

My lord,

I had the honour to inform your lordſhip, by my letter of the 2d inſt. that we were buſily employed completing two ravelins for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy's neareſt approaches, diſtant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almoſt every night ſince, but the enemy have each time been repulſed with very conſiderable loſs. The enemy continued to batter in breach with progreſſive ſucceſs, and have nine ſeveral times attempted to ſtorm, but have as often been beaten back with immenſe ſlaughter. Our beſt mode of defence has been frequent ſorties to keep them on the defenſive, and impede the progreſs of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever ſince the beginning of the ſiege, interrupted only at ſhort intervals by the exceſſive fatigue of every individual on both ſides. We have been long anxiouſly looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place ſo long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occaſioned by Haſſan Bey's having originally had orders to join me in Egypt, I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here: it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yeſterday, the fifty-firſt day of the ſiege, that his fleet of corvettes and tranſports made its appearance. The approach of this additiona ſtrength was the ſignal to Buonaparte for a moſt vigorous and perſevering aſſault, in hopes to get poſſeſſion of the town before the reinforcement to the garriſon could diſembark.

The conſtant fire of the beſiegers was ſuddenly increaſed tenfold, our flanking fire from a-float was, as uſual, plied to the utmoſt, but with leſs

leſs effect than heretofore, as the enemy has thrown up epaulments and traverſes of ſufficient thickneſs to protect him from it. The guns that could be worked to the greateſt advantage were a French braſs 18-pounder in the light-houſe caſtle, manned from the Theſeus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, maſter's mate, and the laſt mounted 24-pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midſhipman. Theſe guns being within grape diſtance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkiſh muſketry, did great execution; and I take this opportunity of recommending theſe two petty officers, whoſe indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmeſt praiſe. The Tigre's two 68-pound carronades, mounted in two gerines, lying in the Mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre, (one of the braveſt and moſt intelligent men I ever ſerved with), threw ſhells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it conſiderably. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgement in the ſecond ſtory of the north-eaſt tower; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch, forming the aſcent by which they mounted. Daylight ſhewed us the French ſtandard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the beſieged was much ſlackened, in compariſon to that of the beſiegers, and our flanking fire was become of leſs effect, the enemy having covered themſelves in this lodgement, and the approach to it by two traverſes acroſs the ditch, which they had conſtructed under the fire that had been oppoſed to them during the whole night, and which were now ſeen, compoſed of ſand bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being viſible above them. Haſſan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half way on ſhore. This was a moſt critical point of the conteſt, and an effort was neceſſary to preſerve the place for a ſhort time till their arrival.

I accordingly landed the boats at the Mole, and took the crews up to the beach, armed with pikes. The enthuſiaſtic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the ſight of ſuch a reinforcement, at ſuch a time, is not to be deſcribed.

Many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whoſe moſt deſtructive miſſile weapons were heavy ſtones, which, ſtriking the aſſailants on the head, overthrew the foremoſt down the ſlope, and impeded the progreſs of the reſt. A ſucceſſion, however, aſcended to the aſſault, the heap of ruins between the two parties ſerving as a breaſtwork for both, the muzzle of their muſkets touching, the ſpear heads of the ſtandards locked. Ghezzar Pacha hearing that the Engliſh were on the breach, quitted his ſtation, where, according to the ancient Turkiſh cuſtom, he was ſitting to reward ſuch as ſhould bring him the heads of the enemy, and diſtributing muſket-cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, ſaying, if any harm happened to his Engliſh friends all was loſt. This amicable conteſt, as to who ſhould defend the breach, occaſioned a ruſh of Turks to the ſpot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the firſt body of Haſſan

ſan Bey's troops. I had now to combat the Pacha's repugnance to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his ſeraglio, become a very important poſt, as occupying the Terre-plein of the rampart. There was not above 200 of the original 1000 Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate, and I over-ruled his objections by introducing the Chifflik regiment of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, diſciplined after the European method, under ſultan Selim's own eye, and placed by his Imperial majeſty's expreſs commands at my diſpoſal. The garriſon, animated by the appearance of ſuch a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being conſequently enough to defend the breach, I propoſed to the Pacha to get rid of the object of his jealouſy, by opening his gates to let them make a ſally and take the aſſailants in flank: he readily complied, and I gave directions to the colonel to get poſſeſſion of the enemy's third parallel, or neareſt trench, and there fortify himſelf by ſhifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly underſtood, the gates were opened, and the Turks ruſhed out, but they were not equal to ſuch a movement, and were driven back to the town with loſs. Mr. Bray, however, as uſual, protected the town-gate efficaciouſly, with grape from the 68-pounders. The ſortie had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expoſe themſelves above their parapets, ſo that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, ſo that the ſmall number remaining on the lodgement were killed or diſperſed, by our few remaining hand-grenades thrown by Mr. Savage, midſhipman of the Theſeus. The enemy began a new breach, by an inceſſant fire directed to the ſouthward of the lodgement, every ſhot knocking down whole ſheets of a wall, much leſs ſolid than that of the tower, on which they had expended ſo much time and ammunition.

The group of generals and aids-du-camp, which the ſhells from the 68-pounders had frequently diſperſed, were now re-aſſembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparte was diſtinguiſhed in the centre of the ſemicircle; his geſticulation indicated a renewal of attack, and his diſpatching an aid-du-camp to the camp, ſhewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Haſſan Bey's ſhips to take their ſtation in the ſhoal water to the ſouthward, and made the Tigre's ſignal to weigh, and join the Theſeus to the northward. A little before ſunſet, a maſſive column appeared advancing to the breach with a ſolemn ſtep. The Pacha's idea was not to defend the brink this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then cloſe with them, according to the Turkiſh mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmoleſted, and deſcended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the braveſt and moſt advanced among them lay headleſs corpſes, the ſabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the reſt retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was ſeen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and who, we have ſince learned, to be general Laſne, was carried off wounded, by a muſket-ſhot. General Rombaud

baud was killed. Much confuſion aroſe in the town, from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impoſſible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body, of the mode of defence adopted, leſt the enemy ſhould come to a knowledge of it by means of their numerous emiſſaries.

The Engliſh uniform, which had hitherto ſerved as a rallying point for the old garriſon wherever it appeared, was, now in the duſk, miſtaken for French, the newly-arrived Turks not diſtinguiſhing between one hat and another in the crowd, and thus many a ſevere blow of a ſabre was parried by our officers, among which colonel Douglas, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly loſt their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was reſtored by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotte, juſt arrived with Haſſan Bey, and thus the conteſt of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being ſo fatigued as to be unable to move.

Buonaparte will, no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being, as above deſcribed, perfectly practicable for fifty men a-breaſt; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been, defenſible, according to the rules of art, but according to every other rule, it muſt and ſhall be defended, not that it is, in itſelf, worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Buonaparte means to march to farther conqueſts. It is on the iſſue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of ſpectators on the ſurrounding hills, who wait only to ſee how it ends to join the victor, and with ſuch a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Conſtantinople and even Vienna muſt feel the ſhock.

Be aſſured, my lord, the magnitude of our obligations does but increaſe the energy of our efforts in the attempt to diſcharge our duty; and though we may, and probably ſhall be overpowered, I can venture to ſay, that the French army will be ſo much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear-bought victory.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Rear-admiral lord Nelſon.

Tigre, at Anchor off Jaffa, May 30.

My lord,

The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifeſted in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of oppoſing its gigantic efforts againſt us being totally inadequate, of themſelves, to the production of ſuch a reſult. The meaſure of their iniquities ſeems to have been filled by the maſſacre of the Turkiſh priſoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after their capture: and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparte's extraordinary career.

He raiſed the ſiege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the ſea, where, however, it is viſible, and can eaſily be weighed. The circumſtances which led to this event, ſubſequent to my laſt diſpatch of the 9th inſtant, are as follow:

Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the ſuppoſed irreſiſtible proweſs of theſe invaders, muſt be changed, ſince they had witneſſed the checks which the beſieging army daily met with in their operations before

before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Chriſtians of mount Lebanon, and alſo ſheiks of the Druſes, recalling them to a ſenſe of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the ſupplies from the French camp. I ſent them at the ſame time a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boaſts of having overthrown all Chriſtian eſtabliſhments, accompanied by a ſuitable exhortation, calling upon them to chooſe between the friendſhip of a Chriſtian knight and that of an unprincipled renegado. This letter had all the effect that I could deſire. They immediately ſent me two ambaſſadors, profeſſing not only friendſhip but obedience; aſſuring me that in proof of the latter they had ſent out parties to arreſt ſuch of the mountaineers as ſhould be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty priſoners of this deſcription at my diſpoſal. I had thus the ſatisfaction to find Buonaparte's career farther northward effectually ſtopped, by a warlike people inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's diviſion had been ſent eaſtward towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppoſe the Damaſcus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other diviſion in ſucceſſion had failed, with the loſs of their braveſt men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It ſeems much was hoped from this diviſion, as it had by its firmneſs, and the ſteady front it oppoſed in the form of a hollow ſquare, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check during a whole day in the plain between Nazareth and mount Tabor, till Buonaparte came with his horſe artillery and extricated theſe troops, diſperſing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely ſurrounded.

The Turkiſh Chifflick regiment having been cenſured for the ill ſucceſs of their ſally, and their unſteadineſs in the attack of the garden, made a freſh ſally the next night, Soliman Aga the lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him to make himſelf maſter of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did moſt effectually; but the impetuoſity of a few carried them on to the ſecond trench, where they loſt ſome of their ſtandards, though they ſpiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's diviſion, inſtead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to ſpend its time and its ſtrength in recovering theſe works, in which it ſucceeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *ſtatu quo* except the loſs of men, which was very conſiderable on both ſides. After this failure the French grenadiers abſolutely refuſed to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, ſacrificed in former attacks by Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit ſuch palpable errors as even ſeamen could take advantage of. He ſeemed to have no principle of action but that of preſſing forward, and appeared to ſtick at nothing to attain the object of his ambition, although it muſt be evident to every body elſe, that even if he ſucceeded to take the town, the fire of the ſhipping muſt drive him out of it again in a

ſhort

ſhort time; however, the knowledge of the garriſon had of the inhuman maſſacre at Jaffa, rendered them deſperate in their perſonal defence. Two attempts to aſſaſſinate me in the town having failed, recourſe was had to a moſt flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war. A flag of truce was ſent into the town, by the hand of an Arab derviſe, with a letter to the Pacha, propoſing a ceſſation of arms for the purpoſe of burying the dead bodies, the ſtench from which became intolerable, and threatened the exiſtence of every one of us on both ſides, many having died delirous within a few hours after being ſeized with the firſt ſymtoms of infection. It was natural that we ſhould gladly liſten to this propoſition, and that we ſhould conſequently be off our guard during the conference. While the anſwer was under conſideration, a volley of ſhot and ſhells on a ſudden announced an aſſault, which, however, the garriſon was ready to receive, and the aſſailants only contributed to increaſe the number of dead bodies in queſtion, to the eternal diſgrace of the general, who thus diſloyally ſacrificed them. I ſaved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I ſent him back to the general, with a meſſage, which made the army aſhamed of having been expoſed to ſuch a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of ſucceſs having vaniſhed, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put into execution in the night between the 20th and 21ſt inſtant. I had above ſaid, that the battering train of artillery (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and ſucceſsfully employed to make the firſt breach, were embarked in the country veſſels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coaſtwiſe, together with the worſt among the 2000 wounded, which embarraſſed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The veſſels being hurried to ſea, without ſeamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every neceſſary, even water and proviſions, they ſteered ſtraight to his majeſty's ſhips, in full confidence of receiving the ſuccours of humanity, in which they were not diſappointed. I have ſent them on to Damietta, where they will receive ſuch farther aid as their ſituation requires, and which it was out of my power to give ſo many. Their expreſſions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they ſaid, thus expoſed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourſe with the Engliſh, which he had broken off by a falſe and malicious aſſertion, that I had intentionally expoſed the former priſoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army, be it ſaid, this aſſertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the proclamation of the Porte began to make on the ſoldiers, whoſe eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when thrown

thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his aid-du-camp, Mr. Lallemand having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre, when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and at the same time to such a mean artifice, as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch. The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with the dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the slightest wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gunboats annoyed the van column of the retreating army in its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear, when it turned inland, to avoid the fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the Sandhills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplausians. The English flag rehoisted on the consul's house (under which the Pacha met me,) serves as an asylum for all religions and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen lying on the bodies of those whom they massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions, of which I am not absolute master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musketry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your lordship by lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and co-adjutor, captain Miller. I have taken

taken lieutenant England, firſt of that ſhip, to my aſſiſtance in the Tigre, by whoſe exertions, and thoſe of lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinſon, together with the bravery of the reſt of the officers and men, that ſhip was ſaved, though on fire in five places at once, from a depoſit of French ſhells burſting on-board her.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. lord Nelſon, &c.

A Return of killed, wounded, and drowned, belonging to his Majeſty's Ships Tigre and Theſeus, between the 9th and 20th May, employed in the Defence of Acre.

Tigre—John Carter, ſeaman, killed; Thomas Smith, ſergeant of marines, Thomas Knight, Joſeph Thompſon, private marines, wounded.

Theſeus—Ralph Willett Miller, captain, Thomas Segbourne, ſchoolmaſter, James Morriſon, Bigges Forbes, Charles James Webb, midſhipmen, 21 ſeamen, 1 boy, 3 private marines, killed; lieutenant Summers, Thomas Atkinſon, maſter, Robert Tarniſh, ſurgeon, Frederick Morris, chaplain, lieutenant Beatly, Charles Dobſon, midſhipman, 30 ſeamen, 2 boys, 1 ſergeant of marines, 5 private marines, wounded; 6 ſeamen, 3 private marines, drowned.

Total—1 captain, 1 ſchoolmaſter, 3 midſhipmen, 22 ſeamen, 1 boy, 3 private marines, killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 maſter, 1 ſurgeon, 1 chaplain, 1 midſhipman, 30 ſeamen, 2 boys, 2 ſergeants of marines, 7 pri-

* The accounts of the exploſion on-board this ſhip which have hitherto appeared, being extremely imperfect, a correſpondent has favoured us with the following official particulars of that event. They are extracted from the letter of the commanding officer to ſir Sidney Smith, dated in Syria-Bay, the 15th of May.

"It is with extreme concern I have to acquaint you, that yeſterday morning, at half paſt nine o'clock, twenty 36-pound ſhells, and fifty 18-pound ſhells, had been got up and prepared ready for ſervice by captain Miller's order, the ſhip then alone off Ceſaria; when, in an inſtant, owing to an accident that we have not been able to diſcover, the whole was on fire, and a moſt dreadful exploſion took place; the ſhip was immediately in flames in the main-rigging and mizen-top, in the cockpit, the tiers, ſeveral places about the main-deck, and various parts of the ſhip; the danger was very imminent, and required an uncommon exertion of every one to get under ſo collected a body of fire as made its appearance, and I have the happineſs to add, that our exertions were crowned with ſucceſs, the fire got under, and the ſhip moſt miraculouſly preſerved; and I here feel myſelf called upon to declare how much obliged I am to all the officers and ſhip's company, but more particularly to lieutenant Summers, Mr. Atkinſon, maſter, and the officers and men, whoſe aſſiſtance on this occaſion was truly great, and enabled us to get the better of ſo great a calamity. Our loſs, from the exploſion, I lament to ſay, has been very great; and captain Miller, I am ſorry to add, is of the number killed, which amounts to 26, 10 drowned, and 45 wounded. The whole of the poop and after-part of the quarter-deck is entirely blown to pieces, and all the beams deſtroyed; eight of the main-deck beams alſo broke, which fell down and jammed the tiller; all the wardrobe, bulk-heads, and windows, entirely blown to pieces, and the ſhip left a perfect wreck; in ſhort, a greater ſcene of horror and devaſtation could not be produced; and we are all truly grateful to God Almighty for his moſt ſignal preſervation in ſaving us from a danger ſo very great and alarming."

vate marines, wounded; 6 ſeamen, 3 private marines, drowned.

His majeſty's ſhip Tigre,
30th May.

W. Sidney Smith.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
September 14, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet, September 13.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is an Extract, was received this Morning by the Ship Sarah Chriſtiana.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Mornington, to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Fort St. George, May 16.

Yeſterday I received the encloſed diſpatch from lieutenant-general Harris, containing the details of the capture of Seringapatam: they require no comment, and I am perſuaded that no ſolicitation is neceſſary to induce you to recommend the incomparable army, which has gained this glorious triumph, to the particular notice of his majeſty, and to the applauſe and gratitude of their country. I alſo encloſe a copy of the general orders that I iſſued on this glorious occaſion.

Seringapatam, May 7.

My lord,

On the 4th inſtant, I had the honour to addreſs to your lordſhip a haſty note, containing, in few words, the ſum of our ſucceſs, which I have now to report more in detail.

The fire of our batteries, which began to batter in breach on the 30th April, had, on the evening of the 3d inſtant, ſo much deſtroyed the walls, againſt which it was directed, that the arrangement was then made for aſſaulting the place on the following day, when the breach was reported practicable.

The troops intended to be employed were ſtationed in the trenches early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the aſſault, which I had determined to make in the heat of the day, as the time beſt calculated to enſure ſucceſs, as the troops would then be leaſt prepared to oppoſe us.

Ten flank companies of Europeans, taken from thoſe regiments neceſſarily left to guard our camps, and our outpoſts, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th regiments, and three corps of grenadier ſepoys, taken from the troops of the three preſidencies, with 200 of his highneſs the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the aſſault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery, and the corps of pioneers, and ſupported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment De Meuron, and four battalions of Madras ſepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Mignan, commanded the ſeveral flank corps; and major-general Baird was entruſted with the direction of this important ſervice.

At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, croſſed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, paſſed the glacis and ditch, and aſcended the breaches in the *fauſſe braye* and rampart of the fort, ſurmounting, in the moſt gallant manner, every obſtacle which the difficulty of the paſſage and the reſiſtance of the enemy preſented to

oppoſe their progreſs. Major-general Baird had divided his force for the purpoſe of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One diviſion was commanded by colonel Sherbrooke, the other by lieutenant-colonel Dunlop: the latter was diſabled in the breach, but both corps, although ſtrongly oppoſed, were completely ſucceſsful. Reſiſtance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for ſome time after all firing had ceaſed from the works: two of his ſons were there, who, on aſſurance of ſafety, ſurrendered to the troops ſurrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, moſt of whom were in the palace.

It was ſoon after reported, that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen.* Syed Scheb, Meer Saduf, Syed Goſa, and many other of his chiefs, were alſo ſlain. Meaſures were immediately adopted, to ſtop the confuſion at firſt unavoidable, in a city ſtrongly garriſoned, crowded with inhabitants and their property, in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by aſſault. The princes were removed to camp. It appeared to major-general Baird ſo important to aſcertain the fate of the Sultaun, that he cauſed immediate ſearch to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found, late in the evening, in one of the gates, under a heap of ſlain, and ſoon after placed in the palace. The corpſe was the next day recognized by the family, and interred, with the honours due to his rank, in the mauſoleum of his father.

The ſtrength of the fort is ſuch, both from its natural poſition and the ſtupendous works by which it is ſurrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked it, in whoſe praiſe it is impoſſible to ſay too much, were required to place it in our hands. Of the merits of the army I have expreſſed my opinion in orders, a copy of which I have the honour to encloſe; and I truſt your lordſhip will point out their ſervices to the favourable notice of their king and country.

I am ſorry to add, that on collecting the returns of our loſs, it is found to have been much heavier than I at firſt imagined.

On the 5th inſtant, Ardul Khalic, the elder of the princes, formerly hoſtages with lord Cornwallis, ſurrendered himſelf at our outpoſts, demanding protection. Kermin Saheb, the brother of Tippoo, had before ſought refuge with Meer Allum Behauder. A. Cowl-Namah was yeſterday diſpatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldeſt ſon of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers. Purneah and Meer Kummer Odeen Khan have alſo been ſummoned to Seringapatam; no anſwers have yet been received, but I expect them ſhortly, as their families are in the fort.

This moment Ali Reza, formerly one of the vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Kummer Odeen Khan, to aſk my orders for 4000 horſe, now under his command. Ali Reza was commiſſioned to declare, that Meer Kummer Odeen would make no conditions, but rely on the generoſity of the Engliſh.

* For an account of this ſanguinary tyrant, ſee our head of Characters in this volume.

Monſieur

Monſieur Chapüe, and moſt of the French, are priſoners: they have commiſſions from the French government.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) George Harris.

Abſtract of a Return of killed, wounded, and miſſing, at the Aſſault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May.

Europeans killed—2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 ſergeants, 1 drummer, and 58 rank and file.

Ditto wounded—1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 3 enſigns, 2 conductors, 12 ſergeants, 5 drummers, and 228 rank and file.

Ditto miſſing—1 ſergeant, and 3 rank and file.

Natives killed—13 rank and file.

Ditto wounded—1 jemidar, 2 drummers, and 31 rank and file.

Ditto miſſing—2 rank and file.

Names of Officers killed and wounded on the Aſſault.

Killed—Lieutenant Mather, of the 75th, captain Owen, of the 77th flank companies, lieutenant Lalor, of the 73d, lieutenants Farquhar, Prendergraſt, Hill, and Shawe, of the 74th, captain Cormick, of the pioneers.

Wounded—Lieutenants Turner, Broughton, and Skelton, of the 75th; lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, and lieutenant Laurence, of the 77th; lieutenant Webb, of the Bombay regiment; captain Lardy, and lieutenant Matthey, of the Meuron regiment, flank companies; lieutenant Shawe, of the 76th, ſerving with the 12th; captain Macleod, lieutenant Thomas, enſigns Antil and Guthrie, of the 73d; captain Caldwell, of the engineers, and captain Preſcott, of the artillery.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 16, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Morning received from Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. at the Office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, September 11.

Sir,

Having fully conſidered the poſition which the Britiſh troops had occupied on the 1ſt inſtant, and having in view the certainty of ſpeedy and powerful reinforcements, I determined to remain until then on the defenſive.

From the information which we had received, we were apprized of the enemy's intention to attack us, and we were daily improving the advantages of our ſituation.

Yeſterday morning, at daybreak, the enemy commenced an attack on our centre and right, from St. Martin's to Petten, in three columns, and apparently with their whole force.

The column on the right, compoſed of Dutch troops, under the command of general Daendels, directed its attack on the village of St. Martin's.

The centre column of the enemy, under the orders of general de Monceau, likewiſe compoſed of Dutch troops, marched on to Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys.

The left column of the enemy, compoſed of French, directed itſelf on the poſition occupied by major-general Burrard, commanding the ſecond brigade of guards.

The enemy advanced, particularly on their left and centre, with great intrepidity, and penetrated with the heads of their columns to within a hundred yards of the poſt occupied by the Britiſh troops. They were, however, every where repulſed, owing to the ſtrength of our poſition, and the determined courage of the troops. About ten o'clock the enemy retired towards Alkmaar, leaving behind them many dead and ſome wounded men, with one piece of cannon, a number of waggons, pontoons, and portable bridges. Colonel M'Donald, with the reſerve, purſued them for ſome time, and quickened their retreat.

It is impoſſible for me to do full juſtice to the good conduct of the troops.

Colonel Spencer, who commanded in the village of St. Martin's, defended his poſt with great ſpirit and judgement.

Major-general Moore, who commanded on his right, and who was wounded, though I am happy to ſay ſlightly, was no leſs judicious in the management of the troops under his command.

The two battalions of the 20th regiment poſted oppoſite to Krabbendam and Zuyper Sluys, did credit to the high reputation which that regiment has always borne. Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, of that corps, who had the particular charge of that poſt, received a ſevere wound in his leg, which will deprive us for a time of his ſervices.

The two brigades of guards repulſed, with great vigour, the column of French which had advanced to attack them, and where the ſlaughter of the enemy was great.

I continue to receive every mark of zeal and intelligence from the officers compoſing the ſtaff of this army.

It is difficult to ſtate, with any preciſion, the loſs of the enemy, but it cannot be computed at leſs than 800 or 1000 men; and on our ſide it does not exceed, in killed, wounded, and miſſing, 200 men. Exact returns ſhall be tranſmitted herewith.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. Abercrombie.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, September 11.

Return of killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his Majeſty's Forces, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. in the Action of the Zyp, on the 10th September.

Total—37 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 5 ſubalterns, 2 ſergeants, 131 rank and file wounded; 1 ſergeant, 18 rank and file miſſing.

Return of Officers wounded.

Major-general Moore; captain Halket, of the 76th regiment, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief; lieutenant Simpſon, of the royal artillery; captain Nevill, of the grenadier battalion of guards; captain Nevill, of the 1ſt battalion of the 3d regiment of guards; lieutenant Gordon, of the 2d battalion of the royals; captain the honourable John Ramſay, of the 92d regiment of foot; lieutenant-

lieutenant-colonel George Smyth, major Robert Roſs, lieutenants John Colborne, Charles Devroeux, Chriſtopher Hamilton, lieutenant and adjutant Samuel South, of the 1ſt battalion of the 20th regiment of foot; captain-lieutenant L. Ferdinand Adams, of the 2d battalion of the 29th regiment of foot.

Alex. Hope,
Aſſiſtant adjutant-general.

London Gazette, Sept. 21, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 19.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Morning received from Field-Marſhal his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, at the Office of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

The Helder, North Holland, September 14.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you with my arrival at this place yeſterday evening, having ſailed from Deal, on board the Amethyſt frigate, on Monday morning, the 9th inſtant.

Upon coming on-ſhore I had great ſatisfaction in witneſſing the diſembarkation of eight battalions of Ruſſian auxiliary troops, conſiſting of 7000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general D'Hermann, which had arrived from Revel in the courſe of the preceding day and yeſterday morning. I afterwards ſaw theſe troops upon their march towards the poſition occupied by the Britiſh near Schagen; and I have great pleaſure in aſſuring you that, from their appearance in every reſpect, the moſt happy conſequences may be expected from their co-operation with his majeſty's arms in this country: lieutenant-general D'Hermann ſeems to enter moſt heartily into our views, and I form very ſanguine hopes of receiving eſſential aſſiſtance from his zeal and experience.

I underſtand that ſir Ralph Abercrombie has made you acquainted with his having repulſed the enemy in an attack made upon him on Tueſday laſt. I proceed to join him at his quarters at Schagen immediately.

I have had the pleaſure to meet the hereditary prince of Orange here. His ſerene highneſs is occupied in arranging into corps a large body of deſerters from the Batavian army, and volunteers from the crews of the Dutch ſhips of war, which have proceeded to England. Every aſſiſtance ſhall be given to his ſerene highneſs to render theſe corps an efficient addition to our forces.

I am, ſir, yours,
Frederick.

The right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 24, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been this Day received from Field-marſhal his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head Quarters, Schagen Brug, September 20.

Sir,

In my diſpatch of the 16th inſtant, I acquainted you with my intention

of making an attack upon the whole of the enemy's position, the moment that the reinforcements joined.

Upon the 19th, every neceſſary arrangement being made, the army moved forward in four principal columns, in the following order:

The left column, under the command of lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, conſiſting of

Two ſquadrons of the 18th light dragoons,

Major-general the earl of Chatham's brigade,

Major-general Moore's brigade,

Major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade,

Firſt battalion of Britiſh grenadiers of the line,

Firſt battalion of light infantry of the line,

The 23d and 55th regiments, under colonel Macdonald, deſtined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee, marched at ſix o'clock on the evening of the 18th.

The columns upon the right, the firſt commanded by lieutenant-general D'Hermann, conſiſting of

The 7th light dragoons,

Twelve battalions of Ruſſians, and

Major-general Manners' brigade; the ſecond, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, conſiſting of

Two ſquadrons of the 11th light dragoons,

Two brigades of foot guards, and

Major-general his highneſs prince William's brigade; the third column, commanded by lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney, conſiſting of

Two ſquadrons of the 11th light dragoons,

Major-general Don's brigade,

Major-general Coote's brigade, marched from the poſitions they occupied at daybreak the morning of the 19th. The object of the firſt column was to drive the enemy from the heights of Camper Duyne, the villages under theſe heights, and finally to take poſſeſſion of Bergen: the ſecond was to force the enemy's poſition at Walmenhuyſen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant-general D'Hermann; and the third, to take poſſeſſion of Ouds Carſpel at the head of the Lange Dyke, a great road leading to Alkmaar.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the country in which we had to act, preſented in every direction the moſt formidable obſtacles. The enemy upon their left occupied to great advantage the high ſand-hills which extend from the ſea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen, and were intrenched in three intermediate villages. The country over which the columns, under lieutenant-generals Dundas and ſir James Pulteney, had to move for the attack of the fortified poſts of Walmenhuyſen, Schoreldam, and the Lange Dyke, is a plain interſected every three or four hundred yards by broad deep wet ditches and canals. The bridges acroſs the only two or three roads which led to theſe places were deſtroyed, and abbatis were laid at different diſtances.

Lieutenant-general D'Hermann's column commenced its attack, which was conducted with the greateſt ſpirit and gallantry, at half paſt three o'clock in the morning, and by eight had ſucceeded in ſo great a degree as to be in poſſeſſion of Bergen. In the wooded country which ſurrounds this village the principal force of the enemy was placed; and the Ruſſian troops, advancing with an intrepidity which overlooked the formidable reſiſtance with which they were to meet, had not retained

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that order which was neceſſary to preſerve the advantages they had gained; and they were, in conſequence, after a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, obliged to retire from Bergen (where, I am much concerned to ſtate, lieutenant-generals D'Hermann and Tchertchekoff were made priſoners, the latter dangerouſly wounded), and fell back upon Schorel, which village they were alſo forced to abandon, but which was immediately retaken by major-general Manners's brigade, notwithſtanding the very heavy fire of the enemy. Here this brigade was immediately reinforced by two battalions of Ruſſians, which had co-operated with lieutenant-general Dundas in the attack of Walmenhuyſen, by major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards, and by the 35th regiment, under the command of his highneſs prince William. The action was renewed by theſe troops for a conſiderable time with ſucceſs; but the entire want of ammunition on the part of the Ruſſians, and the exhauſted ſtate of the whole corps engaged in that particular ſituation, obliged them to retire, which they did in good order, upon Petten and the Zuyper Sluys.

As ſoon as it was ſufficiently light, the attack upon the village of Walmenhuyſen, where the enemy was ſtrongly poſted with cannon, was made by lieutenant-general Dundas. Three battalions of Ruſſians, who formed a ſeparate corps, deſtined to co-operate from Krabbendam in this attack, commanded by major-general Sedmoratzky, very gallantly ſtormed the village on its left flank, while, at the ſame time, it was entered on the right by the 1ſt regiment of guards. The grenadier battalion of the guards had been previouſly detached to march upon Schoreldam, on the left of lieutenant-general D'Hermann's column, as was the 3d regiment of guards, and the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, to keep up the communication with that under lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney. The remainder of lieutenant-general Dundas's column, which, after taking poſſeſſion of Walmenhuyſen, had been joined by the 1ſt battalion of the 5th regiment, marched againſt Schoreldam, which place they maintained under a very heavy and galling fire, until the troops engaged on their right had retired at the concluſion of the action.

The column under lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney proceeded to its object of attack at the time appointed; and after overcoming the greateſt difficulties and the moſt determined oppoſition, carried by ſtorm the principal poſt of Ouds Carſpel at the head of the Lange Dyke; upon which occaſion the 40th regiment, under the command of colonel Spencer, embraced a favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf of highly diſtinguiſhing themſelves.

This point was defended by the chief force of the Batavian army, under the command of general Daendels. The circumſtances, however, which occurred on the right rendered it impoſſible to profit by this brilliant exploit, which will ever reflect the higheſt credit on the general officers and troops engaged in it; and made it neceſſary to withdraw lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney's column from the poſition which he had taken within a ſhort diſtance of Alkmaar. The ſame circumſtances led to the neceſſity of recalling the corps under lieute-

nant-

nant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had proceeded without interruption to Hoorne, of which city he had taken poſſeſſion, together with its garriſon.

The whole of the army has therefore re-occupied its former poſition.

The well-grounded hopes I had entertained of complete ſucceſs in this operation, and which were fully juſtified by the reſult of the three, and by the firſt ſucceſſes of the fourth attack upon the right, add to the great diſappointment I muſt naturally feel on this occaſion; but the circumſtances which have occurred I ſhould have conſidered of very little general importance, had I not to lament the loſs of many brave officers and ſoldiers, both of his majeſty's and the Ruſſian troops, who have fallen.

The gallantry diſplayed by the troops engaged, the ſpirit with which they overcame every obſtacle which nature and art oppoſed to them, and the cheerfulneſs with which they maintained the fatigues of an action which laſted, without intermiſſion, from half paſt three o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, are beyond my powers to deſcribe or to extol. Their exertions fully entitle them to the admiration and gratitude of their king and country.

Having thus faithfully detailed the events of this firſt attack, and paid the tribute of regret due to the diſtinguiſhed merit of thoſe who fell, I have much conſolation in being enabled to ſtate that the efforts which have been made, although not crowned with immediate ſucceſs, ſo far from militating againſt the general object of the campaign, promiſe to be highly uſeful to our future operations. The capture of 60 officers and upwards of 3000 men, and the deſtruction of 16 pieces of cannon, with large ſupplies of ammunition, which the interſected nature of the country did not admit of being withdrawn, are convincing proofs that the loſs of the enemy in the field has been far ſuperior to our own; and in addition to this it is material to ſtate, that nearly 15,000 of the allied troops had unavoidably no ſhare in this action.

In viewing the ſeveral circumſtances which occurred during this arduous day, I cannot avoid expreſſing the obligations I owe to lieutenant-generals Dundas and ſir James Pulteney, for their able aſſiſtance; and alſo to mention my great ſatisfaction at the conduct of major-generals his highneſs prince William, D'Oyley, Manners, Burrard, and Don, to whoſe ſpirited exertions the credit gained by the brigades they commanded is greatly to be imputed.

Captain ſir Home Popham and the ſeveral officers of my ſtaff exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, and rendered me moſt eſſential ſervice. I feel alſo much indebted to the ſpirited conduct of a detachment of ſeamen, under the direction of ſir Home Popham and captain Godfrey of the navy, in the conduct of three gun-boats, each carrying one 12-pound carronade, which acted with conſiderable effect on the Alkmaar canal; nor muſt I omit expreſſing my acknowledgments to the Ruſſian major-generals Eſſen, Sedmoratzky, and Schutorff.

I tranſmit herewith returns of the killed, wounded, and miſſing.

I am, ſir, yours,

Frederick.

P. S. Not having yet received returns of the loſs ſuſtained by the Ruſſian

Ruſſian troops, I can only obſerve, that I underſtand their loſs in killed, wounded, and miſſing, amounts to near 1500 men.

Head Quarters, Schagen Brug, September 20.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his Majeſty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, in the Action of the 19th of September.

Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 ſubalterns, 1 ſtaff, 2 ſergeants, 109 rank and file, killed; 7 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 15 captains, 15 ſubalterns, 20 ſergeants, 2 drummers, 345 rank and file, wounded; 22 ſergeants, 5 drummers, 463 rank and file, miſſing.

Return of Officers killed, wounded, miſſing, and taken Priſoners.

Grenadier battalion of guards.—lieutenant-colonel Morris and captain Gunthorp, killed; colonel Wynyard and captain Neville, wounded.

3d battalion of the 1ſt guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Cook, wounded; lieutenant-colonel Dawkins and captain Forbes, wounded and taken priſoners; captain Henry Wheatley, wounded; enſign D'Oyley, wounded, and taken priſoner.

1ſt battallion of the Coldſtream guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Cuntingham, wounded.

1ſt battalion of the 17th foot.—Major Grey, major Cockburne, captains Grace and Knight, wounded; lieutenant Wickham, miſſing, ſuppoſed taken; lieutenant Willon and enſign Thomſon, wounded.

2d battalion of the 17th foot.—Major Wood and lieutenant Saunders, wounded.

1ſt battalion of the 40th foot.—Enſign Elcomb, killed; major Wingfield, captains Dancer, Thompſon, Gear, Myers, and lieutenant Williams, wounded; captain O'Donnell, miſſing.

2d battalion of the 40th foot.—Captain Trollope, wounded, ſince dead; captains Dancer and Thornton, and lieutenant Macpherſon, wounded.

1ſt battalion of the 5th foot.—Lieutenant-col. Stephenſon, wounded; lieutenant Harris, wounded, ſince dead.

1ſt battalion of the 35th foot.—Lieutenant-colonel Oſwald and major Hay, wounded; major Petit, wounded, and taken priſoner; captain Manary, enſigns Wilkinſon, Deane, and Jones, wounded.

1ſt battalion of the 9th foot.—Lieutenant Woodford and quarter-maſter Holles, killed; lieutenant Smith, wounded, and taken priſoner; lieutenants Grant and Rothwell, wounded.

2d battalion of the 9th foot.—Captain Balfour, killed; lieutenant-colonel Crew, wounded; enſign French, wounded, and taken priſoner; enſign Butter, miſſing.

56th regiment of foot.—Captains King and Gilman, and lieutenant Prater, wounded.

N. B. Lieutenant Rowad, of the royal navy, wounded; 4 ſeamen, killed; 7 ſeamen, wounded.

350 rank and file of the 1ſt battalion of the 35th regiment cannot exactly be accounted for, from the nature of the action, and from the regiment being ſent immediately to the Helder in charge of priſoners; but it is much feared that nearly 100 are killed, and the remainder wounded and miſſing.

The

The Return of the Royal Artillery, received ſince the general Return was cloſed.

Five gunners, 4 gunner-drivers, 3 additional gunners, killed.

Firſt lieutenant Eligie, wounded, and taken priſoner.

Volunteer John Douglas, wounded.

Eight gunners, 6 gunner-drivers, 4 additional gunners, wounded.

Seven gunners, 9 gunner-drivers, miſſing.

(Signed) Alex. Hope,
Aſſiſtant adjutant-general.

London Gazette Extraordinary, October 8, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet, October 7.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a Copy, was received late this Evening from Field-Marſhal his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Zuyper Sluys, October 4.

Sir,

The inclemency of the weather which prevailed at the time of writing my laſt diſpatch, and which, as I therein explained, alone prevented me from putting the army in motion, having, in ſome meaſure, ſubſided, and the neceſſary previous arrangements having been made, the attack was commenced on the whole of the enemy's line on the morning of the 2d; and I have now the happineſs to inform you, that, after a ſevere and obſtinate action, which laſted from ſix in the morning till the ſame hour at night, the diſtinguiſhed valour of his majeſty's and the Ruſſian troops prevailed throughout; and the enemy, being entirely defeated, retired in the night from the poſitions which he occupied on the Lange Dyke, the Koe Dyke at Bergen, and upon the extenſive range of ſand-hills between the latter place and Egmont-op-Zee. The points where this well-fought battle was principally conteſted, were from the ſea-ſhore in front of Egmont, extending along the ſandy deſert or hills to the heights above Bergen, and it was ſuſtained by the Britiſh columns, under the command of thoſe highly-diſtinguiſhed officers general ſir Ralph Abercrombie and lieutenant-general Dundas, whoſe exertions, as well as the gallantry of the brave troops they led, cannot have been ſurpaſſed by any former inſtance of Britiſh valour.

On the night of this memorable day, the army lay upon their arms, and yeſterday moved forward, and occupied the poſitions of the Lange Dyke, Alkmaar, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee.

The enemy's forces, according to the beſt information I have been able to obtain, conſiſted of between 25 and 30,000 men, of whom a very ſmall proportion only were Dutch. General Daendels, who commanded the latter, is wounded. The French troops, who have been continually reinforcing themſelves, and whoſe loſs has been very great, were commanded by generals Brune, Vandamme, and Boutet.

From the continuance of the action, and the obſtinacy with which it was conteſted, the victory has not been gained without ſerious loſs. At preſent I am not in poſſeſſion of

particular

particular returns; but I have the ſatisfaction to ſay, that no officer of rank has fallen. The Britiſh army has to regret major-general Moore's being wounded in two places, and the Ruſſian army, major-general Emme's being alſo wounded; but I am happy to ſay, that their wounds are not of a nature to lead me to apprehend that I ſhall long be deprived of the aſſiſtance of their abilities and gallantry. It is impoſſible for me at this moment to do juſtice to the merits of the other generals and officers of the allied army who diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as I muſt defer until to-morrow paying my tribute of praiſe to them, and to the troops generally, as well as giving the details of the battle of the 2d inſtant. My attention is ſeriouſly engaged in making the arrangements which are neceſſary for occupying a forward poſition in front of Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, to which line the enemy has retreated. I entertain no doubt that the extent of country which will now be under the protection of the allied army, and reſcued from French tyranny, will afford an opportunity to its loyal inhabitants of declaring themſelves. The town of Alkmaar, which is the ſeat of the ſtates of North Holland, has opened its gates to our troops, and a conſiderable number of the Dutch troops have come over to the prince of Orange's ſtandard.

In order that you may be in poſſeſſion of ſuch information, as want of time will not at preſent allow me to detail, I charge my aid-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, with this diſpatch. He is entirely in my confidence, and I requeſt leave to recommend him to his majeſty as an officer of ſuperior merit and intelligence.

I am, ſir, yours,

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
October 24, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet.

Diſpatches, of which the following are Copies, were this Afternoon received from Field Marſhal his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, Oct. 6.

Sir.

I diſpatched my aid-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, on the 4th inſtant, with an account of the ſucceſs obtained over the enemy on the 2d; and circumſtances at that moment not enabling me to give the particulars of that day's action, I ſhall now enter into a detail of the occurrences which then took place. The diſpoſition I have already tranſmitted to you of the intended attack, will ſhow that it was determined that a vigorous effort ſhould be made on the left of the enemy, where the French troops were poſted and concentred about Bergen, a large village ſurrounded by extenſive woods, through which paſſes the great road leading to Haerlem, and between which and the ſea lies an extenſive region of high ſand-hills, impaſſable for artillery or carriages, difficult and very embarraſſing from their depth and broken ſurface for cavalry, and exceedingly forbidding,

from

from all theſe and other circumſtances, to any movements being attempted in them by a large body of infantry. Behind theſe ſand-hills, and to the enemy's right, through the whole extent of North Holland, lies a wet and low country, every where interſected with dykes, canals, and ditches, which it reſted with the enemy to occupy and ſtrengthen in whatever manner and in whatever points he pleaſed, and thereby to prevent our making any ſucceſsful attempts againſt his right. His centre was ſupported by the town of Alkmaar, and water communication gave him, in every direction, the advantage of drawing from and profiting by the reſources of the country. The delays, which the unuſual ſeverity of the weather at this ſeaſon, and the whole of our ſituation, rendered inevitable, enabled him to improve his poſition by new works, which bore a formidable appearance, and threatened much reſiſtance. Under all circumſtances, it was evident, that it was only by a great advantage gained on the enemy's left that we could drive him back, and force him to evacuate North Holland, thereby materially bettering our ſituation, by opening the ſphere of our reſources and future exertions. The combined attacks were therefore made in four principal columns: the firſt on the right, under general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, conſiſting of major-general D'Oyley's brigade, major-general Moore's ditto, major-general earl of Cavan's ditto, colonel M'Donald's reſerve, nine ſquadrons of light dragoons, commanded by colonel lord Paget, and one troop of horſe artillery, marched by the ſea-beach againſt Egmont-op-Zee, with a view to turn the enemy's left flank. Of the ſecond, conſiſting of Ruſſian troops, commanded by major-general D'Eſſen, the greater proportion marched by the Slaper Dyke through the villages of Groete and Schorel upon Bergen, by the road which all the way ſkirts the foot of the ſand-hills of Camperdown, about 300 feet high, preſenting a ſteep face to the country, much wooded, but from their ſummit more gradually ſloping towards the ſea. Part of this column, under major-general Sedmoratzky, debouched from the Zuyper Sluys, and were deſtined to cover the left flank of the remainder of the Ruſſian troops moving under the ſand-hills, to co-operate with the brigade under major-general Burrard in the attack of Schoreldam, and to combine their attack upon Bergen with the troops upon their right. The third column, under the command of lieutenant-general Dundas, conſiſted of major-general earl Chatham's brigade, major-general Coote's ditto, major-general Burrard's ditto, and one ſquadron of the 11th light dragoons. Major-general Coote's brigade was ordered to follow the advanced guard of ſir Ralph Abercrombie's column from Petten, to turn to the left at the village of Campe, and proceeding under the hills, to take the Slaper Dyke in reſerve, and clear the road to Groete and the heights above it, for that part of the Ruſſian column which marched by the Slaper Dyke, whoſe right major-general Coote was to cover, during its progreſs towards Bergen, by detaching the required number of troops into the ſand-hills. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade was to follow that part of the Ruſſian

column

column which marched from the Zuyper Sluys, to turn to the right, and falling into the road in the rear of major-general D'Eſſen's corps, to join ſuch part of major-general Coote's as moved along that road to proceed in ſupport of the Ruſſian column, covering its right upon the ſand-hills, and from them ultimately to combine with that column in its attack upon Bergen; for which purpoſe theſe two brigades were to extend as much as poſſible to the right, and endeavour to connect themſelves with the right column. Major-general Burrard's brigade was ordered to move from Tutenhoorn and Krabendam, upon the left of the Alkmaar canal, to combine, with the corps under major-general Sedmoratzky, its attack from Schoreldam, which was farther ſupported by ſeven gun-boats moving along the above canal. Major-general Burrard was to communicate upon his left with the fourth column under lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney, conſiſting of major-general his highneſs prince William's brigade, major-general Manners's ditto, major-general Don's ditto, two ſquadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and two battalions of Ruſſians. This column covered the whole of the left of our poſition to the Zuyder Zee, and was deſtined to threaten the enemy's right, and to take advantage of every favourable circumſtance that ſhould offer. Proportions of artillery of reſerve were attached to each column, and to the Ruſſian column about 200 Coſſacs and huſſars. The force of the enemy was computed at 25,000 men, much the greater proportion of which were French. The ſtate of the tide determined the march of the right column, which proceeded from Petten at half paſt ſix o'clock in the morning. Its advanced guard compoſed of the reſerve under colonel M'Donald, viz. 1ſt battalion of grenadiers of the line, 1ſt battalion of light infantry ditto, 23d regiment of infantry, and 55th ditto, drove the enemy from Campe and from the ſand-hills above that village, and continued its march upon the ridge of thoſe hills, inclining a little to the left. Major-general Coote's brigade, which next followed, turned to its left at Campe, and advancing as far as the extremity of the Slaper Dyke and the village of Groete, cleared the road for the Ruſſian column under major-general D'Eſſen. Part of this brigade, in connection with colonel M'Donald's corps, drove the enemy from the ſand-hills to the right and front of the Ruſſian column, and continued moving forward upon the ſand-hills, a little in advance of the Ruſſian troops. Major-general Sedmoratzky's corps had marched from the Zuyper Sluys as ſoon as the enemy had abandoned Groete, and advanced acroſs the plain between the Alkmaar canal and the road by which major-general D'Eſſen moved, whoſe left he joined, whilſt his own left was protected by the fire of the gun-boats and the advance of major-general Burrard's corps. The enemy, who had gradually retired from Schorel, were now formed in conſiderable force from Schorel to Schoreldam, and kept up a very warm fire from the cannon which they had poſted at different points of their line. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade moved in the rear of major-general Sedmoratzky's corps, cloſe behind which it was formed in the plain. The column under major-general D'Eſſen proceeded along

the road upon Schorel, whilst major-general Coote's brigade was rapidly driving the enemy from the ridge of sand-hills above that village and to its right. Colonel M'Donald's corps had moved considerably to the right, with a view to connect itself with the right column, and continued warmly engaged with the enemy, who were in very considerable force in the sand-hills.

After some delay the enemy were driven, about eleven o'clock, by the Russian troops, and by the gun-boats and major-general Burrard's brigade upon their left, from Schorel and Schoreldam, between which major-generals D'Essen's and Sedmoratzky's corps took post, and continued the remainder of the day engaged in a cannonade with the enemy, posted in the village of Bergen, and between it and the Koe Dyke. Schoreldam was occupied by major-general Burrard, whence he continued his attack (in conjunction with the gun-boats) upon the enemy, who was strongly posted on the Koe Dyke. In this situation it became necessary to make a great effort to clear the summit of the sand-hills of the enemy, who occupied them in great numbers, and for a great visible extent quite beyond Bergen. The left of major-general Coote's brigade was then above Schorel, and the regiments which composed it were separated by very considerable intervals, and extended a long way into the sand-hills. The 85th regiment being on the right, and considerably advanced, was warmly engaged with the enemy, who showed a disposition to come upon the right of the brigade. I therefore directed lieutenant-general Dundas to march major-general lord Chatham's brigade from the plain into the sand-hills, to the right of major-general Coote's, leaving one battalion (the 31st) to move close under the hills parallel with the left of major-general Coote's brigade. This movement was admirably executed; and major-general lord Chatham's brigade having arrived at some distance behind the 85th regiment, and outflanking it by about two battalions, the line was formed, and the whole was ordered to advance at a brisk pace to gain the heights about three quarters of a mile distant across a shrubby wood, and then by a gradual ascent to the summit of the sand-hills. The 85th regiment at the same time charged and drove the enemy before them, who, being thus taken in flank and rear, retired precipitately towards his right, and took post on the summit of the heights which hang over Bergen, whilst the remainder of major-general Coote's brigade having also moved forward, joined the left of major-general lord Chatham's.

The 85th regiment took post in a favourable situation below those heights, so as to block up and command the avenue and great road, which leads through Bergen. From the heights the enemy were seen in the village of Bergen, and the woods and plains about it, wavering, and apparently in great uncertainty; but lieutenant-general Dundas's corps not being able alone to undertake the attack of the village and woods, or to bring cannon into the sand-hills, the enemy re-occupied the village in force, and kept up a brisk fire of cannon and musketry on the heights occupied by the British, and by which the latter were sheltered. A considerable body of the enemy advanced along the avenue,

and made a ſpirited attack to regain the heights on the poſt of the 85th, but were driven back with loſs, and that regiment gallantly maintained their ſituation during the reſt of the day againſt other attempts of the enemy. A large body of the enemy having been ſeen moving to their left, three battalions of major-general Coote's brigade were marched beyond the right of lord Chatham's, to ſupport him, and extend the line. The 27th regiment, poſted at the termination of another avenue from Bergen, were attacked by a conſiderable body iſſuing from the woods: the regiment having, however, by a ſpirited charge, driven the enemy into the wood, no farther attempt was made by them from that time (about half paſt three P. M.) to diſlodge lieutenant-general Dundas's corps.

The extenſion of his line had now brought its right very near to the reſerve under colonel M'Donald, who had been advancing rapidly, notwithſtanding the conſiderable reſiſtance he had experienced, and was now warmly engaged with the body of the enemy, lining a ſand-hill ridge, which croſſes the downs in a perpendicular direction, and which body probably had moved from Bergen and Egmont-op-te-Hooff, with the view of turning lieutenant-general Dundas's right flank. Lieutenant-general Dundas therefore ſent down the 29th regiment on the left of colonel M'Donald, cloſe to the road leading from Bergen to Egmont; and although the enemy's poſition appeared ſteep and formidable, a general and rapid attack was made. The advance of the 29th regiment was the ſignal for the whole on the right of it to move forward briſkly, which was done with ſuch ſpirit, that they were ſoon at the bottom of the enemy's poſition; and aſcending the hill, without ſtopping, they purſued their advantage with ſuch vigour as to drive the enemy totally from the ſand-hills. This was the laſt event which took place on the ſide of Bergen; and, as the cloſe of the day was faſt approaching, colonel M'Donald, with two battalions, was ſent to the ſupport of general ſir Ralph Abercrombie. The heights of the ſand-hills, ſurrounding Bergen for about three miles, remained crowned and poſſeſſed by eleven Britiſh battalions.

General ſir Ralph Abercrombie had marched, according to the diſpoſition, along the beach, with major-general D'Oyley's, major-general Moore's, and major-general lord Cavan's brigades, the cavalry and horſe-artillery (the reſerve, under M'Donald, not having been able, owing to the great extent of the ſand-hills, to rejoin him, after turning to the left at Campe). The main body of ſir Ralph Abercrombie's column had proceeded without meeting with much reſiſtance in the early part of the day, but was nevertheleſs much inconvenienced, and his troops haraſſed, by the neceſſity of detaching continually into the ſand-hills to his left, to cover that flank againſt the troops whom the enemy had placed in the ſand-hills. The admirable diſpoſition, however, which he made of his troops, and their determined ſpirit and gallantry, enabled him to arrive within a mile of Egmont. Here he was ſeriouſly oppoſed by a very conſiderable corps of French infantry, which occupied Egmont-op-Zee and the high ſand-hills in its front, and who had formed a very ſtrong corps of cavalry and artillery to their

left upon the beach. The engagement was maintained, during ſeveral hours, with the greateſt obſtinacy; and in no inſtance were the abilities of a commander, or the heroic perſeverence of troops in ſo difficult and trying a ſituation, more highly conſpicuous. Animated by the example of general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, and the general and other officers under him, the troops ſuſtained every effort made upon them by an enemy then ſuperior in number, and much favoured by the ſtrength of his poſition. Late in the evening, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they made upon the Britiſh horſe artillery on the beach, and having been charged by the cavalry, under colonel lord Paget, was driven, with conſiderable loſs, nearly to Egmont-op-Zee; his efforts then relaxed conſiderably upon the right; and general ſir Ralph Abercrombie having ſoon after been joined by the reinforcements under colonel M'Donald, took poſt upon the ſand-hills and the beach, within a very ſhort diſtance of Egmont-op-Zee, where the troops lay upon their arms during the night. Lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney had aſſembled the greater part of his corps in front of Drixhoorn, whence he threatened an attack on Oudt Carſpel, in and near which was placed the principal force of the enemy's right, and could at the ſame time have ſupported any part of the line which might be attempted. Lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney, ſeconded by the active exertions of the general officers and troops under his command, executed, with his uſual ability, that part of the diſpoſition with which he was intruſted, and effectually prevented the enemy from ſending any detachments to his left.

On the 3d, at daybreak, the enemy evacuated their ſtrongly fortified poſts at Oudt Carſpel and the Lange Dyke, retiring upon Saint Paneras and Alkmaar: the above poſts were very ſoon after occupied by lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney.

The enemy ſtill continued in the woods and town of Bergen, and appeared with cannon, and in ſome force, on that ſide of it next to the Koe Dyke. They had, however, withdrawn the greater part of their force, during the night, and before mid-day the village was taken poſſeſſion of by the 85th regiment. About one, general ſir Ralph Abercrombie entered Egmont-op-Zee, and in the evening the Ruſſians, under major-general D'Eſſen, advanced from the ground, where (as I have already ſtated) they had halted the preceding day, to Egmont-op-te-Hooff. Major-general Burrard, who, when the enemy retired from Bergen, had advanced to Koe Dyke, was ordered in the evening to occupy, with a detachment from his brigade, the town of Alkmaar, which had been abandoned by the enemy, and had been entered nearly at the ſame time by patroles from his and lieutenant-general ſir James Pulteney's corps. The exhauſted ſtate of the troops, from the almoſt unparalleled difficulties and fatigues which they had to encounter, prevented me from taking that advantage of the enemy's retreat to Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, which, in any other country, and under any other circumſtances, would have been the conſequences of the operations of the army upon the 2d.

Of the loſs ſuſtained by the enemy, the reports are ſo various, that I cannot venture to ſay any thing deciſive; but, from all circumſtances, I have reaſon to think it muſt have exceeded 4000 men. Seven pieces of cannon, and a great proportion of tumbrils, were taken. The priſoners having been immediately ſent to the Helder, I cannot at preſent give any ſtatement of their number, but I do not believe it exceeds a few hundred men.

Under Divine Providence this ſignal victory, obtained over the enemy, is to be attributed to the animating and perſevering exertions which have at all times been the characteriſtics of the Britiſh ſoldier, and which on no occaſion were ever more eminently diſplayed; nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general to have ſuch juſt cauſe of acknowledgement for the diſtinguiſhed ſupport he that day experienced from the officers under his command.

I cannot, in ſufficient terms, expreſs the obligations I owe to general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, and lieutenant-general Dundas, for the able manner in which they conducted their reſpective columns, whoſe ſucceſs is in no ſmall degree to be attributed to their perſonal exertions and example. The former had two horſes ſhot under him.

I muſt alſo ſtate my warm acknowledgements to lieutenant-general Hulſe, major-generals lord Chatham, Coote, D'Oyley, Burrard, and Moore, for their ſpirited efforts upon this occaſion, and the abilities which they ſhewed in the conduct of their reſpective brigades. The latter, by his ability and perſonal exertion, very materially contributed to the ſucceſs of his column; and although ſeverely wounded through the thigh, continued in action for nearly two hours, until a ſecond wound in the face obliged him to quit the field. Much praiſe is due to major-general Hutchinſon, for the manner in which he led the 5th, or lord Cavan's brigade; and I hope it will not be conſidered as an improper intruſion, if I take this occaſion to expreſs my ſincere regret that an unfortunate blow from a horſe, in going into action, by fracturing his leg, ſhould have deprived me of his lordſhip's ſervices. Colonel M'Donald diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his uſual ſpirit and ability in the command of the reſerve, as did lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry upon the beach, and whoſe exertions are deſerving of every praiſe. Nor muſt I omit expreſſing my thanks to lieutenant-colonels Whitworth and Smyth, who commanded the artillery of reſerve, and to major Judſon, of the horſe-artillery. The detachment of ſeamen, under the command of captains Goddard and Jurcoing, were, upon this, as upon a former occaſion, of the moſt eſſential ſervice, in the direction of the gun-boats. The conduct of major-general Knox, who was attached to the column of Ruſſian troops, was ſuch as to afford me the greateſt ſatisfaction.

I encloſe the returns of the loſs of the Britiſh and Ruſſian troops, and muſt repeat my ſincere regret that the advantages we have obtained (however brilliant), have been ſo dearly bought. In cloſing this diſpatch, I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of expreſſing my approbation of the ſtaff of my army, and

in particular of the exertions and abilities ſhewn by lieutenant-colonel Anſtruther, deputy quarter-maſter-general.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, October 6.

Total Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his Majeſty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, in the Battle of Bergen, fought on the 2d of October.

Total—1 major, 5 captains, 5 ſubalterns, 11 ſergeants, 215 rank and file, 44 horſes, killed; 2 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 22 captains, 39 ſubalterns, 1 ſtaff, 46 ſergeants, 7 drummers, 980 rank and file, 78 horſes, wounded; 1 captain, 4 ſubalterns, 7 ſergeants, 3 drummers, 178 rank and file, 3 horſes, miſſing.

Return of Officers killed, wounded, and miſſing.

Staff—Major-general Moore, of the 4th brigade; lieutenant-colonel Sontag; major Calcraft, of the 25th light dragoons, aid-de-camp to colonel lord Paget; captain W. Gray, of the queen's regiment, brigade-major of the 3d brigade; lieutenant Charles Jackſon, of the 40th regiment, acting on the ſtaff with the Ruſſian army, wounded.

15th light dragoons—Lieutenant-colonel Erſkine, wounded.

Royal artillery—Captain Nichol, wounded, ſince dead.

Grenadier battalion of the line—Captain Leith, of the 31ſt regiment of foot; captain Pratt, of the 5th regiment; lieutenant Stafford, of the 31ſt regiment; lieutenant Philpot, of the 35th regiment; volunteer Barrington, wounded; captain O'Neil, wounded, and miſſing.

Light infantry battalion of the line—Captain Robertſon, of the 35th regiment of foot; captain Hitchman, of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot, wounded.

27th foot—Captain Archibald M'Murdo, adjutant and lieutenant George Tuthil, quarter-maſter and enſign John Ryan, enſign W. T. Brazier, wounded.

29th ditto—Captain White, lieutenant Tandy, lieutenant Rowan, lieutenant Bamfield, wounded.

85th ditto—Lieutenant Neſter, killed; lieutenant-colonel Roſs, captain Bowen, captain M'Intoſh, lieutenant Keilly, wounded.

2d battalion royals—Captain Barnes, captain Hunter, lieutenant Ainſlie, lieutenant Frazer, lieutenant Edmonſtown, lieutenant Patton, enſign Birmingham, wounded; lieutenant Hope, wounded and taken priſoner.

25th foot—Captain-lieutenant J. Weir Johnſton, lieutenant Hugh M'Donald, killed; major S. V. Hinde, captain George Callander, captain F. P. Scott, captain F. C. Carew, lieutenant Alexander W. Light, lieutenant James Peat, lieutenant John A. Grant, lieutenant John Auſtin, wounded.

49th foot—Captain Archer, enſign Ginn, killed; major Hutchinſon, captain Sharp, captain Robins, lieutenant Urquhart, enſign Hill, wounded; lieutenant Richard Johnſton, miſſing.

79th

79th ditto—Captain James Campbell, of the grenadiers, killed; colonel Allen Cameron, lieutenant M'Donald, lieutenant M'Neil, lieutenant Roſe, wounded.

92d ditto—Captain Wm. M'Intoſh, lieutenant Alexander Frazer, lieutenant Gordon M'Hardy, killed; colonel marquis of Huntley, captain John Cameron, captain Alexander Gordon, captain Peter Grant, lieutenant G. Frazer, lieutenant Charles Chad, lieutenant Donald M'Donald, enſign Charles Cameron, enſign John Macpherſon, enſign James Bent, wounded; captain John M'Lean, wounded and taken priſoner.

2d battalion of 17th ditto—Lieutenant Wynne, lieutenant Morriſon, wounded.

2d battalion of the 40th foot—Quarter-maſter Philips, wounded.

1ſt battalion of the 20th foot—Captain Pawlett, wounded.

2d battalion of ditto—Enſign Mills, wounded.

63d foot—Captain M'Niver, lieutenant Lee Gitte, enſign Hall, wounded.

1ſt battalion of the 4th foot—Enſign T. B. Carruthers, wounded.

31ſt foot—Enſign P. King, wounded.

23d foot—Lieutenant A. M'Lean, lieutenant William Keith, wounded.

55th foot—Major William Lumſden, killed; lieutenant W. H. Dixon, wounded.

Royal navy—Lieutenant Rowad, and 3 ſeamen, wounded.

Alex. Hope,
Aſſiſtant adjutant-general.

Head-quarters, Egmont-op-Hooff, October 5.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of the Ruſſian Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, in the Battle of Bergen, on the 2d of October.

Total—170 killed or taken priſoners, and 423 wounded.—50 horſes killed.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, October 7.

Sir,

The enemy, after the action of the 2d, having taken up the poſition between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, I determined to endeavour to force him thence before he had an opportunity of ſtrengthening, by works, the ſhort and very defenſible line which he occupied, and to oblige him ſtill farther to retire, before he could be joined by the reinforcements, which I had information were upon their march.

Preparatory, therefore, to a general forward movement, I ordered the advanced poſts, which the army took up on the 3d inſtant, in front of this place, of Egmont-op-te-Hooff and Egmont-op-Zee, to be puſhed forward, which operation took place yeſterday morning. At firſt little oppoſition was ſhewn, and we ſucceeded in taking poſſeſſion of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Acher Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of a poſition on the ſand-hills near Wyck-op-Zee; the column of Ruſſian troops, under the command of major-general D'Eſſen, in endeavouring to gain a height in front of their intended advanced poſt at Baccum,

(which was material to the ſecurity of that point), was vigorouſly oppoſed, and afterwards attacked by a ſtrong body of the enemy, which obliged general ſir Ralph Abercrombie to move up in ſupport with the reſerve of his corps. The enemy on their part advanced their whole force; the action became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the ſea, and was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides until night, when the enemy retired, leaving us maſters of the field of battle. The conflict however has, I am concerned to ſtate, been as ſevere, and has been attended with as ſerious a loſs (in proportion to the numbers engaged), as any of thoſe which have been fought by the brave troops compoſing this army ſince their arrival in Holland. The gallantry they diſplayed, and the perſeverance with which they ſupported the fatigues of this day, rival their former exertions. The corps engaged were,

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards.

Major-general Burrard's ditto.

Major-general earl of Chatham's brigade.

Major-general Coote's ditto.

Major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, commanded by major-general Hutchinſon.

The reſerve, under the command of colonel M'Donald.

Part of the 7th and 11th light dragoons.

And ſeven battalions of Ruſſians.

To general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other general officers in command of the brigades before mentioned, as alſo to colonel M'Donald, my warmeſt acknowledgements are due, for their ſpirited and judicious exertions during this affair; nor ought I to omit the praiſe due to colonel Clephane, commanding four companies of the 3d, and one of the Coldſtream regiments of guards, who, by a ſpirited charge, drove two battalions of the enemy from the poſt of Acher Sloot, making 200 priſoners. I have ſincerely to regret, that in the courſe of the action major-general Hutchinſon received a muſket-ſhot wound in the thigh, which, however, is not ſerious. I have not yet received any reports of the killed and wounded, but I am apprehenſive that the number of Britiſh is not leſs than 500, and that the loſs of the Ruſſian troops, as far as I can underſtand, amounts to 1200 men. I ſhall, as early as circumſtances poſſibly admit, tranſmit particular returns.

The loſs of the enemy, upon this occaſion, has been very great; and, in addition to their killed and wounded, 500 priſoners fell into our hands.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 9.

Sir,

I have already acquainted you with the reſult of the action of the 6th inſtant, which terminated ſucceſsfuly to the allied arms, and at the ſame time pointed out the neceſſity of the movement which produced this affair. From the priſoners taken upon the 6th inſtant, I learnt the certainty of the enemy having been reinforced ſince the action

action of the 2d, by two demi-brigades, amounting to about 6000 infantry, and of their having ſtrengthened the poſition of Beverwyck, and fortified ſtrongly in the rear of it, points which it would ſtill be neceſſary to carry, before Haerlem could be attacked. It ought alſo to be ſtated, that the enemy had retired a large force upon Purmirind, in an almoſt inacceſſible poſition, covered by an inundated country, and the *debouchés* from which were ſtrongly fortified, and in the hands of the enemy; and farther, that as our army advanced, this corps was placed in our rear. But ſuch obſtacles would have been overcome, had not the ſtate of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and total want of the neceſſary ſupplies, ariſing from the above cauſes, preſented difficulties which required the moſt ſerious conſideration. Having maturely weighed the circumſtances in which the army was thus placed, and having felt it my duty on a point of ſo much importance, to conſult with general ſir Ralph Abercrombie and the lieutenant-generals of this army, I could not but conſider, and their opinion was unanimous on the ſubject, that it would be for the benefit of the general cauſe to withdraw the troops from their advanced poſition, in order to wait his majeſty's farther inſtructions. I muſt requeſt you will again repreſent to his majeſty the diſtinguiſhed conduct of his army; which, whilſt acting under the preſſure of uncommon difficulties, never for a moment ceaſed to be actuated by the nobleſt feelings for the ſucceſs of the public cauſe, and the honour of the Britiſh arms. As there are many points reſulting from our preſent ſituation, upon which you may require particular information, and ſuch details as cannot be brought within a letter, I have thought it neceſſary to charge my ſecretary, colonel Brownrigg, with this diſpatch, who will be able to explain fully all matters relating to this army. I tranſmit a return of killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his majeſty's and the Ruſſian troops, in the action of the 6th inſtant. I moſt heartily lament that it has again been ſo ſerious, and that ſo many brave and valuable men have fallen.

I am yours,

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Return of killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his Majeſty's Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, in the Action of the 6th of October.

Total—2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 ſubalterns, 3 ſergeants, 1 drummer, 83 rank and file, 7 horſes, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 7 captains, 23 ſubalterns, 1 ſtaff, 23 ſergeants, 666 rank and file, 13 horſes, wounded; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 5 captains, 11 ſubalterns, 13 ſergeants, 2 drummers, 569 rank and file, miſſing.

Names of Officers killed.

Lieutenant-colonel Philip Bainbridge and enſign M'Curtis, of the 1ſt battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-colonel Dickſon, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Lieutenant Forſter, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Names of Officers wounded.

Grenadier battalion of line—Lieutenant Dunn, of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of foot; lieutenant Hamilton, of the 1st battalion of the 5th ditto.

Light infantry battalion—Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot; lieutenant Nicholson, of the 2d battalion of the 35th ditto; ensign Parsons, and volunteer J. M'Innis, of the 1st battalion of the 9th ditto.

Colonel Maitland and ensign Burke, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.

Surgeon Babington, of the 1st battalion of the 3d ditto.

Major Campbell, captain Newman, lieutenant Stevens, and ensigns Fevel and Humphries, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Captains Masters, Wallace, and Torrence; and ensign Drurie, of the 2d battalion of the 20th ditto.

Captain-lieutenant John Wardlow; lieutenants Bennet, Puscall, Sankey, and M'Intosh, of the 63d regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-colonel Hodgson; ensigns Johnston, Carruther, and John Nicholls, of the 1st battalion of the 4th ditto.

Captains Gilman and Palman; lieutenants Deare and Willon; ensigns Highmore and Archibald, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Majors Wynch and Horndon, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Ensigns Williams, Johnston, and King, of the 31st regiment of foot.

Names of Officers missing.

Lieutenant-colonel Lake, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.

Lieutenant-colonel Cholmondeley; major Pringle; captains Archdail, Brodie, Gillmore, Chaplin; lieutenants Gasley, Wilson, Deare, Wilbraham; ensigns Brown, Ellis, Hill, Anderson, M'Pherson, Tryor, of the 2d battalion of the 4th foot.

Captain Williamson; ensign Algeo, of the 3d battalion of ditto.

Alex. Hope,
Assistant adjutant-general.

N. B. 7th light dragoons—2 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 7 rank and file, 6 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

15th ditto—2 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.

The returns did not come in till the 10th.

11th light dragoons—7 men and 7 horses prisoners of war, not in the above return.

Head-quarters, Zuyper Sluys, October 13.

List of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 6th October.

Total—382 killed, or taken prisoners, and 735 wounded.

(Signed) D'Essen, major-general.

London Gazette, October 15, 1799.

Downing-street.

Dispatches, of which the following are Copies, have been received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his

his Majesty's Land and Sea Forces in the Leeward and Windward Caribbee Islands.

Head-quarters, Paramaribo, August 23.

Sir,

It affords me very particular satisfaction to have the honour of acquainting you, that the colony of Surinam surrendered to his majesty the 20th instant; and that the British troops took possession of Fort New Amsterdam, the principal fortress, on the following day.

On receiving your instructions of the 14th of June by Lord Hugh Seymour, I lost no time in making such arrangements as were necessary for collecting troops from Grenada and St. Lucia, which, with those I proposed taking from Martinique, would complete the number directed to be employed in the reduction of this settlement.

The admiral conceiving it advisable to dispatch captain Ekins in the Amphitrite to examine this coast, and prevent any vessels getting in with intelligence, it afforded me an opportunity of sending lieutenant-colonel Shipley, commanding engineer, to make such observations as might be useful on the occasion.

The troops being assembled at Fort Royal, embarked the 30th of last month on-board the different ships appointed to receive them; and the squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, with some small craft carrying stores and provisions, put to sea on the 31st ult.

On the 11th of this month, we made the coast to windward of the river Surinam, and fell in with the Amphitrite frigate, which had been sent forward from Martinique for the purpose I have already mentioned. She was afterwards, on the 12th, and again on the 14th, ordered to reconnoitre the coast, and ascertain with precision the strength of the post at Bram's Point, which defends the entrance of the river. This service was executed by lieutenant-colonel Shipley with great zeal and judgement; and, had it been necessary to effect a landing, his observations would have proved of the most essential service.

Captain Ekins, of the Amphitrite, and lieutenant Senhouse, commanding the Requin, were generally employed as parties of observation, and have great merit for the zeal and activity which they evinced in the execution of the fatiguing and arduous duty entrusted to them.

The squadron stood in towards Surinam on the 16th inst. and came to anchor off the mouth of the river that afternoon, when it was agreed between lord Hugh Seymour and myself to summon the colony to surrender, which was accordingly done in the evening. But, as the governor requested forty-eight hours to consider the proposals, his answer was not received till the 18th, which was delivered by a deputation from the colony, composed of some military officers and gentlemen, inhabitants of the settlement, who were empowered to treat with us generally on the terms proposed, but not authorized to conclude the capitulation finally, the ratification of the several articles being reserved for the governor.

It being impossible, from the shallowness of the water, to proceed up the river with the line-of-battle ships, a disposition was made on the morning of the 19th to remove the troops from the Prince of Wales and Invincible

vincible to the ſmall craft, which was immediately effected; when they, with four frigates, (the admiral and myſelf being in one of them) got under way, and in the afternoon anchored two miles above the entrance of the river. A detachment of the 60th regiment was then landed, and took poſſeſſion of the redoubts and battery at Bram's Point, called Peit Keyn, which had been previouſly abandoned.

In the ſituation now deſcribed, the ſquadron continued till the night of the 20th inſtant, when the capitulation was returned finally ratified and confirmed by the governor, which enabled us to proceed on the following day with the ſhips and ſmall craft lying within the river, to Fort New Amſterdam, which was then taken poſſeſſion of by 400 men of the 5th battalion of the 60th, under the command of major Dorſner, the acting adjutant-general, major Thomas having alſo landed with this detachment.

The garriſon of Fort New Amſterdam conſiſted of about 750 men, 500 of whom were the Walloon guards, and 250 Dutch troops, who were allowed to march out with the honours of war.

On the 22d inſt. the redoubt Leyden, and battery Frederici, the redoubt and battery Purmerent, fort Zeelandia, and the town of Paramaribo, the capital of this ſettlement, were taken poſſeſſion of by the Britiſh troops in his majeſty's name.

It became impoſſible, from the diſtance of the river Marawina and Suramina, to take immediate poſſeſſion of the ſeveral poſts thereon ſituated; but the troops who formerly occupied them having ſince entered into his majeſty's ſervice, now hold them for the Britiſh government.

I am very happy to be enabled to add, that the troops found in this colony, as well as the inhabitants, evince the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and appear perfectly contented and happy in the change that has taken place.

I have alſo great pleaſure in acquainting you that our troops landed in perfect health, which is in a great meaſure to be attributed to the attention they received from the navy whilſt on-board ſhip.

My knowledge of the officers and men employed on this expedition warrants me in ſaying, that, had there been occaſion for greater exertions than were found neceſſary, his majeſty would have had every reaſon to be ſatisfied with their ſervices; as it is, many muſt be content to have their merits unknown till ſome more trying occaſion ſhall preſent itſelf; for this we muſt acknowledge, that the acquiſition of this valuable colony is to be attributed to the ſenſe entertained by the people of the advantage of having the exerciſe of their religion, the execution of their laws, and the enjoyment of their property ſecured by the Britiſh government, added to the abhorrence in which they have long held French principles and French oppreſſion, rather than to the effect of our exertions or the dread of our force. From theſe cauſes, I am perſuaded his majeſty will find the inhabitants loyal ſubjects, and the military who enter into his ſervice faithful ſervants.

I am particularly indebted to vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour for his cordial co-operation during the whole of this undertaking, a d have great pleaſure in acknowledg-

ing

ing my obligations to the navy in general.

In the various arrangements ſince my arrival in the Weſt Indies, on this and every other occaſion, I have derived very eſſential aſſiſtance from the knowledge and experience of major Thomas, the acting adjutant-general, acquired by his having ſerved the greater part of the laſt and preſent wars in this country.

Encloſed I have the honour to tranſmit to you a return of the ordnance found in the ſeveral forts and batteries.

I have charged my aid-de-camp, captain Browne, with this diſpatch, who will have the honour of giving you ſuch farther information as may be required relative to the ſurrender of this colony.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

[Here follows a return of ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, in the different forts and batteries in the colony of Surinam, to a conſiderable amount.]

Head-quarters, Paramaribo, Auguſt 23.

Sir,

Encloſed we have the honour to tranſmit to you a copy of the articles of capitulation on which this colony ſurrendered to his majeſty, together with the papers relating to the particulars thereof.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

Hugh Seymour, vice-admiral.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

By Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Britannic Majeſty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Iſlands.

A ſquadron of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips being arrived upon the coaſt of Surinam with a very conſiderable military force, we ſeize the firſt moment to offer terms ſo evidently for the advantage of the colony placed under your command, that we truſt they will immediately be ſubſcribed to; and particularly as the ſimilar mark of our ſovereign's gracious diſpoſition has been productive of every poſſible happineſs and advantage to your late ſiſter colony of Demerara.

We have ſent captain William Cayley, ſenior captain of the ſquadron, and lieutenant-colonel the baron de Rottenberg, commanding a battalion on this expedition, with theſe terms for your conſideration, and ſhall wait twenty-four hours for your deciſion on this ſubject. Should the offer made on our part in the name of his Britannic majeſty not be accepted, you muſt yourſelf be anſwerable for the effuſion of blood and the loſs of property which may be the conſequence of terms not being attended to in time, which are formed for the general welfare of the colony over which you are placed, as well as the comfort and happineſs of its individuals.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

H. Seymour, vice-admiral.

Dated on-board his majeſty's ſhip Prince of Wales, off Bram's Point, Auguſt 16.

Articles

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge, and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, and Jurian François Friderici, Governor-general of the Colony of Surinam and its Dependencies, Major-general of Infantry, and Commander-in-chief by Sea and Land in the said Colony.

According to which the said colony and its dependencies shall be put under the immediate protection of his Britannic majesty, in conformity to the summons which has been sent by the said commanders-in-chief, dated on-board his majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, off Bram's Point, the 16th August, 1799, and the additional articles proposed by the said governor-general, and agreed to by the said commanders-in-chief the 19th August, 1799.

Art. I. The colony of Surinam, with its dependencies, shall immediately be placed under the protection of his Britannic majesty, and shall quietly and peaceably submit to his government.

II. The inhabitants of the colony shall enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the immediate and entire possession of their private property, whether on-shore or afloat, such only being excepted as may appear to belong to the subjects of the king of Spain or to those of the French republic; the ancient laws and usages which have hitherto been observed in the colony respecting property continuing in force.

III. All ships of war, artillery, provisions, and stores, in the public magazines and warehouses, as well as the effects of every description belonging to the public, shall be given up to his Britannic majesty in the state they now are, regular lists being immediately taken by officers appointed for this purpose by each of the contracting parties.

IV. All the debts of the colony which may exist at the moment of these terms being acceded to, shall be cleared by the produce of the taxes and imposts of the said colony, or by its revenues.

V. No change whatsoever shall take place in the laws of the colony, without it shall hereafter appear for the mutual advantage, and meet with the concurrence of the parties interested on that subject.

VI. In case the colony of Surinam remains in the possession of his Britannic majesty at the conclusion of a general peace, it shall enjoy every right and every commercial privilege enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies.

VII. The troops now in the colony of Surinam, as well as the officers belonging to the different corps serving under its present government, may, if they wish it, enter into his Britannic majesty's service, on the same footing with respect to appointments and pay as the rest of his army, provided they take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty, and engage to serve him where their services may be required. Seamen will likewise be admitted into his Britannic majesty's service, and will be sure to receive every possible encouragement.

VIII. The persons employed in the civil administration of the colony, who shall be recommended for their good conduct, may, on requesting it, continue in their present

ſent offices while their behaviour is proper, and that it accords with the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his Britannic majeſty, which they will be required to take: but the command of the troops muſt be placed in the hands of the Britiſh officer who ſhall be named by his majeſty, or by the commander-in-chief of his troops employed in the Weſt Indies.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
H. Seymour, vice-admiral.
Friderici.

Dated on-board his majeſty's ſhip Amphitrite, in the river Surinam, the 20th of Auguſt, 1799.

Additions and Explanations propoſed by his Excellency the Governor-general of the Colony of Surinam, J. F. Friderici, reſpecting the Articles of Capitulation propoſed by their Excellencies Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, &c. &c. &c.

Art. I. That the offer made reſpecting the ſecure enjoyment of private property ſhall be confirmed, with no other exceptions than thoſe contained in the ſummons.

Anſw. Already agreed to.

II. That the trade of neutral powers ſhall be continued on the ſame footing on which it now is, eſpecially with reſpect to the Americans, to whom the inhabitants of the colony have great obligations.

Anſw. Already agreed to, as far as is neceſſary to place the colony of Surinam on the ſame footing as that of Demarara. The propoſal made in favour of the Americans cannot be acceded to, but ſhall be tranſmitted to the Britiſh government, whoſe favourable diſpoſition towards America cannot be doubted.

III. That the officers and ſoldiers who are deſirous of entering into the ſervice of his Britannic majeſty ſhall be employed during the preſent war in the defence of this colony, and that thoſe who do not chooſe to enter into his majeſty's ſervice ſhall be allowed to remain in the colony as private perſons, or go to any other place.

Anſw. This requeſt cannot be granted conſonantly with our inſtructions; but it is ſo reaſonable, and is at the ſame time ſo much what the commander-in-chief wiſhes, that there can be little doubt but the object of the troops on this point will be accompliſhed. The troops which have been raiſed and continued at Demarara is a proof of this. The latter part of this article, reſpecting the ſoldiers who do not wiſh to enter into his Britannic majeſty's ſervice, is granted.

IV. That veſſels and every thing neceſſary ſhall be provided to tranſport the Walloon guards now in the ſervice of this colony to one of the ports of Spain in Europe; and that in other reſpects they ſhall be treated according to the ſtipulations entered into with them.

Anſw. Being uncertain of the number to which the Walloon guards amount, and ignorant of the means of tranſporting them from the colony, it is impoſſible to fix upon any preciſe conveyance for them; but the ſpirit of the requeſt will be conformed to, and 150 or 200 of them ſhall immediately be removed either to Spain, or to one of its colonies; it being

being underſtood that both officers and men are to be conſidered priſoners of war, and that they are not to ſerve againſt Great Britain until regularly exchanged.

V. That the troops at preſent under the orders of the governor-general of the colony, ſhall, on giving up the forts in which they are, march out with the honours of war, and ground their arms on the glacis of the forts, by command from their own officers; and that they ſhall in other reſpects be treated with the attention they have deſerved by their good conduct and attention to the colony.

Anſw. Granted.

VI. The uſual honours of war, of firing their guns before they ſtrike their colours, ſhall be allowed to the men of war in the colony.

Anſw. Granted.

VII. In what time is the article relative to private property to be underſtood?

Anſw. On the ſubject of property it will be right to obſerve, that the habitations as well as property of individuals will be equally reſpected, whether they are preſent in the colony or not; ſuch only being excepted from our protection as are now ſerving againſt Great Britain. Property of that deſcription will be put in ſequeſtration, until inſtructions are received from the Britiſh government on that ſubject. The ſame rule will be obſerved towards French proprietors who may be reſident in France or any of its dependencies.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
H. Seymour, vice-admiral.
Friderici.

London Gazette, October 26.

Downing-ſtreet.

Lieutenant-colonel Clinton, aide-de-camp to his royal highneſs the duke of York, arrived this morning at the office of the right honourable Henry Dundas, with diſpatches, of which the following are copies:

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 20.

Sir,

In my late communications I have repreſented to you the circumſtances under which I found it expedient to withdraw the army from its forward poſition in front of Alkmaar, within that which it at preſent occupies, and which I truſt will have appeared to his majeſty ſufficient to warrant the meaſure.

The ſeaſon of the year, which has already aſſumed here the aſpect of winter, gave me, from day to day, additional reaſon to apprehend that any attempt towards a proſecution of the campaign in this country could not be attended with deciſive advantages, whilſt the impoſſibility of covering the troops in the narrow diſtrict of the country in our poſſeſſion during the winter, and the precarious ſtate of ſupplies to be expected in that ſeaſon, added to the conviction I felt that the moſt adviſable meaſure to be purſued, was to remove with the army to England; an operation which, although it might have expoſed the army to ſome loſs in its execution, I judged in my mind preferable to any other which could be adopted.

Under this impreſſion, and conſidering that ſerious loſs might enſue from delay, I have been induced to conclude an armiſtice, in conjunction

tion with vice-admiral Mitchell, with general Brune, commanding the French and Batavian armies, of which the conditions are enclosed, and which, although they provide for delivering up a large number of prisoners of war, now in our hands, yet I trust will not be thought by his majesty an inadequate compensation for many valuable lives which must have been lost, after the object which has hitherto directed them, no longer promised success; and when the only means which presented themselves of ensuring a secure retreat, were those of resorting to the destructive measure of inundation from the sea, which, as it would have involved the inhabitants of the northern part of this province in ruin for a series of years, must have been highly repugnant to the feelings, as well as contrary to the character and practice of the British nation.

I rest confident that the motives which I have here detailed will excuse me to his majesty for having acted without waiting for previous instructions from home, and that I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that my conduct in this respect has met with his majesty's gracious approbation.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

Articles agreed upon between Major-general Knox, duly authorized by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian Army, and Citizen Rostollan, General of Brigade and Adjutant-general, duly authorized by Citizen Brune, General and Commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian Army.

Art. I. From the date of this convention all hostilities shall cease between the two armies.

II. The line of demarcation between the said armies shall be the line of their respective out-posts, as they now exist.

III. The continuation of all works, offensive and defensive, shall be suspended on both sides, and no new ones shall be undertaken.

IV. The mounted batteries taken possession of at the Helder, or at other positions within the line now occupied by the combined English and Russian army, shall be restored in the state in which they were taken, or (in case of improvement) in their present state, and all the Dutch artillery taken therein shall be preserved.

V. The combined English and Russian army shall embark as soon as possible, and shall evacuate the territory, coasts, islands, and internal navigation of the Dutch republic, by the 30th of November, 1799, without committing any devastations, by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherways injuring the sources of navigation.

VI. Any ships of war or other vessels which may arrive with reinforcements for the combined British and Russian army, shall not land the same, and shall be sent away as soon as possible.

VII. General Brune shall be at liberty to send an officer within the lines of the Zuyp and to the Helder, to report to him the state of the batteries and the progress of the embarkation. His royal highness the duke of York shall be equally at

liberty

liberty to ſend an officer within the French and Batavian lines, to ſatisfy himſelf that no new works are carried on on their ſide. An officer of rank and diſtinction ſhall be ſent from each army reſpectively, to guarantee the execution of this convention.

VIII. Eight thouſand priſoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the preſent campaign, and now detained in England, ſhall be reſtored without conditions, to their reſpective countries. The proportion and the choice of ſuch priſoners for each, to be determined between the two republics. Major-general Knox ſhall remain with the French army to guarantee the execution of this article.

IX. The cartel agreed upon between the two armies for the exchange of the priſoners, taken during the preſent campaign, ſhall continue in full force till it ſhall be carried into complete execution; and it is farther agreed, that the Dutch admiral de Winter ſhall be conſidered as exchanged.

Concluded at Alkmaar, the 18th of October, 1799, by the under-ſigned general officers, furniſhed with full powers to this effect.

(Signed) J. Knox, major-general.
Roſtollan.

London Gazette, Nov. 16, 1799.

Admiralty-Office.

A Letter from the Right hon. Lord Nelſon, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Palermo, 1ſt October, introduces the following.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.

Sir,

I am to requeſt you will inform their lordſhips, that I took poſſeſſion of Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and Tolfa, on the 29th and 30th ultimo, with 200 marines and ſeamen of the Culloden and Minotaur, and have already embarked and ſent off near 3000 of the enemy; I now wait for tranſports to get off the remainder, which I ſuppoſe about 2000 more.

General Bouchard takes poſſeſſion of Rome at the ſame time by the ſame treaty; all public property to be reſtored: their lordſhips may rely on every exertion on my part to put the capitulation in full force and truſt I ſhall ſucceed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trowbridge.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.

Sir,

In obedience to orders from lord Nelſon, I have the honour to ſend you, for their lordſhip's information, a copy of the articles of capitulation I have made with the French general Garnier, to clear the Roman ſtate. As I knew the French had all the valuables of the Roman ſtate packed up ready for embarking, and the coaſt at Civita Vecchia forming a deep bay, with hard W. S. W. gales and heavy ſea, which prevented the blocade from being ſo cloſe as was neceſſary to prevent the enemy from carrying off thoſe truly valuable articles, I therefore thought it beſt to grant the liberal terms I have, to get them out of this country, where they have committed every exceſs poſſible.

I truſt what I have done may meet their lordſhip's approbation.

I beg you to repreſent to their lordſhips, that I received every aſſiſtance from captain Lobb, who

went to Rome and arranged the evacuation, and taking poſſeſſion of that place, with general Bouchard, with great ability and exertion, and much to my ſatisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trowbridge.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

Articles propoſed for the Convention between the General of Diviſion Garnier, Commander-in-Chief of the French Troops, and thoſe of Italy and other Allies now in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, commanding his Britannic Majeſty's Squadron, lying off Civita Vecchia, on the Part of Great Britain and her Allies.

Art. I. Conſidering that neither the French troops, nor the troops of their allies at Rome, Civita Vecchia, and poſts within the juriſdiction of thoſe places, have been regularly beſieged by the troops of his Sicilian majeſty or thoſe of his allies, his ſaid majeſty conſents that the troops of France and the Italian or Poloneſe troops ſerving with them, as alſo all perſons attached or belonging to thoſe forces, together with their wives and children, ſhall quit the Roman territory, in order to be ſent to France and to the ports of Villa Franca, or Antibes, on board veſſels to be provided for that purpoſe by the commanding officer of the Britiſh forces; it is, however, to be underſtood, that the officers, troops, and other perſons, to be ſo embarked, ſhall be properly victualled by the Engliſh government, during the whole of their voyage, and that the expenſe attending ſuch victualling ſhall hereafter be accounted for by the French republic.

Anſwer. Conſidering that Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Tolfa, and all the Roman ſtate, under the command of general Garnier, has not been regularly beſieged, but blockaded, I will grant to the troops of the reſpective garriſons to march out of theſe places with all the honours of war, to have their muſkets, ſwords, and bayonets, and not to be conſidered as priſoners of war, on their being ſent to France or Corſica, as may be moſt convenient. The French general ſhall be allowed to take from the public ſtores at Rome proviſion for the march to Civita Vecchia.

Proper proviſions ſhall be put on board for the voyage, to be paid for by the government of France hereafter.

II. The troops above-mentioned ſhall aſſemble at Civita Vecchia within eight days after the aceeptance of the preſent convention, and remain there under their own guard, with the honours of war, until the arrival or junction of the tranſports in which they are to be embarked; and when the number of veſſels neceſſary for that purpoſe ſhall be aſſembled, the ſaid troops ſhall file off and embark accordingly, with drums beating, colours flying, a lighted match, and two field-pieces, or howitzers, with their appurtenances; and be alſo allowed to carry away their firelocks, bayonets, ſide-arms, and cartouch-boxes, together with all the effects belonging to each individual of the ſaid troops, who ſhall moreover not be conſidered as priſoners of war.

Anſwer. The tranſports are ready. St. Angelo and its dependencies under general Garnier's orders on the

the other ſide Tolfa, to be delivered to the regular troops under marſhal Bourcard.

The French garriſon ſhall march out with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, in forty-eight hours after the capitulation is ſigned; but no field-pieces or howitzers allowed; only muſkets, bayonets, ſwords, and cartouch-boxes, and not to be conſidered as priſoners of war.

III. Twenty-four hours after the preſent convention ſhall have been ſigned and accepted, a detachment of 400 men ſhall land from his Britannic majeſty's ſhips; 100 of whom to be ſtationed at Civita Vecchia, and afterwards to occupy the horn-work at the Roman gate, conjointly with a like number of French troops; the remaining 300 to march to Rome, accompanied by a French detachment: and, on their arrival at that city, to be put in poſſeſſion of the gate of Cavallegiere, and the hoſpitals; at which two places an equal number of French troops ſhall alſo be ſtationed, until the complete evacuation of Rome.

Anſwer. Civita Vecchia and Corneto to be put in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops as ſoon as poſſible after the ſigning theſe articles as a courier can come from Rome; and the garriſon to be embarked and ſent to France.

General Bourcard will have directions to give a ſufficient guard of regular troops to eſcort the garriſons of Rome and its dependencies.

IV. The ſick, belonging to the French and their allies, not in a condition to be removed, ſhall be allowed to remain at Rome and Civita Vecchia, and be conſidered as under the immediate protection of his Britannic majeſty and his allies, ſubject, however, to the domeſtic ſuperintendance of a French commiſſary, and be treated and taken care of as heretofore, by their uſual medical attendants, &c. who ſhall be permitted to continue with them at the two places above-mentioned.

Whatever expenſe may attend the victualling of the ſaid ſick ſhall be reimburſed to the proper perſons by the French republic; and on the recovery of the ſick they ſhall be conveyed by ſea to the neareſt port of France, together with the medical and other perſons who may have attended them in the hoſpitals, and whoſe preſence at Rome or Civita Vecchia may no longer be neceſſary, after the whole of the ſick ſhall be recovered.

Anſwer. The ſick belonging to the French garriſons ſhall be aſſiſted by their own ſurgeons, at the expenſe of the French republic, and ſhall be ſent to France when they are well.

V. With a view to the due execution of the preceding article, an aſſiſtant ſhall be appointed to the commiſſary of war, at Rome, for the purpoſe of enforcing the French regulations in the different hoſpitals, and ſeeing that the ſick are treated according thereto; and he ſhall correſpond, as far as relates to theſe particulars, with the commanding officer of the Engliſh troops, and their allies, who may happen to be at Rome or Civita Vecchia. The French general ſhall nominate an officer to take charge of the depot which may be formed at Civita Vecchia for the convaleſcents, according as they ſhall be diſcharged from the hoſpitals.

Anſwer. The general may leave ſuch aſſiſtants to the ſick as he may think neceſſary.

VI. The

VI. The French troops and their allies, leaving Rome for Civita Vecchia, ſhall be provided with the neceſſary conveyances for their baggage, as alſo with a ſufficient number of boats for the removal of the ſick, who may be judged by the medical people to be in a condition to be ſent to the laſt-mentioned place. The like means of conveyance for the ſeveral public accomptants, whether of the troops or civil adminiſtrations, ſuch as civil commiſſion, national treaſury, civil and military appointments, &c. ſhall be alſo provided by the officer commanding the Engliſh troops, and their allies, who ſhall have entered the city of Rome in conformity to the third article of their convention; and he, the ſaid commanding officer, will have regard to the requiſitions which ſhall be made to him by the commiſſary of war entruſted with the chief management of this ſervice relating to the diviſion of the French army.

Anſwer. General Bourcard will furniſh carts, boats, &c. for the accommodation of the French garriſon of St. Angelo and its dependencies, and the baggage that may belong to it. Eſpecial care ſhall be taken to convey ſuch ſick and wounded ſoldiers as may be in a ſtate to be removed, to Civita Vecchia. In caſe waggons, &c. cannot be procured immediately, they ſhall be ſent by the firſt opportunity to France.

VII. The French troops and their allies ſhall proceed to Civita Vecchia in the courſe of two days, according to ſtated marches: they ſhall ſet out on the firſt day for Monteroni, and on the ſecond proceed to their deſtination; they ſhall be ſupplied, from the ſtorehouſes at Rome, with the ſupplies neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence during their march: and the officer commanding the Engliſh troops, and their allies, ſhall provide the means of conveying thoſe ſupplies.

Anſwer. Anſwered before.

VIII. All private property, whether moveable or otherwiſe, belonging to the French or their allies in the Roman territory, ſhall be reſpected, and remain at the diſpoſal of themſelves or their agents.

Anſwer. Private property never moleſted.

IX. All deſcription of property as well as objects of art, belonging to the French republic, throughout the whole extent of the Roman republic, ſhall be alſo reſpected; and the French nation have liberty to leave one or more perſons at Rome, for the purpoſe of arranging and preſerving the ſeveral articles, until the French government ſhall take ſuch meaſures relative to this matter as may appear moſt conſiſtent with the national intereſts.

Anſwer. Public property was never before demanded in the long courſe of ſervice I have ſeen, of courſe, wholly inadmiſſible.—Public property muſt be given up.

X. The cavalry corps belonging to the French and their allies ſhall be allowed to return to France by land, taking their horſes with them, as alſo their arms and baggage: they ſhall be eſcorted by a detachment of 50 mounted Auſtrian troops, or their allies, as far as the advanced poſts of the neareſt French army. All French officers, or the officers of the allies of France, who ſhall be deſirous of following the above-mentioned cavalry corps, with their horſes, ſervants, carriages, and baggage, ſhall be at liberty to do ſo,

and the neceſſary lodgings, proviſions, and forage for this little column, during its journey, be provided by means of the interpoſition and good offices of commodore Trowbridge, with the perſons in authority belonging to thoſe governments through whoſe territories the troops may paſs.

Anſwer. Cavalry-horſes, being public property, muſt be delivered up. The remainder of the article inadmiſſible.

XI. An officer of artillery ſhall be appointed by each party to draw up a report of the ordnance and other military ſtores and ammunition remaining in the garriſons of the caſtle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and the ſurrounding towers; and an officer of experience ſhall alſo be appointed on each ſide to make a report as to the actual ſtate of the above fortreſſes, with a view to their ſurrender, and likewiſe that of the plans and charts in their dependency.

Anſwer. Agreed.

XII. Such citizens of Rome and other perſons as ſhall now form, or may have heretofore formed a part of the conſtituted authorities of the Roman republic; and thoſe alſo who ſhall have ſerved the republican cauſe, by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpoſe, ſhall be at liberty to depart with the French troops and on the ſame terms as they do, or remain in the Roman territory, free from all kind of moleſtation, on account of their political opinions or avocations, during the time they ſhall have exerciſed either their civil or military functions.

Anſwer. As long as the Romans conduct themſelves with propriety, and are obedient to the laws, they will not be moleſted. Such Romans as chooſe to embark with the garriſons, have my full leave, taking with them their private property.

XIII. Commodore Trowbridge, on the part of his Britannic majeſty and his allies, engages, on the good faith of the Engliſh, that no individuals within the Roman territory ſhall be incommoded or perſecuted on account of their opinions; that their perſons and property ſhall be alike reſpected; and that they ſhall moreover be at all times allowed the neceſſary paſſports to enable them to leave the Roman territory, with entire liberty to make ſuch tranſfer or diſpoſition of their property as they may think fit.

Anſwer. Anſwered before.

XIV. Any neutral veſſels which may be in the port of Civita Vecchia, ſhall be allowed to be employed as tranſports for the conveyance of the troops, and be afterwards permitted to return to their former employments; and veſſels belonging to the republics of France and Rome, which may alſo be at the port above-mentioned, ſhall be employed in like manner, and not held ſubject to confiſcation as prizes.

Anſwer. Proper tranſports are provided.

XV. Two covered veſſels (that is, veſſels not ſubject to examination) ſhall be allowed, and choſen from amongſt thoſe above-mentioned, belonging to the French and Roman republics.

Anſwer. Inadmiſſible.

XVI. The ſtorehouſes of Civita Vecchia ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the French, until the troops ſhall be on the point of embarking: and the French general allowed to take therefrom the ſupplies neceſſary for the diviſion, paſſing his word

word that he will not ſuffer any waſte, nor permit more to be taken away than the army may require.

Anſwer. As long as the garriſon remains, the ſtorehouſes may be kept, but no more of any ſpecies of proviſions to be iſſued than the uſual allowance.

XVII. The French ambaſſador to the Roman republic ſhall enjoy, in the moſt ample manner, the privileges attaching to his character, according to the rights of nations, and be at liberty to leave Rome, and return to France either by land or water, taking with him whatever number of carriages he may judge neceſſary for his own perſonal accommodation, and the convenience of the perſons attached to the embaſſy, as well as for the conveyance of their effects and the diplomatic papers. Should the ambaſſador prefer a conveyance by ſea, he ſhall, together with his effects and thoſe of the perſons in his ſuite, and the archieves of the embaſſy, be conveyed on board an Engliſh ſhip to ſome of the ports of Villa Franca, Antibes, or Toulon.

In this article are underſtood to be comprehended the ſecretary of embaſſy, the ſecretaries and other perſons attached to the embaſſy, and people compoſing the ſuite of the ambaſſador. The members of the civil commiſſion from the French republic, reſiding at Rome: their agents, and perſons attached to ſuch commiſſion, ſhall alſo be underſtood as coming within the deſcription of perſons comprehended in this article; and they (the ſaid members) ſhall be at liberty to take away with them the papers appertaining to their commiſſion, together with their own perſonal effects, and thoſe of the other perſons belonging to the ſaid commiſſion.

Anſwer. A proper Engliſh veſſel is ready for the reception of the ambaſſador and his ſuite, to carry him to France, with the baggage.

Public papers, belonging to the Roman ſtate, to be delivered to general Bourcard.

No public papers to be taken away which in any ſhape are belonging to the Roman ſtate.

The agents to be ſent to France, by ſea.

XVIII. The town of Ancona, being under a ſeparate command, ſhall not be underſtood as comprehended in the preſent convention.

Anſwer. The places to be given up are underſtood to be thoſe under the command of general Garnier; Ancona is excepted.

XIX. The articles of the preſent convention ſhall not be conſtrued as affecting or tending in any reſpect to prejudice the ſovereign rights or independence of the Roman republic.

Anſwer. Not underſtood.

XX. In caſe of any difficulty ariſing, with reſpect to the interpretation of the articles of this convention, ſuch articles ſhall be explained in favour of the French and their allies.

Anſwer. Agreed.

Done and concluded at a council of war the 10th Vendemaire, eighth year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.
P. Garnier.

The foregoing treaty was made, concluded, and agreed upon, between us, the above-ſigned, in order to its having full and entire effect, according to the anſwers of commodore Trowbridge, placed under the

reſpective articles propoſed by general Garnier.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, eighth year of the republic, 20th September, 1799.

(Signed) P. Garnier.
T. Trowbridge.

Additional Articles to the Convention made between General of Diviſion Garnier, Commander in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, Commander of his Britannic Majeſty's Forces before Civita Vecchia.

Art. I. His Britannic majeſty's troops ſhall take poſſeſſion of the fort and town of Civita Vecchia, the 7th Vendemaire (29th September,) in the afternoon. The French troops of the garriſon will remain in the barracks, as it will be mentioned hereafter; they will be allowed at the gate of the barracks a guard of honour of their own nation.

The Britiſh troops ſhall take poſſeſſion of Corneto the 8th Vendemaire (30th September) in the morning; the French troops at Corneto will be at Civita Vecchia the ſame day, to be placed in the barracks as above. His Sicilian majeſty's troops ſhall take poſſeſſion of Rome and of fort St. Angelo the 8th Vendemaire (30th September,) two hours after midnight, in a ſufficient number, and ſhall be placed according to the diſpoſitions that may be propoſed by general Garnier to general Bourcard, ſo as to aſſure the tranquillity of the town, and protect the evacuation of the French. The French ſhall begin to evacuate Rome the 8th Vendemaire (30th September;) a ſecond column ſhall march out the next day, and the third, which will be the laſt, ſhall ſet out the day after.

They ſhall alſo repair to Monteroni the day after their departure, and the day ſucceeding they will arrive at Civita Vecchia.

They will take with them in the route 2 field-pieces and 1 howitzer, which they will deliver to the Britiſh commodore as ſoon as they arrive at Civita Vecchia.

Agreed.

II. General Garnier, or for him the French commandant of the city of Rome, agreeably with general Bourcard, ſhall continue to give the French and the Romans, in the ſuite of the army, public orders to regulate their evacuation, until the departure of the laſt French column.

Agreed.

III. The 9th Vendemaire (or the 1ſt of October,) the French troops in the barracks of Civita Vecchia ſhall be ſo embarked, that their barracks may be occupied by the firſt column coming from Rome, arriving the ſame evening at Civita Vecchia. This column ſhall be embarked the next day, to give room in the evening to the ſecond column. This ſhall embark the 11th Vendemaire (4th October,) to make way to the third column, which ſhall embark the day after their arrival.

The ſick ſhall be embarked the laſt, and the moſt commodious veſſels ſhall be kept for them.

Agreed.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, (or 27th September, 1799.)

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.

London

London Gazette, November 23, 1799.

Downing-ſtreet.

A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, has been received by Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Alexander Hope, Deputy Adjutant-General from Sir James Pulteney, Bart. by Order of his Royal Highneſs the Commander-in-Chief, tranſmitted by him to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Swan Cutter, at Sea, November 20.

Sir,

I have from time to time reported to you, for the information of his royal highneſs, the commander-in-chief, the progreſs which had been made in the embarkation and departure of the Britiſh and Ruſſian troops which were left under my command, in the province of North Holland; and I am now happy to acquaint you, that the laſt of them embarked yeſterday morning, when, the wind being fair, the whole of the ſhips of war and tranſports remaining in the Texel left that port. Every thing belonging to the army was brought off, excepting a ſmall propertion of damaged proviſions, a few waggons, and about 300 draught horſes of little value, for which there was no tonnage; of theſe, the latter alone were ſaleable, but they bore ſo ſmall a price, that I thought it better to diſtribute the whole to the magiſtrates of the different villages in and near which the army had been cantoned, to be delivered to any of the inhabitants who might have ſuffered from the inevitable conſequences of war. Several large Dutch Indiamen and other ſhips, which it was impoſſible for us to remove in their preſent ſtate, but which might have been fitted out as ſhips of war by the enemy, were completely diſabled and rendered uſeleſs for any farther purpoſe, through the exertions of a detachment of ſeamen, under the direction of captain Bovar. The deſire of complying moſt ſtrictly with the articles of the agreement entered into between his royal highneſs and general Brune, prevented their being blown up, which could not have been done without endangering the navigation of the Nieuve Diep. Vice-admiral Dickſon, as well as myſelf, made it our ſtudy to comply in this, as in every other inſtance, with the articles of agreement, and muſt do the French general the juſtice to ſay, that he ſeemed actuated by the ſame ſpirit. Previous to quitting the Helder, I had, in obedience to his royal highneſs's inſtructions, diſcharged every juſt demand of the inhabitants of the country which had been occupied by the army; and I was happy to find that very few claims were brought forward beyond thoſe which it was in my power to ſatisfy. The embarkation of the troops, difficult from the multiplicity of the arrangements required, and ſometimes arduous from the ſtate of the weather, was carried on with the utmoſt zeal and activity by vice-admiral Dickſon, and the officers and ſeamen under his command. I feel particularly indebted to captain Lawford, of his majeſty's ſhip Romney, who was left on ſhore, and had the immediate direction of the embarkation, for his exertions, and his attention to every branch of his majeſty's ſervice, and to captain Woodriffe, principal agent of the tranſport-ſervice, for his great zeal

in the execution of the duties of that ſituation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

James Pulteney.

The hon. col. Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

P. S. Three armed veſſels have been left to cruiſe off the Texel, to give warning to any Britiſh ſhips of our having evacuated the port. It was agreed by the French general, that if any ſhould arrive previous to the expirataion of the month, they ſhould as a matter of courſe, be allowed to depart.

Supplement to the Account of the Armiſtice concluded between his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York and General Brune, publiſhed in the Gazette of the 20th ultimo.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 15.

General,

The late hour at which your letter reached me laſt night, prevented my ſending ſooner to Alkmaar major-general Knox, the officer alluded to in my letter of yeſterday's date. He is entirely in my confidence, and is fully authorized to treat and conclude with you on the ſubject reſpecting which he has received my inſtructions.

(Signed) Frederick, duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined Engliſh and Ruſſian army.

To general Brune, commander-in-chief, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 15.

By virtue of the authority, and in obedience to the order of his royal highneſs the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined Engliſh and Ruſſian army, major-general Knox will have the honour of communicating with general Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, and of ſtating to him, that in conſequence of the difficulties ariſing from the very unfavourable and unuſual ſtate of the weather at this ſeaſon, we have judged it expedient to re-occupy the poſition of Zuyp: that in this ſituation, with cantonments amply adequate to the amount of our forces, having an uninterrupted and certain means of keeping up our communication with England, and maſters as we are of the Helder, the Texel, the Zuyder Zee, and the ocean, it depends upon us either to await the period when a favourable change of weather and of circumſtances may enable us to renew offenſive operations, or to withdraw our army by degrees, and without riſk, from this country, retaining poſſeſſion of ſuch detached points as might be judged moſt favourable for annoying the enemy, or for ſecuring real advantages to ourſelves. In the event of our recurring to this laſt-mentioned meaſure, it will become our duty to neglect no means which can contribute to the preſervation of the brave troops intruſted to our care; and for this purpoſe (however diſtreſſing, however ruinous to the inhabitants and to the country the alternative may be) we ſhall be compelled to avail ourſelves of thoſe dreadful expedients which it is in our power to adopt. Having perfectly at our diſpoſal the ſea-dykes, both towards the ocean and the Zuyder Zee, as well as the interior dykes,

dykes, we ſhould in that caſe be reduced to the terrible neceſſity of inundating the whole country of North Holland, and of adding to this calamity every deſtructive evil which muſt neceſſarily reſult from an attempt to force or interrupt our retreat.

We ſhould, under ſuch circumſtances, alſo be conſtrained to make uſe of the ample means we poſſeſs of rendering the navigation of the Zuyder Zee henceforth impracticable, by obſtructing the Mars Diep, and deſtroying the Nieuve Diep; works upon which ſo many years labour, and ſuch immenſe ſums, have been expended. Our ſyſtem of carying on war having on all occaſions been governed by the moſt liberal principles, neceſſity and the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of duty could alone induce us to adopt a ſyſtem repugnant to the ſentiments which have ever directed the conduct of the Engliſh nation. From theſe conſiderations, and from our perſuaſion that general Brune and the Dutch people muſt be actuated by ſimilar motives, and equally deſirous to prevent an uſeleſs effuſion of blood, by the amicable arrangement of a point which is, perhaps, the object of both parties, and from our anxiety, in caſe of a different reſult, to ſtand juſtified to the whole univerſe, from whatever deſtruction may in conſequence devolve upon this country; we propoſe and offer to general Brune, and to the Batavian republic, that the Engliſh and Ruſſian troops ſhall evacuate, before the end of November next, all the coaſts, the iſlands, and the interior navigation of Holland, without committing any act detrimental to the great ſources of its navigation, or laying the country under any inundations.

For this purpoſe, we propoſe that a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhall take place until the period above ſpecified: That during this interval we ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion of all the points, and of the whole extent of country we occupy at this moment, and that the line of the reſpective advanced poſts ſhall alſo be that of ſeparation between the two armies; and that this line ſhall not, under any pretence, be paſſed by the troops of either, even in the event of our chooſing to retire from any part of our preſent poſition, or of our quitting it altogether: That during the above-mentioned interval no interference ſhall be allowed, nor any objections be ſtarted, with reſpect to the conduct of either of the parties within the limits of their reſpective poſſeſſions; and that all the rights of war (every act of hoſtility excepted) ſhall continue mutually in force: That we will grant to the perſons and property of the inhabitants of the country occupied by us every protection conſiſtent with diſcipline, in the circumſtances under which we are placed, and all the advantages which the conduct generally obſerved by Britiſh troops entitles them to expect on ſuch an occaſion. If theſe propoſals accord with the wiſhes, and are conformable to the intentions of general Brune, there can be no difficulty whatever in carrying them into execution in three days from the date hereof.

By order of his royal highneſs the commander-in-chief.

(Signed) H. Taylor, Sec.

The

The French and Batavian Armies.

Equality. *Liberty.*

Head-quarters, at Alkmaar, the 15th of October, the 8th Year of the French Republic.

Brune, General-in-Chief, to the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the combined Engliſh and Ruſſian Army.

General,

Major-general Knox, who was inſtructed to conſer with me on your part, upon the ſubject of a note which he has delivered, ſigned by your ſecretary, will communicate my anſwer contained in an explanatory note.

(Signed) Citizen Brune, General-in-chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

Head-quarters, at Alkmaar, the 15th of October, the 8th Year of the French Republic.

The duke of York, commander-in-chief of the Engliſh army, propoſes that a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhall take place, in conſequence of the approach of the inclement ſeaſon. He promiſes to withdraw from the Batavian territory, between the preſent period and the end of November next, the whole army under his command; and conſents that no damage ſhall be committed, no ſluices opened, or dykes broken up, on condition of his retreat not being moleſted by the French and Batavian army. Theſe motives would not have been brought forward by the duke of York, if he had conſidered himſelf poſſeſſed of means ſufficient for advancing into the country; for in that caſe he would have had the facility of extending his quarters, of procuring ſubſiſtence, and, in ſhort, of placing himſelf beyond the reach of the inconveniences ariſing from the unfavourable ſeaſon. We ought conſequently to look to advantages in an arrangement, proportionate to the inſufficiency of the forces under his command. The terms propoſed by the duke of York contain nothing but what would be the neceſſary reſult of a ceſſation of hoſtilities. It can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that the duke of York will cauſe the dykes to be deſtroyed, the country to be inundated, and the villages to be burnt, for the mere purpoſe of committing ſuch acts of violence; as ſuch conduct would be contrary to the laws of war, and muſt draw upon him the reprobation of all Europe and of his own nation. It appears therefore evident, that the duke of York would confine himſelf to ſuch meaſures as might be uſeful to his own army, or detrimental to ours; but we look upon ſuch accidents as inſeparable from a ſtate of war. No object of advantage to us appears therefore to reſult from the propoſals which have been made. Since, however, the ſufferings of humanity came under the conſideration of the duke of York, general Brune is ready to meet this honourable feeling; and, in doing ſo, declares that the following ſtipulations, on which he offers to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, are ſo obviouſly juſt, that he cannot depart from them:—

I. The Batavian fleet, which was ſurrendered to admiral Mitchell by admiral Storey, ſhall be reſtored to the Batavian republic with its ſtores and

and crews. In case the duke of York shall not be vested with sufficient powers to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.

II. Fifteen thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. The mode of selection, and the proportion for each country, to be settled between the governments of the two republics. The Batavian admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged. This article shall in no degree prejudice or interfere with the cartel of exchange at present established.

III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army. An officer of artillery shall be sent to the Helder by general Brune to see that this article is complied with.

IV. The army under the command of the duke of York shall, within forty-eight hours, evacuate the position of the Zuyp; its advanced posts shall be withdrawn to the height of Callants-Oog. The French and Batavian army shall preserve the positions it occupies at present, taking up, however, its advanced posts at Petten, Krabendam, Schagen Brug, and Colhorn. It shall have merely a vidette at the height of Callants-Oog.

V. The troops composing the English and Russian army shall be embarked successively, and as speedily as possible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and islands of the Batavian republic, before the 20th of November next, and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation of the country.

VI. All ships of war or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.

VII. To guarantee the execution of these articles, hostages shall be given by the duke of York, to be selected amongst the officers of rank in his army.

By order of general Brune, commander-in-chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

(Signed) Vevry, Secretary.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 17.

General,

I send back major-general Knox with my answers to the explanatory note which he has delivered to me in your name. He is fully authorized to conclude on my part upon every point which relates to the subject of his mission.

(Signed) Frederick, duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army.

To gen. Brune, commander-in-chief, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 17.

His royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, proposed to general Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, an arrangement equally to the advantage of both parties, originating in his desire to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and to preserve his country from the terrible effects of an inundation, as also from the destruction of the best of its ports, involving the total ruin

of

of the principal channels of its interior navigation and commerce. In anſwer to which, general Brune obſerves, that he cannot imagine his royal highneſs will recur to meaſures not leſs revolting to humanity, than repugnant to the character of the Britiſh nation, and to the general feeling of all Europe. Devaſtation or deſtruction is certainly incompatible with the character and with the uniform conduct of the Engliſh nation; and as little does either accord with the diſpoſition of his royal highneſs the commander-in-chief; but there are duties peremptorily preſcribed by the nature of particular ſituations, the odium of which muſt fall, not on thoſe who execute, but on ſuch as render the meaſure neceſſary, by rejecting the conditions of a juſt and honourable agreement. Deeply impreſſed with what is due to his country on the one hand, and to the claims of humanity on the other; perſuaded, likewiſe, that general Brune is equally guided by theſe ſentiments, his royal highneſs has taken his propoſals into conſideration, and conſents to abide by the agreement as it ſtands in the anſwers annexed to the different articles.

Major-general Knox, who is charged therewith, is authorized to ſign and conclude this agreement, as well as to arrange any points of detail which may ariſe out of it. It being the duty of every officer commanding his Britannic majeſty's troops to make an exact report of whatever relates to his command, his royal highneſs the duke of York will of courſe lay before the Britiſh government every communication which has taken place between his royal highneſs and general Brune."

Articles propoſed in the explanatory Note of General Brune.

Anſw. to Art. I. His royal highneſs will on no account treat upon this article, the execution of which, it muſt be evident to both parties, is impoſſible.

Anſw. to Art. II. This demand appears to reſt upon a ſuppoſed loſs the combined army muſt ſuſtain, ſhould its embarkation be reſolved upon. It is by no means admitted that ſuch would be the reſult; but as, in the event of the army's carrying on the campaign during the winter, the loſs of a certain number of men muſt naturally be expected; his royal highneſs, influenced by this conſideration, agrees to promiſe, in the name of the Britiſh government, that 5000 French and Batavian priſoners, the proportion of each to be regulated according to the terms of the article, ſhall be unconditionally releaſed and ſent home. Nothing farther in this article can be agreed to.

Anſw. to Art. III. The fort and batteries of the Helder will be left, generally conſidered, in an improved ſtate. None of the Dutch artillery ſhall be carried away.

Anſw. to Art. IV. On no account will it be conſented that the army ſhall be withdrawn from the poſition of the Zuyp, until every preparation requiſite to render its embarkation eaſy and complete can be arranged at the Helder. It muſt be evident, that it cannot be deſired that any delay ſhould take place in this reſpect. No addition ſhall be made to the works at the Zuyp, and perſons properly authoriſed ſhall be admitted from time to time to aſcertain and report upon this point, for the

the ſatisfaction of general Brune; but no armed detachment will be permitted to approach, or to take poſt, nearer than they already are to our poſition. It muſt be farther underſtood, that, on his part, general Brune will not allow any approaches or offenſive preparations to be carried on, and that the French and Batavian army ſhall remain in the line of advanced poſts which it occupies at preſent, which ſhall alſo be the line of ſeparation between the two armies reſpectively.

Anſw. to Art. V. The embarkation of the Engliſh and Ruſſian troops will take place with all poſſible expedition; and at this ſeaſon of the year any unneceſſary delay will naturally be avoided as much as poſſible; but to prevent any difficult or future diſcuſſion upon this point, it is propoſed, that the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhall be limited to the end of the month of November next, in order to ſecure ſufficient time for the complete evacuation of the country, which, however, ſhall be effected ſooner, if practicable.

Anſw. to Art. VI. The ſhips of war, or other veſſels immediately expected with reinforcements for the combined Engliſh and Ruſſian army, or which may hereafter be ſent, ſhall not land their troops, but ſhall put to ſea again as ſoon as poſſible.

Anſw. to Art. VII. Hoſtages ſhall be reciprocally given, to be ſelected among the officers of rank of the two armies, to guarantee the execution of this agreement.

By order of his royal highneſs the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined Engliſh and Ruſſian army.

(Signed) H. Taylor, ſec.

Alkmaar, October 17.

Sir,

I have ſeen general Brune, and have talked over with him fully all the articles on which I have received his royal highneſs's inſtructions. I have found the greateſt diſpoſition on the part of general Brune to enter fairly into the ſubject. In reſpect to the eſſential article of the fleet, general Brune has already received a letter from the Dutch directory, to make the delivery of it a *ſine qua non*; and I much doubt whether there is any chance of his being brought to give way on this point, at leaſt without ſome aſſurance that his royal highneſs would forward the demand to his court. In reſpect to the other very eſſential article of the priſoners, after much converſation, I brought the general to lower his demands to 8000 men, beyond which he cannot recede. Every other point can be amicably ſettled. I beg his royal highneſs's orders on theſe points; and I hope to receive them by noon to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Knox.

To the hon. colonel Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 18.

Sir,

His royal highneſs the commander-in-chief, in his inſtructions to you of yeſterday's date, having declared that every paper or propoſal from general Brune, and conſequently that relative to the whole Dutch fleet, will of courſe be regularly tranſmitted to England, can give no other anſwer than what you are already empowered to make, viz. "His royal highneſs will, on no account, treat upon this article; the execution

execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible." If general Brune expects any thing farther to pass on that subject, the sooner the negociation is put an end to the better. In regard to the number of prisoners, if every other point is clearly and immediately decided upon, his royal highness may be induced to relax; if not, it is unnecessary to enter farther into the subject; and he directs you to finish the negociation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Alex. Hope,
Deputy adjutant-general.

To the hon. major-gen. Knox, &c.

Alkmaar, October 18, Three P. M.

Sir,

I have received your letter, and have the pleasure to inform you that every thing is settled to his royal highness's satisfaction; in consequence of which general Brune has given immediate orders to all his posts that all hostilities shall cease, and that no farther work of any kind shall be carried on; he requests his royal highness will be pleased to give similar orders without loss of time, as a report has just been made that some houses have been set on fire on the road leading to Herenhuysen.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Knox.

To the hon. colonel Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

P. S. General Brune has sent off to Amsterdam, to direct that nothing hostile shall be attempted on the part of the flotilla there fitted out; and he begs that similar notice may be sent to admiral Mitchell.

New Constitution of the French Republic.

TITLE I.

Article 1. The French republic is one and indivisible.

Its European territory is distributed into departmental and communal districts *(arrondissemens)*.

2. Every man of the age of twenty-one years complete, born and resident in France, who has caused his name to be inscribed upon the civic list of his communal district, and who has dwelt from that period for a year within the territory of the republic, is a French citizen.

3. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years complete, and after having declared his intention of settling in France, has resided in it ten years without interruption.

4. The character of French citizen may be lost—

By naturalization in a foreign country;

By the acceptance of functions, or of pensions offered by a foreign government;

By affiliation with any foreign corporation, which would infer distinction of birth; by condemnation to corporal or ignominious punishments.

5. The exercise of the rights of French citizen is suspended by a man's being an insolvent debtor, or a direct heir keeping up, with an onerous title, the succession of a bankrupt, in whole or in part;

By a man's acting as a hired domestic, attached either to the person or the business of an individual;

By a man's being in a state of judicial interdiction, accusation, or contumacy.

6. In

6. In order to exercise the rights of citizenship in a communal district, a person must have fixed in it his domicile or place of abode by a year's residence, and at the same time he must not have lost it by a year's absence.

7. The citizens of every communal district are to point out, by their votes, those they conceive most proper to manage the public affairs. The number so pointed out forms a list of men worthy of confidence, amounting to a tenth of the number of citizens having a right to vote. Out of this list are to be chosen the public functionaries of the district.

8. The citizens, comprehended in the communal lists of a department, shall likewise point out a tenth part of their own number. Hence is formed a second list, called departmental, from which are be chosen the public functionaries of the department.

9. The citizens whose names stand on the departmental list, shall likewise name a tenth of their own number. Thus there is a third list formed, which comprehends the citizens of the department eligible to public national functions.

10. The citizens having a right to assist in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles, are to be called upon every three years to supply the place of those upon the lists who may have died, or who are absent for any other cause than that of exercising a public employment.

11. They at the same time may erase from the list those whom they think unfit to appear any longer upon it, and appoint as their successors other citizens in whom they have greater confidence.

12. No person can be erased from any of the lists, but by the votes of an absolute majority of the citizens having a right to vote on its formation.

13. A person is not to be erased from one list of eligible persons, solely because he is, at a given period, member of another list, inferior or superior.

14. Inscription on a list of persons eligible, is not necessary but for those public offices, for which this condition is expressly required by the constitution of the law. All the lists of eligible persons shall be formed in the course of the year 9.

Title II.

Of the Conservative Senate.

15. The conservative senate is composed of eighty members, irremovable, and for life, who shall be forty years of age at least.

For the formation of the senate, there shall at first be named sixty members. This number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the year 8; to sixty-four in the course of the year 9; and thus be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members during each of the ten first years.

16. The appointment of the situation of senator is made by the senate itself, which chooses one out of three candidates presented; the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third by the chief consul.

The senate may choose one of two candidates, in the case that one of them is proposed by two of the presenting bodies. The senate must admit a person who is proposed, on the same occasion, by all the three authorities.

17. The

17. The chief conſul quitting his ſtation, either on the expiration of his functions, or in conſequence of reſignation, becomes a ſenator by immediate right, and of neceſſity.

The two other conſuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take a place in the ſenate, and are not obliged to avail themſelves of this right.

They do not poſſeſs this right at all when they quit their conſular functions by reſignation.

18. A ſenator is for ever ineligible to any other public function.

19. All the liſts made up in the departments in virtue of the 9th article, are to be addreſſed to the ſenate. They compoſe the national liſt.

20. Out of this liſt the ſenate chooſes the legiſlators, tribunes, conſuls, judges of caſſation, and commiſſioners of accounts.

21. It is to maintain or to annul all the reſolutions referred to it as unconſtitutional by the tribunate or the government. The liſts of eligible perſons are comprehended among ſuch reſolutions.

22. The revenues of certain national domains to be fixed upon, are to be liable to the payment of the expenſes of the ſenate. The annual ſalary of each member is to be taken out of theſe revenues. It is to be equal to the 20th of that of the chief conſul.

23. The ſittings of the ſenate are not to be public.

24. The citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the conſuls quitting their functions, are appointed members of the conſervative ſenate. They ſhall aſſemble along with the ſecond and third conſuls nominated by the preſent conſtitution. Theſe four citizens ſhall appoint the majority of the ſenate, which ſhall then complete itſelf, and proceed to the elections intruſted to it.

Title III.

Of the Legiſlative Power.

25. No new laws ſhall be promulgated, but when the project ſhall have been propoſed by the government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legiſlative body.

26. The projects which the government propoſes ſhall be drawn up in articles. In every ſtage of the diſcuſſion of theſe projects the government may withdraw them. It may produce them anew in a modified ſtate.

27. The tribunate is to be compoſed of one hundred members, at leaſt twenty-five years of age. They are to be renewed by a fifth part every year, and are indefinitely reeligible as long as they continue on the national liſt.

28. The tribunate diſcuſſes the project of a law; and votes for its adoption or rejection.

It is to ſend three ſpeakers, choſen out of its own number, who are to explain and defend its views and motives in either caſe before the legiſlative body.

It may refer to the ſenate, and that ſolely, on the ground of unconſtitutionality, the liſts of perſons eligible, the proceedings of the legiſlative body, and thoſe of the government.

29. It may expreſs an opinion reſpecting laws made, or to be made, reſpecting abuſes that require correction, reſpecting improvements to be attempted in all the parts of the public adminiſtration; but never

ver reſpecting matters criminal or civil ſubmitted to the courts.

The opinions which it ſhall expreſs in virtue of the preſent article have no neceſſary conſequence, and do not bind any conſtituted authority to act.

30. When the tribunate adjourns itſelf, it may appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, authorized to aſſemble it, if thought adviſable.

31. The legiſlative body is compoſed of three hundred members, thirty years of age at leaſt. They are renewed by a fifth every year. It muſt always contain at leaſt one citizen from each department of the republic.

32. A member quitting the legiſlative body cannot be re-elected to it till the lapſe of a year; but he may immediately be elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, if in other reſpects he is eligible.

33. The ſitting of the legiſlative body ſhall commence every year on the 1ſt Frimaire (22d November), and ſhall continue only four months. It may be extraordinarily convoked during the eight remaining months by the government.

34. The legiſlative body enacts laws by a private ballot, and without any diſcuſſion on the part of its members reſpecting the projects of laws debated in its preſence by the ſpeakers of the tribunate and of the government.

35. The ſittings of the tribunate and thoſe of the legiſlative body are to be public. The number of ſtrangers in both ſhall not exceed two hundred in each.

36. The ſalary of a tribune is to be 15,000 francs (625*l.*); that of a legiſlator 10,000 francs (416*l.*)

36. Every decree of the legiſlative body, upon the tenth day after its paſſing, ſhall be promulgated by the chief conſul, unleſs during that interval he has appealed to the ſenate on the ground of unconſtitutionality. This recourſe ſhall not exiſt againſt laws promulgated.

38. The firſt renewal of the legiſlative body ſhall take place only in the courſe of the year 10.

TITLE IV.

Of the Government.

39. The government is confided to three conſuls, choſen for ten years, and re-eligible indefinitely.

Each of theſe is elected individually in the capacity of firſt, ſecond, or third conſul. In the firſt inſtance the third conſul ſhall be appointed only for five years.

For this time the following are appointed: general Buonaparte, chief conſul; citizen Cambaceres, now miniſter of juſtice; and citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of elders, third conſul.

40. The chief conſul has functions and prerogatives peculiar to himſelf, in which his place may be temporarily ſupplied, when the caſe occurs, by one of his colleagues.

41. The chief conſul promulgates laws. He makes and revokes at pleaſure appointments of members of the council of ſtate; miniſters, ambaſſadors, and other external ſuperior agents; the officers of the army by ſea and land; members of local adminiſtrations, and commiſſioners of the government to the different courts. He appoints all the civil and criminal judges, except the juſtices of peace, and judges of caſſation, without the power of revocation.

42. In

42. In the other acts of the government, the ſecond and third conſuls have deliberate voices. They ſign the proceedings, to ſhew that they were preſent; and, if they pleaſe, they may inſert their own opinions, after which, the deciſion of the chief conſul is ſufficient.

43. The ſalary of the chief conſul ſhall be 500,000 francs for the year 8 (about 20,833*l.*) The ſalary of each of the other two conſuls ſhall be equal to three-tenths of that of the chief conſul.

44. The government propoſes laws, and makes regulations neceſſary to carry them into execution.

45. The government directs the receipts and expenſes of the ſtate agreeable to the annual law, which ſhall determine the amount of each. He is to ſuperintend the coining of money, of which the law alone ſhall regulate the iſſue, fix the title, the faſhion, and weight.

46. If the government is informed that any conſpiracies are deviſing againſt the ſtate, it may decree ſummonſes of appearance and warrants of arreſts, againſt thoſe who are preſumed to be the authors or accomplices. But if after the lapſe of ten days after their arreſt, they are not liberated, or put in a ſtate for trial, in the regular form, the miniſter who ſigns the warrant ſhall be guilty of arbitrary impriſonment.

47. The government ſhall take meaſures for the internal ſecurity and external defence of the ſtate. He ſtations the forces, military and naval, and regulates the manner of their being employed.

48. The national guard in activity is ſubject to the direction of the public adminiſtration. The ſedentary national guard is ſubject only to the diſpoſitions of the law.

49. The government is to maintain political relations abroad, to manage negociations, make preliminary ſtipulations, cauſe, ſign, and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

50. Declarations of war and treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, are propoſed, diſcuſſed, decreed, and promulgated like laws.

Only diſcuſſions upon theſe objects, both in the tribunate and legiſlative body, are to take place in a ſecret committee, when the government deſires it.

51. The ſecret articles of a treaty cannot deſtroy the public articles.

52. Under the direction of the conſuls, the council of ſtate is authorized to draw up projects of laws and regulations of public adminiſtration, and to remove the obſtacles which may ariſe in matters of adminiſtration.

53. It muſt be out of the council of ſtate that the ſpeakers nominated by the government to ſtate points before the legiſlative body muſt be taken.

Theſe ſpeakers are never to be ſent to the number of more than three, to ſupport the ſame project of a law.

54. The miniſters procure the execution of laws and regulations of public adminiſtration.

55. No act of government can have effect if it is not ſigned by a miniſter.

56. One of the miniſters is ſpecially intruſted with the adminiſtration of the public treaſure. He is to ſecure the receipts, to order the tranſfer of ſums, and the payments authorized by law; he can make, or cauſe to be made, no payment, except in virtue, 1ſt, of a law, and

till

till the concurrence of funds which have been fixed for a diſtinct ſpecies of expenſe; 2d, of an arrêté of the government; 3d, of a warrant ſigned by a miniſter.

57. Detailed accounts of the expenſe of each miniſter, ſigned and certified by him, ſhall be made public.

58. The government can elect or conſtitute, as counſellors of ſtate or miniſters, none but citizens whoſe names are inſcribed on the national liſt.

59. The local adminiſtrations, eſtabliſhed either for each commercial diſtrict, or for more extenſive portions of territory, ſhall be ſubordinate to the miniſters. No perſon can be made or continue a member of theſe adminiſtrations unleſs he ſtand and be retained upon one of the liſts mentioned in the 7th and 8th articles.

Title V.

60. Each commercial diſtrict is to have one or more judges of the peace, to be elected immediately by the citizens for the period of three years.

Their chief function is, to reconcile parties whom they call before them in caſes of adverſeneſs to reconciliation, to ſubmit themſelves to deciſions by arbitration.

61. In civil matters, there are to be tribunals in the firſt reſort, and the tribunals of appeal. The law is to determine the organization both of the one and the other; their competency, and the extent of territory that is to circumſcribe their ſphere of action.

62. In matters of miſdemeanour *(delits)*, where corporal or ignominious puniſhment is inflicted, there is to be a firſt jury to admit, or to reject the accuſation; if admitted, a ſecond jury is to declare the fact to be proved: the judges then form a criminal tribunal, and adjudge the puniſhment. Againſt their deciſion there is no appeal.

63. The place of public accuſer before a criminal tribunal is to be filled by the government commiſſary.

64. Offences, *(delits)* which do not incur corporal or ignominious puniſhment, are to be judged by tribunals of correctional police, with power of appeal to the criminal tribunals.

65. There will be eſtabliſhed, for the whole of the republic, a tribunal of caſſation, that is to pronounce upon motions for caſſation againſt judgements in dernier reſort, pronounced by the tribunals on motions of appeal from one tribunal to another, grounded upon legitimate ſuſpicion, or upon reaſons that regard the public ſafety, where the plea of one party is ſet up againſt a whole tribunal.

66. The tribunal of caſſation does not take cognizance of the grounds of a cauſe; but it annuls the judgements paſſed in conſequence of proceedings in which either the due forms have been violated, or which contain any expreſs infraction of the law, and it refers the grounds of the cauſe to the proper tribunal that is to take cognizance of them.

67. The judges who preſide in the tribunals of firſt reſort, and the government commiſſaries that are to act in theſe courts, are to be taken from the communal, or from the departmental liſt.

The judges who preſide in the tribunals of appeal, and the commiſſaries who act in theſe courts, are to be taken from the departmental liſt.

The judges who compoſe the tribunal of caſſation, and the commiſ-

faries acting in theſe courts, are to be taken from the national liſt.

68. All judges, except the juſtices of the peace, are to retain their functions for life, unleſs they be pronounced to have forfeited them, or unleſs they be already on the liſt of thoſe who are deemed ineligible to hold ſuch functions.

Title VI.

Reſponſibility of the public Functionaries.

69. The functions of the members, whether of the ſenate, the legiſlative body, the tribunate, or thoſe of the conſuls and counſellors of ſtate, leave no room for reſponſibility.

70. Perſonal offences incurring corporal or ignominious puniſhment, committed by a member, whether of the ſenate, the tribunate, the legiſlative body, or the council of ſtate, are to be proſecuted before the ordinary tribunal, after a deliberation of the body to which ſuch a defendant may belong, ſhall have authorized ſuch a proceeding.

71. Miniſters who may be accuſed of private offences, incurring corporal or ignominious puniſhment, are to be conſidered as members of the council of ſtate.

72. Miniſters are reſponſible, 1ſt, for every act of government which they ſign, that is declared unconſtitutional by the ſenate; 2d, for the inexecution of the laws and the regulations of the public adminiſtration; 3d, for the particular orders they may iſſue, ſhould theſe orders be contrary to the conſtitution, to the laws or regulations.

73. Where ſuch caſes occur as are ſtated in the foregoing article, the tribunate is to impeach the miniſter in virtue of an act upon which the legiſlative body is to deliberate in the uſual forms, after having heard or ſummoned before them the perſon impeached. The miniſter who is brought to trial, by a decree of the legiſlative body, is to be tried by a high court, with power of appeal or recurrence to an act of caſſation.

The high court is to conſiſt of judges and of juries: the judges to be choſen by, and from among the tribunal of caſſation; the juries to be taken from the national liſt. The whole agreeably to the forms preſcribed by the law.

74. The civil and criminal judges, in caſe of offences derogatory to their functions, are to be proſecuted before the tribunals to which they may be referred by the tribunal of caſſation after having annulled their decrees.

75. The other agents of government, beſides the miniſters, cannot be proſecuted for acts connected with their functions, but in virtue of a deciſion of the council of ſtate: in ſuch caſes the proſecution is to be carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

Title VII.

General Diſpoſitions.

76. The houſe of every perſon inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable aſylum.

During the night no one has a right to enter ſuch houſe but in caſe of fire, or inundation, or of a requeſt made for ſuch purpoſe from the inhabitants of the houſe.

During the day it may be entered for ſome ſpecial object pointed out by a law, or by an order iſſued by a public authority.

77. In

77. In order to give effect to the act which authorizes the arreſting of a perſon, it is neceſſary, 1ſt, that they do formally expreſs the motives of the arreſt, and the law by virtue of which it has been ordered; 2d, that it ſhould be iſſued by a functionary formally inveſted with this power by the law; 3d, that it muſt be notified to the perſon arreſted, and that a copy of it be alſo left with him.

78. A keeper or jailor cannot receive or detain any perſon till after he has tranſcribed into his regiſter the act that orders the arreſt. This act muſt be an order iſſued agreeably to the forms preſcribed by the preceding article, or by a warrant for apprehending the perſon, or a decree of accuſation, or a ſentence pronounced.

79. The keeper or jailor is bound (nor can any order free him from the obligation) to bring forward the perſon ſo detained before the civil officer, who inſpects the police of ſuch priſon, as often as the ſame may be required by ſuch magiſtrate.

80. Acceſs to the perſon impriſoned cannot be refuſed to his relations and friends, furniſhed with an order to that effect by the civil officer, who ſhall be always bound to grant ſuch order, unleſs the keeper or jailor can ſhew an inſtruction from the judge to keep the perſon in ſecret confinement.

81. All thoſe who, not being authorized by the law to arreſt a perſon, ſhall iſſue, ſign, or execute, an order for ſuch arreſt; all thoſe who, even in the caſe of an arreſt authorized by the law, ſhall receive or detain the perſon arreſted in any place of confinement not publicly and legally pointed out as ſuch; and all the keepers and jailors who ſhall act contrary to the ſenſe of the three preceding articles, ſhall be held guilty of the charge of arbitrary impriſonment.

82. All meaſures of rigour employed in arreſtations, impriſonments, or executions, except ſuch as are ordained by the laws, are to be held as crimes.

83. Every perſon has the right of addreſſing private petitions to every conſtituted authority, and more eſpecially to the tribunate.

84. It is of the eſſence of the public force, to obey; no armed body can deliberate.

85. Military offences are to be ſubmitted to ſpecial tribunals, and to particular forms of trial.

86. The French nation declares, that penſions ſhall be granted to all military perſons wounded in the defence of the country, as alſo to the widows and children of military men who may be killed in the field of battle, or who may die in conſequence of their wounds.

87. National rewards ſhall be decreed to ſuch warriors as ſhall render diſtinguiſhed ſervices to the republic in fighting for its defence.

88. A conſtituted body cannot open a deliberation but in a ſitting, of which at leaſt two-thirds of its members ſhall be preſent.

89. A national inſtitute is appointed to collect diſcoveries, and to advance the perfection of the ſciences and arts.

90. A commiſſion of national accompts ſhall regulate and verify the entry of the receipts and expenditure of the republic. This commiſſion is to conſiſt of ſeven members choſen by the ſenate from the national liſt.

91. The adminiſtration of the French colonies is to be determined by ſpecial laws.

92. In caſes of revolt in the armed force, or of diſturbances that threaten the ſafety of the ſtate, the law may ſuſpend, in ſuch places and for ſuch time as it may determine, the powers of the conſtitution.

The ſuſpenſion may be proviſionally declared in ſimilar emergencies by an arrêté of government during an adjournment of the legiſlative body, provided that this body be ſummoned to meet at the ſhorteſt period, by an article of the ſaid arrêté.

93. The French nation declareth, that it will in no caſe whatever permit the return of the Frenchmen who have deſerted their country ſince the 14th of July, 1789, and are not comprehended in the exceptions that have been made to the laws enacted againſt the emigrants: it alſo forbids any new exception upon this point.

The property of the emigrants is irrevocably confiſcated to the profit of the republic.

94. The French nation declareth, that after a legal ſale hath been made of the national domains, from whatever ſource they may come, the legal purchaſer cannot be diſpoſſeſſed of them, except where a third party (if ſuch caſe ſhould occur) puts in a claim of indemnity from the public treaſury.

95. The preſent conſtitution ſhall immediately be preſented for the acceptation of the French people.

Done at Paris, the 22d Frimaire (December 13,) 8th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

[Here follow the ſignatures of the members of the legiſlative commiſſions, and of the conſuls.]

Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, printed the 15th of March 1799.

The committee of ſecrecy, to whom the ſeveral papers which were preſented (ſealed up) to the houſe by Mr. ſecretary Dundas, upon the 23d day of January, 1799, by his majeſty's command, were referred, and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the ſame, as they ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, have proceeded, in obedience to the orders of the houſe, to the conſideration of the matters referred to them. They have been prevented from ſooner laying before the houſe the reſult of their examination, not only from the extent of the matters which came before them, but becauſe ſome of the recent circumſtances which they have to ſtate, could not, with propriety, have been diſcloſed at an earlier period.

In the whole courſe of their inquiry, your committee have found the cleareſt proofs of a ſyſtematic deſign, long ſince adopted and acted upon by France, in conjunction with domeſtic traitors, and purſued up to the preſent moment with unabated perſeverance, to overturn the laws, conſtitution, and government, and every exiſting eſtabliſhment, civil or eccleſiaſtical, both in Great Britain and Ireland; as well as to diſſolve the connection between the two kingdoms, ſo neceſſary to the ſecurity and proſperity of both.

The chief hope of accompliſhing this deſign has reſted on the propagation of thoſe deſtructive principles

ples which originally produced the French revolution, with all the miſeries and calamities ſince experienced in France, and now extended over a large part of Europe.

The moſt effectual engine, employed for this purpoſe, has been the inſtitution of political ſocieties, of a nature and deſcription before unknown in any country, and inconſiſtent with public tranquillity, and with the exiſtence of regular government. The effects of this fatal cauſe, operating in its fulleſt extent, have been unhappily felt and exemplified in the diſtractions and calamities of Ireland. The ſame cauſe is known to have prepared the way for all the different revolutions by which France has ſucceeded in ſubverting ſo many of the governments of Europe, and reducing ſo many independent ſtates to vaſſalage and ſubjection. In this country ſimilar meaſures have been attempted; and although they have been hitherto defeated, by the precautions of the legiſlature, by the vigilance of his majeſty's government, and ſtill more by the general good ſenſe and loyalty of the nation, the object is not abandoned. The utmoſt diligence is ſtill employed in endeavouring, not only to ſuſtain and revive thoſe ſocieties, whoſe ſeditious and treaſonable purpoſes long ſince attracted the notice of parliament, but to extend their correſpondence to every part of this kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and to thoſe places on the continent where French emiſſaries are eſtabliſhed; and to inſtitute new ſocieties, formed preciſely on the ſame plan, and directed by the ſame object, as thoſe whoſe influence in Ireland has produced ſuch pernicious and formidable effects; and of which, the conſequences might have proved fatal to that kingdom, if they had not been averted, in a ſeaſon of the greateſt difficulty, by the wiſdom, firmneſs, and exertion of his majeſty's government, and the parliament of Ireland. The extent and uniformity of this ſyſtematic conſpiracy are equally ſtriking. The formation and ſtructure of all theſe ſocieties, in this country, in Ireland, and on the continent, are ſimilar; their views and principles are the ſame, as well as the means which they employ to extend their influence. A continued intercourſe and concert has been maintained from their firſt origin to the preſent moment; ſometimes between the ſocieties themſelves, ſometimes between their leading members; and a frequent communication has been kept up with the government of France; to which they appear to look as their protector and ally, and which has repeatedly furniſhed an aſylum to thoſe, who, on account of their principal ſhare in theſe criminal tranſactions, have become fugitives or outlaws from the Britiſh dominions.

In ſtating the grounds of this opinion, although your committee will have much and important new matter to lay before the houſe; yet they will alſo be obliged to recall to the recollection of the houſe, many particulars which have already been brought under the conſideration of parliament, but on which new lights have been thrown by the events which have ſince occurred, and by the ſubſequent intelligence which has been received. The information which has been produced to your committee, on the whole of this ſubject, has been moſt ample and extenſive. The indiſ-

penſable neceſſity of ſecrecy, with reſpect to the ſources of many parts of that intelligence, muſt be felt by the houſe, as reſulting from conſiderations of good faith as well as public ſafety. They are convinced, that the early and uniform defeat of all attempts to diſturb the public tranquillity of this kingdom, is, in a very great degree, to be aſcribed to the meritorious and laudable diligence of the perſons filling thoſe departments of his majeſty's government to which this duty has peculiarly belonged. They appear, during a long period of time, to have obtained early and accurate information of the chief deſigns and meaſures of the conſpirators; and the ſtriking manner in which the moſt important particulars of the ſecret intelligence thus procured, have, in a great variety of inſtances, been completely confirmed, by events now notorious to the world, and by the confeſſion of parties concerned, entitles, in the opinion of your committee, the whole of the information derived from the ſame ſources, to the fulleſt credit.

§ 1. *View of the Nature and Syſtem of the Society of United Iriſhmen, as fully eſtabliſhed in Ireland.*

Your committee are induced, in the firſt inſtance, to ſtate the nature, extent, and influence, of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen; becauſe this ſociety has proved the moſt powerful engine, in the hands of the conſpirators, againſt the government of their country, which has ever yet been deviſed; and becauſe its proceedings place in the cleareſt view, the real object of all ſocieties of this deſcription, either in Ireland or Great Britain; the peculiar means by which they act; and the extreme danger which ſuch ſocieties muſt produce, whenever they are fully eſtabliſhed. It is this which has given exertion, conſiſtency, ſolidity, and force to the Iriſh rebellion; which has enabled the conſpirators to form themſelves, under the eye and in defiance of government, into one body, compacted by one bond of union, under an oath of fidelity and ſecrecy; engaging themſelves, in the firſt inſtance, to miſpriſion of treaſon, and, ſucceſſively, to the perpetration of the moſt atrocious crimes. This ſociety, thus united and combined, extended itſelf, by its ſubdiviſions, through every part of the kingdom; and was enabled to involve in one general confederacy, a very numerous deſcription of individuals of almoſt every claſs, connected with each other by a pledge of ſecrecy, by conſciouſneſs of guilt, and by the ſenſe of perſonal danger, either from the violated laws of their country, or from the reſentment and power of their aſſociates. Theſe bonds of union were ſtrengthened by the uſe of ſecret ſigns, frequently changed and applied to different ranks in the conſpiracy, for the purpoſe of preventing diſcovery.

The ſyſtem thus eſtabliſhed, gradually acquired the means of diſturbing the tranquillity of the country in all its parts; of impeding the execution of juſtice, by forcible reſiſtance to the authority of the laws; by the protection of accuſed perſons; by the reſcue of priſoners, the ſeizure of arms, and, at length, by the aſſaſſination of informers, of witneſſes, of magiſtrates, and of jurymen; till, by the general terror which was diffuſed, the loyal inhabitants in different counties were ſucceſſively

ſucceſſively driven into the towns, or compelled wholly to quit the kingdom. At the head of this extenſive conſpiracy was placed a committee, terming itſelf "An Executive Directory," extending its influence and power over the diſaffected through every part of the kingdom by "Provincial and Baronial Committees;" through whom, and by the miſſion of itinerant delegates over the country, an univerſal correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between this executive directory and all the ſubordinate powers and members of this ſyſtem. An intercourſe was maintained, in the name of the whole, with individuals and ſocieties in this country, as well as with the governments of his majeſty's enemies; and the conſpirators were thus enabled to conceal or diſplay their nnmbers at will, and conſequently to magnify their power, or to hide their weakneſs; to circulate, with rapidity and effect, the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt his majeſty's perſon and government, and againſt all deſcriptions and bodies of men whom they thought it their intereſt to vilify; to raiſe contributions, extorted frequently from thoſe who had not become members of their union; to procure, diſperſe, and conceal arms, ammunition, and artillery; to collect military information: and, finally, to raiſe an army formed of all thoſe among them capable of bearing arms, and placed under the command of officers, in military diviſions, correſponding with thoſe eſtabliſhed for the general purpoſes of the conſpiracy.

It is material to ſtate,* in detail, the formation of the different branches of this ſyſtem, in order to compare it with the inſtitutions of a ſimilar nature, which have been ſince formed in Great Britain, and which will be hereafter mentioned. Each of the inferior ſocieties conſiſted, according to their original inſtitution, of thirty-ſix members; which number was afterwards reduced to twelve. Theſe twelve choſe a ſecretary and treaſurer; and the ſecretaries of five of theſe ſocieties formed what what was called a "Lower Baronial Committee;" which had the immediate direction and ſuperintendance of thoſe five ſocieties. From each lower baronial committee, thus conſtituted, one member was delegated to an "Upper Baronial Committee;" which, in like manner, aſſumed and exerciſed the ſuperintendance and direction of the lower baronial committees in the reſpective counties. The next ſuperior committees were, in populous towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Diſtrict Committees;" and in counties, by the name of "County Committees;" and were compoſed of members delegated by the upper baronial committees, each upper baronial committee delegating one of its members to the diſtrict or county committee; and the diſtrict or county committees had the ſuperintendance and direction of the upper baronial committtees. Having thus "organized" (as it is termed) the ſeveral counties and populous towns, a committee, called a "Subordinate Directory," was erected in each of the four provinces of Ulſter, Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught, compoſed of two members or three, according to the extent and population of the diſtricts

* Report of ſecret committee of houſe of lords of Ireland, Auguſt 17, 1798; an abſtract whereof we have given in our Regiſter for 1798.

which

which they repreſented; who were delegated to a provincial committee, which held the immediate direction and ſuperintendance of the ſeveral county and diſtrict committees in each of the four provinces; and a "General Executive Directory," compoſed of five perſons, was elected by the provincial directories; but the election of this directory was ſo managed, that none but the ſecretaries of the provincial directories knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors; the appointment was notified only to thoſe on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus compoſed, aſſumed and exerciſed the ſupreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union, which, by theſe ſecret modes of election, was kept utterly ignorant who were the perſons to whom this implicit obedience was paid.

§ 2. *Inſtitution of United Iriſhmen in* 1791; *and Riſe of different Societies in Great Britain.*

For the purpoſe of obtaining a comprehenſive view of the attempts which have been repeatedly made, in the courſe of the laſt eight years, for eſtabliſhing a ſimilar ſyſtem in this country, and of the means by which they have been hitherto defeated, as well as in order to enable the houſe to judge fully of the perſeverance with which the ſyſtem is purſued, and of the nature and tendency of the meaſures which are carrying on at the preſent moment, your committee deem it neceſſary, before they advert to more recent tranſactions, to go back to that period, when ſocieties of this tendency firſt appeared in both kingdoms, and to trace, as ſhortly as they can, their progreſs and intercourſe to the preſent time.

The ſociety of United Iriſhmen was eſtabliſhed in the year 1791; and other ſocieties in Great Britain, particularly the conſtitutional ſociety (which had long exiſted, but about this time aſſumed a new character,) the correſponding ſociety (which was inſtituted in the ſpring of 1792,) and the ſocieties of perſons in Scotland terming themſelves "The Friends of the People" (which originated at nearly the ſame period,) appear to have adopted, in their fulleſt extent, all the extravagant and violent principles of the French revolution. The events which followed, in the courſe of that year and the year 1792, encouraged among the leading members of theſe ſocieties, and other perſons of ſimilar principles, a ſanguine hope of introducing into both countries, under pretence of the reform of abuſes, what they termed a *new order of things*, founded on the principles of that revolution. The degree of bigotry and enthuſiaſm with which they attached themſelves to theſe principles, was manifeſted, as well by the ſpeeches and writings of the members of the ſocieties, as by the zeal with which they laboured to propagate among the lower claſſes of the community, a ſpirit of hatred and contempt for the exiſting laws and government of the country.

It can hardly be neceſſary to recall to the recollection of the houſe, the induſtry with which they endeavoured to diſſeminate theſe ſentiments, by the circulation of their own proceedings and reſolutions; uniformly directed to vilify the forms and principles of the Britiſh conſtitution;

conſtitution; to repreſent the people of this country as groaning under intolerable oppreſſion; to eradicate all religious principle; and to recommend a recurrence to experiments of deſperate innovation, ſimilar to thoſe which were at that time adopted in France. For the ſame purpoſe, the works of Paine, and other ſeditious and impious publications, were diſtributed, throughout almoſt every part of the kingdom, with an activity and profuſion beyond all former example.

So confident were the ſocieties of the efficacy of theſe meaſures, that they appear almoſt univerſally to have looked forward from the beginning, to the entire overthrow of every exiſting eſtabliſhment in theſe kingdoms, and to the creation of ſome democratical form of government; either by uniting the whole of the Britiſh empire into one republic, or by dividing it into two or more republics. The conſpirators in Ireland, unqueſtionably, always meditated the complete ſeparation of that country from Great Britain: all, however, conſidered themſelves as engaged in one common cauſe, as far as related to the deſtruction of the exiſting conſtitution; all looked to the ſucceſs of the diſaffected in each country as forwarding their common views; and each was ready to ſupport the other in any reſiſtance to the lawful government: a frequent intercourſe among them was therefore conſidered as important to their ends; and they all invited, or expected, the countenance and aid of France.

The attempts made in the beginning of this conſpiracy to diſguiſe the real objects, under falſe pretences, which ought at no time to have impoſed even on ſuperficial obſervers, have long ſince been abandoned. Subſequent tranſactions have not merely ſhown the extremes to which the nature and principles of theſe ſocieties naturally led, but have completely unveiled the original and ſettled deſigns of the perſons chiefly concerned in them. Your committee beg leave, in this place, to refer the houſe to his majeſty's proclamation * of the year 1792, and the ſeveral addreſſes of both houſes of parliament thereupon; to the reports of the committees of parliament in this kingdom and in Ireland; and to the different trials for treaſon and ſedition in both kingdoms: and they are confident, that an attentive examination of thoſe documents can leave no doubt in the opinion of the houſe (even on the circumſtances known at that early period) reſpecting the real nature and extent of the original conſpiracy.

* Proclamation and Addreſſes . . . . . 1792.
Lords Report . . . . . 1794.
Commons Report . . . . . May 1794.
Do. do. . . . . June 1794.
Iriſh Lords Reports . . . . . 1798.
Commons do. . . . . 1798.
Trial of Muir, Skirving, Margarot, Gerald, Palmer, and others, for ſedition in Scotland, in . . . . . 1793 and 1794.
— of Watt and Downie, for treaſon in Scotland, in . . . . 1794.
— of Hardy and others, for treaſon, in . . . . . 1794.
— of Redhead, alias Yorke, for ſedition, in . . . . . 1795.
— of Stone, for treaſon, in . . . . . 1796.

§ 3. *Firſt*

§ 8. *First open Attempt in Scotland.*

The groundwork having been thus laid in each kingdom, the firſt public attempt which was openly directed to the object of overthrowing the government, and effecting a revolution, was made in Scotland, under circumſtances which even then evidently marked the conneſtion between the diſaffected throughout his majeſty's dominions. An aſſembly, ſtyling itſelf "A General Convention of Delegates from the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland," met at Edinburgh, on the 11th of December, 1792. Thomas Muir, a leading member of this aſſembly, endeavoured to prevail upon its members, at one of their meetings, to receive and anſwer a paper, intituled, "An Addreſs from the Society of United Iriſhmen, in Dublin, to the delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland," dated the 23d of November, 1792, and ſet forth in the Appendix (No. I.); in which the United Iriſh addreſs the Scotch delegates in what they term "the ſpirit of civic union in the fellowſhip of a juſt and common cauſe;" and rejoiced, "that the Scotch did not conſider themſelves as merged and melted down into another country;" but that in the great national queſtion to which the addreſs alluded, "they were ſtill Scotland." They added, "that the cauſe of the United Iriſh was alſo the cauſe of the Scotch delegates;" that "Univerſal Emancipation, with *Repreſentative Legiſlature*, was the polar principle which guided the Society of United Iriſhmen;" that their end was "a national legiſlature, their means, an union of the whole people." And they recommended aſſembling the people in each county in (what they term) "peaceable and conſtitutional convention;" the object of which they attempted to diſguiſe by the pretence of reform and petition to parliament. Several members of the Scotch convention appear to have been alarmed at the language of this addreſs, and, notwithſtanding the efforts of Muir, no anſwer was ſent; and the meeting adjourned to April, 1793. The conduct of Muir in this aſſembly formed part of the charge of ſedition upon which he was afterwards tried and found guilty. His zeal, however, recommended him to the conſpirators in Ireland; and on the 11th of January, 1793, he became a member of the ſociety of the United Iriſhmen, of Dublin.

He was abſent in France at the time of the ſecond meeting of the Scotch convention, which aſſembled in April, 1793, and again adjourned itſelf to the 29th October following, when it met a third time at Edinburgh, after the trial of Muir, who was convicted and ſentenced to tranſportation in Auguſt, 1793. It is well known that he afterwards eſcaped from the place of his tranſportation, and has recently reſided in France, purſuing a conduct marked by the moſt inveterate hoſtility to his country.

This meeting * of the Scotch convention in October, 1793, appears to have been held in concert with ſeveral ſocieties in England, and particularly the Conſtitutional Society and the London Correſponding Society, already mentioned.—Theſe ſocieties afterwards ſent dele-

* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, June, 1794.

gates

gates to the Scotch convention; the terms of whose inſtructions demonſtrate the dangerous views of thoſe who ſent them.

Hamilton Rowan, a member of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin (now a fugitive from Ireland, and attainted of high treaſon), and the honourable Simon Butler likewiſe a member of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen), attended this meeting; and Hamilton Rowan had previouſly been ſolicited, by letter from Scotland, on the ſubject of ſending delegates from Ireland to the convention. It does not appear, however, that theſe perſons bore the diſtinct character of delegates, but they were received with marked attention; and the convention reſolved, on the 5th November, 1793, "that any of the members of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin ſhould be admitted to ſpeak and vote in the convention." On the 22d of November, 1793, the convention had changed its title to that of "The Britiſh Convention of Delegates of the People, aſſociated to obtain univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments." They aſſumed, in almoſt every particular, the ſtyle and mode of proceeding adopted by the national convention of France: they divided themſelves into "ſections, committees of organization, inſtruction, finance, and ſecrecy;" granted honours of ſitting; made honourable mention in their minutes of patriotic donations; entered their minutes "in the firſt year of the Britiſh convention;" inſtituted "primary ſocieties, proviſional aſſemblies and departments;" received from their ſections a variety of motions and reports, ſome of which, in their ſtudied affection of French phraſes, had the words "*Ça ira la convention*" prefixed to them, and ended with "*Ça Ira;*" and ſome were dated "firſt year of the Britiſh convention, one and indiviſible."

The views of this dangerous aſſemby appear from the minutes of their proceedings, and from the correſpondence of Skirving, their ſecretary, Margarot and Gerald, the delegates of the London Correſpounding Society, and Hardy, the ſecretary of that ſociety; which are ſtated in the report of the committee of this houſe in 1794, and in the Appendix to that report, and were given in evidence on the trials above referred to.

It is obſervable upon the face of theſe minutes, that the funds of this convention were extremely low; ſo low, that perhaps at firſt ſight the aſſembly itſelf may appear to have been rather an object of contempt, from the apparent inadequacy of its pecuniary means, than an object of alarm from the dangerous extravagance of its revolutionary deſigns. It is happy for the peace of this country that the means of theſe ſocieties, in their different ſhapes and ſtages, have not been more equal to ſuch deſigns. But the recent proceedings in Ireland too plainly ſhow, that though the want of money may retard the progreſs, and cripple the exertions of ſuch conſpiracies, yet numbers thus leagued together for the total ſubverſion of the government and conſtitution of a country poſſeſs means which (if not ſeaſonably counteracted) may introduce ſcenes of the moſt horrid confuſion, rebellion, and blood.

This convention continued to hold its meetings in the city of Edinburgh until the 4th of December, 1793; when its objects evidently tending towards open rebellion, ſome

ſome of the leading members were arreſted, together with Skirving, their ſecretary; and Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, were afterwards tried in Scotland for ſedition, and ſentenced to tranſportation. The members of this convention, notwithſtanding the arreſt of ſome of their body, aſſembled again on the 5th of December, and refuſed to diſperſe till compelled by the magiſtrates; but they continued for ſome time to meet privately, in different ſocieties, and to carry on a ſecret correſpondence with various parts of England and Scotland.

The ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, who had already ſhown the intereſt they took in the meeting of this convention, appear (as was to be expected) to have conſidered its diſperſion as hoſtile to their views, and declared their ſentiments, by a reſolution of the 20th December, 1793; in which, after noticing what they called "the oppreſſive attempt in Edinburgh to ſtifle the voice of the people through the Britiſh convention, and the truly patriotic reſiſtance to that attempt," they reſolved, "That all or any of the members of the Britiſh convention, and the patriotic ſocieties which delegated members to that convention, ſhould be received as brothers and members of their ſociety."

§ 4. *Attempts to aſſemble a Convention of the People in England.*

The leading Engliſh ſocieties, which have been already ſtated to have ſent delegates to the Scotch convention, had, during its ſittings, and for a conſiderable time previous thereto, been actively employed in meaſures directed to ſimilar objects. For the purpoſe of promoting their ſeditious projects, they had carried on a conſtant correſpondence with all the numerous country ſocieties, which had been formed in many populous towns in different parts of the kingdom. They had, as early as in May, 1792, preſented an addreſs, ſufficiently expreſſive of their principles, to thoſe whom they ſtyled "the friends of the conſtitution at Paris, known by the name of Jacobins." In the end of the ſame year, after receiving a letter of approbation from perſons calling themſelves "Friends of Liberty and Equality in France," they inſtituted a regular committee of foreign correſpondence; and they had even proceeded to preſent addreſſes to the national convention in France, which had then aſſumed the whole legiſlative and executive power, and was aſſembled for the purpoſe of framing a new conſtitution, and proceeding to the trial of the king. In one of theſe addreſſes (particularly noticed in the report of 1794, but which your committee think it material again to advert to) they ſtyled the convention "ſervants of a ſovereign people, and benefactors of mankind." They rejoice that the revolution had arrived at that point of perfection which enabled them to addreſs them by ſuch a title. They extol the proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt as a glorious victory, and add, "*The benefits will in part be ours,* but the glory will be all your own; and it is the reward of your perſeverance, the prize of virtue." In January following, at the eve of the murder of the French king, and of the commencement of hoſtilities againſt this country, Barrere, Roland, and St. André, active members of the French convention, had been elected honorary members of the

the conſtitutional ſociety: and two ſpeeches, made by Barrere and St. André, delivered for the expreſs purpoſe of accelerating the condemnation and execution of the king, aſſerting the doctrines of the ſovereignty of the people, and deducing, as its conſequence, the unlimited rights of a national convention, and the perſonal reſponſibility of the monarch, were entered on the books of the conſtitutional ſociety; and the reſolution for this purpoſe was publiſhed in the newſpapers. Actuated by theſe principles, the Engliſh ſocieties perſevered in their deſign; and notwithſtanding the diſperſion of the meeting at Edinburgh, which had aſſumed the appellation of "the Britiſh Convention," proceeded on a plan which they had long had in contemplation, for aſſembling in England a ſimilar but more extenſive meeting, under the appellation of "a convention of the people."

At a general meeting of the correſponding ſociety, held at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th January, 1794, a reſolution and addreſs to the people of England were agreed to, and ordered to be publiſhed, expreſsly directed to the object of aſſembling a general convention of the people.

At another general meeting of the ſame ſociety, held at Chalk Farm, on the 14th of April, 1794, among a variety of inflammatory reſolutions, they declared, that the whole proceedings of the late Britiſh convention, at Edinburgh, claimed their approbation and applauſe. They, at the ſame time, returned thanks to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, priſoner in Newgate, in the city of Dublin (who had, in March, 1794, been choſen an honorary member of the conſtitutional ſociety), as well as to the ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, whom they exhorted to perſevere in their exertions to obtain juſtice for the people of Ireland. The language held on different occaſions evidently ſhowed their intention of endeavouring to eſtabliſh, by force, the authority of ſuch a convention. They exhorted each other "to prepare courageouſly for the ſtruggle which they meditated;" and openly avowed that they meant to obtain the redreſs, which they profeſſed to ſeek, "not from parliament, nor from the executive government, but from themſelves, and from their own ſtrength and valour; from their own laws, and not from the laws of thoſe whom they termed 'plunderers, enemies, and oppreſſors." For the purpoſe of aſſembling ſuch a convention, and of preparing the people at large to look to its proceedings with reſpect, and to adopt and countenance the doctrine and practices which it might recommend, itinerant members of the ſocieties above mentioned diſperſed themſelves throughout different parts of the country, proceeding from town to town, and from village to village, endeavouring to inculcate into the minds of thoſe with whom they converſed, the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure as that which they had in contemplation, for the reform of the abuſes of the government, and the redreſs of the grievances of the people; and deſcribing, in language varied according to the paſſions or prejudices of different claſſes whom they addreſſed, the nature and extent of the different political purpoſes which might be effected by a convention once aſſembled.—The diſperſion of Paine's works, and other works of a ſimilar tendency, was at the ſame time continued

tinued with increaſed induſtry; and the ſocieties flattered themſelves that they had, by theſe means, really made a progreſs towards preparing a large portion of the nation to favour their project.

The zeal, indeed, of many of the country ſocieties appears to have outrun the inſtructions of the agents, and to have carried them into diſcuſſions beyond thoſe limits which the perſons who planned and inſtigated the meaſure thought it prudent, in the firſt inſtance to preſcribe. The agents were inſtructed to confine the views of the ſeveral ſocieties to whom they were deputed, and to point the wiſhes of individuals purely to the attainment of univerſal ſuffrage, from which, once eſtabliſhed, it was repreſented that all the reforms which could be deſired would naturally flow; and it appeared to have been the deſign of thoſe who directed the buſineſs to prevent the premature diſcuſſion of any of thoſe points, which they repreſented as ſubordinate, until after the convention ſhould have been aſſembled, and this primary object of univerſal ſuffrage obtained. No caution or prohibition, however, could prevent many of the country ſocieties from ſhowing how confidently they anticipated, as the reſult to which the deliberations of that convention muſt neceſſarily lead, the abolition of monarchy, of ariſtocracy, and of other eſtabliſhments, which they deemed equally oppreſſive; and the ſubſtitution of a repreſentative government, founded on the new doctrine of the rights of man; and uniting, in one body, all the legiſlative and executive powers of the ſtate.

This intended convention was prevented from aſſembling by the arreſt of the ſecretaries, and of ſeveral members of the two ſocieties, called "the London corresponding Society," and "the Conſtitutional Society." The ſecretaries and leading members of the ſocieties at Sheffield and Norwich (which, together with ſeveral other ſubordinate ſocieties in different parts of the kingdom, were in conſtant correſpondence with them) were alſo taken into cuſtody. The attention of parliament was at this period directed to theſe proceedings; and in conſequence of the evidence then laid before a ſecret committee of this houſe, the power of detaining ſuſpected perſons was intruſted to his majeſty.

The ſubſequent proceedings are ſufficiently known. Some of the perſons ſo arreſted were proſecuted for high treaſon. A grand jury for the county of Middleſex found a bill againſt Thomas Hardy, the ſecretary of the London correſponding ſociety, and eleven others. Three of the perſons ſo indicted, viz. Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall, were tried, and on their trials were acquitted of the charge in the indictment. But the evidence given on thoſe trials eſtabliſhed, in the cleareſt manner, the grounds on which the committees of the two houſes of parliament had formed their reports in 1794, and ſhewed, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, that the views of theſe perſons and their confederates were, in their nature, completely hoſtile to the exiſting government and conſtitution of this kingdom, and went directly to the ſubverſion of every eſtabliſhed and legitimate authority.

After theſe acquittals, Henry Redhead, *alias* Yorke, who had been committed, at the ſame time, on

on a charge of high treaſon, was brought to trial, at York, in July, 1795, upon an indictment for a ſeditious conſpiracy; in which Joſeph Gale, the printer of a newſpaper, at Sheffield, and Richard Daviſon, of Sheffield, both of whom had fled from juſtice, were included. Upon the trial of Yorke, on this indictment, he was found guilty, and ſentenced to two years impriſonment.

§ 5. *Farther Proceedings ſubſequent to the Arreſts in* 1794.

The diſcloſures made upon theſe trials, the detentions already mentioned, and the powers veſted in government, by the "act to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as his majeſty ſhall ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his perſon and government," which received the royal aſſent on the 23d of May, 1794; broke for a time all the meaſures which had been concerted by the diſaffected, and obliged them to proceed with more caution and reſerve. But they never appear for a moment to have relinquiſhed their original deſign; and the nature and conſtitution of the correſponding ſociety (which ſtill ſubſiſted) peculiarly qualified it ſecretly to continue its machinations, and to extend and diffuſe its pernicious principles among the lower orders of the people. The plan of this conſtitution, as originally propoſed, not having been ſtated in the reports before referred to, is inſerted in the Appendix. It is evident, that the overthrow of every part of the government and conſtitution of this kingdom was in the immediate contemplation of thoſe by whom this plan was formed; and that it was contrived with the view of being applied to the moſt extenſive purpoſes, if they had ſucceeded in that object, and of enabling the conſpirators, after the overthrow of the exiſting government, to uſurp and exerciſe an uncontrolled authority over the whole kingdom. It does not appear that this plan was ever formally adopted; but ſo much of it as led to the eſtabliſhment of a ſecret ſyſtem of direction, reſembling that of the United Iriſhmen, was agreed to, and reduced to practice.

Not contented with employing theſe means gradually to extend their influence through different parts of the kingdom, the leading members of theſe ſocieties, ſhortly before the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament, in October, 1795, called together an unlawful meeting, in a field near the metropolis, evidently with a view of trying the temper of the populace. Under the pretence of "debates," language of the moſt ſeditious and inflammatory nature was held to a large multitude, whom curioſity, or other motives, had aſſembled there, and the moſt daring libels were uttered againſt every part of the conſtitution of theſe realms.

The public tranquillity appears to your committee to have been greatly endangered by this ſtep; ſo exactly reſembling that which fifteen years before had nearly led to the deſtruction of the metropolis: and your committee are decidedly of opinion, that the ſhameful and highly criminal outrages which ſoon after took place, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, are, in a great degree, to be aſcribed to the influence of theſe inflammatory proceedings, and of this public and open violation of the laws. It is not without regret that your committee feel themſelves obliged to recall to the recollection

of the houſe, the horrid and ſacrilegious attempt againſt his majeſty's perſon, with which thoſe outrages were accompanied.

This alarming proof of the dreadful and deſperate conſequences, which meetings and proceedings of ſuch a deſcription naturally tend to produce, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of the public, and neceſſarily engaged the attention of parliament. On a full conſideration of all the circumſtances, the legiſlature, by ſalutary laws, ſtrengthened the authority of the magiſtrate, for the repreſſion of ſedition and tumult; provided freſh checks againſt meetings of a dangerous tendency, and of a deſcription unknown in the hiſtory and conſtitution of this country, increaſed the penalties of obſtinate and repeated guilt, and added a freſh ſafeguard to the ſacred perſon of his majeſty.

One of the immediate effects of theſe meaſures was to put a ſtop to a practice which had too long been ſuffered in the metropolis, to the diſgrace of all order and government—the open and regular delivery of public lectures, inculcating the doctrines of ſedition and treaſon; inciting the hearers to follow the example of France, and animating them to the commiſſion of the moſt atrocious crimes. This practice has not ſince been revived in the ſame ſhape; but many of the debating ſocieties which ſubſiſt at the preſent time appear to your committee to be, in a great meaſure, directed to the ſame pernicious objects, and to require farther animadverſion and correction. Some check was alſo given to the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, which had, till then, been in a great meaſure unreſtrained. That licentiouſneſs has furniſhed, in every part of Europe, one of the moſt dangerous inſtruments in the hands of conſpirators. The induſtry with which every ſpecies of inflammatory and ſeditious libels had been diſſeminated, applying to the various paſſions and prejudices of every claſs of ſociety, but particularly of that which is the leaſt informed, and therefore the moſt open to ſeduction, is an unanſwerable proof both of the extent and of the zeal of the conſpiracy in this country.

After the paſſing of theſe bills, the London correſponding ſocieties ſent their delegates into the country, to point out the method of evading them, and for the purpoſe of feeling the diſpoſition of the people. Two perſons, in this character, John Binns and John Gale Jones, were ſent, by the London Correſponding Society, to Birmingham, where they were arreſted. They were found addreſſing a meeting of perſons in that town. Upon the perſon of Jones were found two papers; one a letter of credence from the ſociety, ſigned by John Aſtley, their ſecretary, introducing Binns and Jones as their accredited delegates; and the other, the inſtruction of the ſociety for the conduct of theſe delegates; both which papers your committee have inſerted in the Appendix (Nos. 3 and 4); they wiſh particularly to notice, that after directions given to the delegates, to perſuade the people whom they were to addreſs, that the ſole object of the ſociety was parliamentary reform, and that the bills laſt referred to need not prevent their continuing to meet, the 7th article of the inſtructions is in theſe words: "The deſign of the above article is to remove miſapprehenſions relative to the ſafety of our aſſociation under the

the new laws. This part of your miſſion being effected, you are to ſtrain every power of your mind to awaken the ſleeping ſpirit of liberty: you are to call upon our fellow-citizens to be ready with us, to purſue our common object, if it muſt be, to the ſcaffold, or rather, (if our enemies are deſperate enough to bar up every avenue to inquiry and diſcuſſion), to the field, at the hazard of extermination; convinced that no temper leſs decided than this will ſuffice to regain liberty from a bold uſurping faction. But, to the end that we may ſucceed, by the irreſiſtible voice of the people, you are to excite in every ſociety the deſire which animates our boſoms, to embrace the nation as brethren, and the reſolution to bear every repulſe from paſſion and prejudice which fails to deprive us of the ſure grounds of argument." And in the 13th article are the following expreſſions:

"In a word, you are always to reflect, that you are wreſtling with the enemies of the human race, not for yourſelves merely, for you may not ſee the full day of liberty, but for the child hanging at the breaſt; and that the queſtion, whether the next generation ſhall be free or not, may greatly depend on the wiſdom and integrity of your conduct in the generous miſſions which you and your fellow-deputies now take upon yourſelves."

Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition to reſiſt and evade the effect of theſe bills, yet the ſeaſonable and effectual check thus, for a ſecond time, given to the progreſs of ſedition and treaſon, averted immediate danger; and if it did not extinguiſh the hopes of the conſpirators, at leaſt deterred them from the public avowal and purſuit of their projects. But the attempt to poiſon the minds of the lower orders of the people, and to prepare the means, which might be reſorted to on any favourable occaſion, was purſued with unabated perſeverance.

During the remainder of the year 1796, the ſyſtem continued to operate ſilently and ſecretly; but, in the beginning of the following year, its contagious influence was found to have extended to a quarter where it was the leaſt to be ſuſpected, and produced effects which ſuddenly threatened the deareſt intereſts and immediate ſafety of the country with the moſt imminent danger.

The mutiny, which took place in the fleet, if conſidered in all its circumſtances, will be traced to an intimate connection with the principles and practices deſcribed by your committee, and furniſhes the moſt alarming proof of the efficacy of thoſe plans of ſecrecy and concert, ſo often referred to, and of the facility with which they are applied for inflaming and heightening diſcontent (from whatever cauſe it proceeds), and for converting what might otherwiſe produce only a haſty and inconſiderate breach of ſubordination and diſcipline, into the moſt ſettled and ſyſtematic treaſon and rebellion. Theſe principles and this concert could alone have produced the wide extent of the mutiny, and the uniformity of its operation in ſo many and ſuch diſtant quarters. The perſons principally engaged in it, even in its early ſtages, were many of them United Iriſhmen. The mutineers were bound by ſecret oaths to the perpetration of the greateſt crimes. An attempt was made to give to

the ships in mutiny the name of "The Floating Republic," and this attempt was countenanced both by papers published in France, and by a paper here, called "The Courier," which has, on many occasions, appeared almost equally devoted to the French cause. In some instances, a disposition was manifested to direct the efforts of the mutineers to the object of compelling the government of this country to conclude a peace with the foreign enemy; and they at length even meditated betraying the ships of his majesty into the hands of that enemy. All these circumstances combine to impress your committee with a firm persuasion that whatever were the pretences and misrepresentations employed to seduce from their duty a brave and loyal body of men; yet a spirit, in itself so repugnant to the habits and dispositions of British sailors, must have had its origin in those principles of foreign growth which the societies of the conspirators have industriously introduced into this country, and which they have incessantly laboured to disseminate among all descriptions of men; but especially among those whose fidelity and steadiness is most important to the public safety. A striking instance of the desperate extent to which these principles were carried appears in the proceedings of a court martial, held in the month of June, 1797, an abstract of which your committee have thought it right to insert in the Appendix, (No. 17). The opinion stated by your committee will be still more confirmed by the repeated and atrocious attempts (bearing still more evidently the character of those principles in which they originated), which have been made in a great number of instances since the general mutiny was suppressed; and of which it will be necessary for your committee hereafter to take notice. At the period now referred to, these systematic attempts, made to seduce both the sailors and soldiers from their duty and allegiance, to incite them to mutiny, and to engage them in plans for the subversion of government, had become so apparent and frequent as to attract the immediate notice of the legislature. Among these attempts, that one, made by a person of the name of Fellows, convicted at Maidstone, in July, 1797, deserves particular attention. The seditious hand-bill, which he was proved to have distributed among the soldiers, is inserted in the Appendix (No. 5); and it appears from a letter (also there inserted), No. 6, written by him to Evans and Bone, two of the most active members of the London Corresponding Society, and who have successively filled the office of secretary to that society, shortly before his arrest, that he had gone to Maidstone, for the purpose of circulating seditious papers, as well as of making reports of the society at Maidstone.

In consequence of the prevalence of these dangerous practices, two acts of parliament were passed in the year 1797;* one inflicting severe penalties on any person guilty of inciting any of his majesty's forces by sea or land to mutiny; the other for more effectually preventing the administering or taking of unlawful oaths. The propriety and necessity of both these acts was farther evin-

* 37 Geo. III. c. 70. 37 Geo. III. c. 123.

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ced shortly after. A person of the name of Fuller, (who was detected, two days after the passing the first act, in attempting to seduce a soldier belonging to the Coldstream regiment of guards, was found guilty, at the following sessions of the Old Bailey, and sentenced to death; and one Charles Radcliffe, prosecuted under the second act, at the last court of session, held for the county palatine of Chester, was found guilty of administering the oath or test of the society of United Irishmen. The paper found upon Fuller, and which formed the chief ground of his conviction, is inserted in the Appendix, (No. 7), and deserves particular attention.

Your committee have thus traced the chief transactions which took place in this country connected with the general design of the conspiracy, nearly to the period when its effects were manifested in their most dreadful and formidable shape in Ireland, by the atrocious and unexampled rebellion, which broke out in the beginning of the last summer. About this time, either with a view to that very rebellion, or in consequence of it, the societies in this country entered into still closer connection with the society of United Irishmen, and assumed a shape, more similar than before, to that extraordinary combination, the nature and effects of which have been already fully described. It will therefore be necessary for your committee, in this place, shortly to review the progress of this society, and of the steps by which it gradually prepared the way for all the recent miseries and calamities which have been experienced in Ireland.

§ 6. *Progress of the Society of United Irishmen, in Ireland, till the Period of the Rebellion; its Intercourse with France, and with the leading Members of Societies in this Country.*

The transactions of the conspirators in that country are so fully detailed, in the different reports of the two houses of the Irish parliament, that your committee do not think it necessary to state them at length; and will only call the attention of the house to such parts of them as prove, from the subsequent conduct of the conspirators, the falsehood of the early pretences, by which they attempted to disguise their real views, as well as the intercourse kept up by them with the French directory, chiefly through England, and the communication between leading members of the society of United Irishmen, and those of similar societies in Great Britain.

As early as in the year 1793, hopes and expectations were held out of French assistance; prayers were publicly offered up at Belfast, from the pulpit, for the success of the French arms; military associations were entered into without any legal authority; and repeated attempts were made to seduce the soldiery from their duty.

In February, 1794, Jackson, an Irish clergyman, passed from France through England, into Ireland, for the purpose of carrying on a treasonable correspondence, with a view to an invasion of both kingdoms. He was particularly recommended to some of the leading members of the English societies; and he transmitted to the French government,

both from London and from Dublin, papers on the ſubject of his miſſion, which had been previouſly communicated to other perſons in each kingdom.*

In April, 1794, he had many confidential converſations, at Dublin, on this ſubject, with Hamilton Rowan, a leader of the United Iriſhmen, before-mentioned, who was then in priſon, and ſince his eſcape has been attainted for high treaſon; with Wolfe Tone, alſo a leading member of the ſame ſociety, who was lately taken on board the French ſhip, the Hoche, in the actual attempt to invade Ireland; and with Lewins, now the reſident envoy from the United Iriſh at Paris.

Although the trials of Jackſon and Stone, and the arreſt and flight of Hamilton Rowan and Tone, checked theſe projects for a time, the ſociety of United Iriſhmen purſued their meaſures with unabating activity. The government of Ireland acquired information reſpecting the conduct of particular perſons, whom they had even at that time ſufficient ground to conſider as chiefly engaged in this treaſonable conſpiracy; particularly Lewins, above referred to; Henry and John Sheares, ſince convicted of high treaſon, and executed; Oliver Bond, and Wolfe Tone, convicted of the ſame crime, and both ſince dead, the latter by his own hands, to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes; lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in priſon in conſequence of the wounds he received in reſiſting the officers of juſtice, and has been ſince attainted of high treaſon; and Arthur O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Emmet, whoſe individual guilt, as well as that of the whole conſpiracy, is ſufficiently proved by their own confeſſions.

It is ſtated, in the confeſſions of the three perſons laſt named, that the firſt communication, which came to their knowledge, between the Iriſh and the French directories, was an offer made by the latter, in the year 1796, to ſend a French army to Ireland, to the aſſiſtance of the republicans. But the committee of the houſe of lords, in Ireland, have ſtated it as their opinion, that Lewins had been diſpatched to France, in the ſummer of 1795, to requeſt this aſſiſtance; and your committee are convinced, from ſecret intelligence which has been laid before them, that this opinion was well founded.

The invaſion of Ireland, which was attempted in December, 1796, was arranged at an interview, which took place on the frontier of France, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche, in the ſummer of that year. After the failure of this attempt, the ſolicitations of the Iriſh directory were renewed; a propoſal, which arrived from France early in 1797, was accepted, and an anſwer tranſmitted, through England, by the means of Arthur O'Connor; Lewins was diſpatched to Paris, in April, and M'Nevin in June. Both were employed in urging the invaſion of Ireland, and in counteracting the negociation for peace with the French republic, which his majeſty's miniſter was then carrying on at Liſle. A conference was held

* Vide Jackſon and Stone's Trial, and Report of Commons in Ireland.

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in the ſame ſummer, in London, between lord Edward Fitzgerald and a French agent, who came from Hamburgh, in which farther arrangements were made for the intended invaſion.

The arreſt of ſeveral perſons in Ireland, and the flight of others; and the memorable defeat, by lord Duncan, of the fleet intended to protect the expedition fitted out from Holland, again diſconcerted the projects of the conſpirators. After this event the French government appears to have repeatedly urged the leaders of the Iriſh Union to immediate inſurrection; but the more cautious among them were unwilling to act, until the French ſhould actually have landed; and their opinion for a time prevailed.

The correſpondence was in the mean time continued: the projects of rebellion and invaſion were ripening; and at this period the hopes of the Iriſh conſpirators derived freſh encouragement from reports of the progreſs of new ſocieties in Great Britain, formed on the ſame plan with themſelves. A regular communication was kept up between the Iriſh and Engliſh committees, through Arthur O'Connor, who had come from Ireland to England, early in January, 1798; and in the reports tranſmitted by the Engliſh ſocieties to Ireland, the force of the United Engliſhmen (a ſociety which had been recently formed on the model of the United Iriſh, and of which a more particular account will be given hereafter) was repreſented to be conſiderable, though your committee have reaſon to believe that there was much exaggeration in theſe reports. Arthur O'Connor,* in a letter to his brother, dated London, 13th February, 1798, and ſeized in lord Edward Fitzgerald's apartments, at Leinſter-houſe, ſtates, "That Scotland is Iriſh all over—that the people here give no opinion, though it is eaſy to learn they look for a change."

At a provincial meeting in Ireland, held on the 1ſt of February, 1798, it was ſtated to the meeting, by a perſon juſt arrived from Dublin, that "the French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater ſtate of forwardneſs than was expected; but what was more flattering, three delegates had been ſent from the United Britons to the Iriſh national committee, and from that moment the Iriſh were to conſider England, Scotland, and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cauſe." An addreſs was at the ſame time produced, which it was ſtated the delegates of Britain had brought with them to the Iriſh national committee. It was alſo ſtated, that the prieſt, O'Coigly, was one of the delegates mentioned to have been then lately returned from France; and it was added, that he, and another prieſt, who had fled from Ireland, were the principal perſons who had opened the communications with the United Britons.

At another provincial meeting, held on the 27th of February, 1798, it appears to have been ſtated, "that a delegate had arrived from France; that the French were uſing every endeavour to have the expedition for Ireland completed; and that the Iriſh delegate came home to cauſe the United Iriſh to put themſelves into a ſtate of organiza-

* Vide Trial of O'Connor.

tion to join them, as the directory positively assured the Irish delegates, that the expedition would set out for Ireland the end of April, or the beginning of May." It was also stated, that there had been a meeting of all the delegates in England and Scotland held in London; but that their resolutions could not be obtained till the next provincial meeting to be held on the 25th of March.

The address which the delegates of United Britons were so stated, at the provincial meeting of the 1st of February, 1798, to have brought with them to the Irish national committee, your committee have inserted, in the Appendix, (No. 8).

About the same time a most seditious paper, sent from the London Corresponding Society, to the society of United Irishmen, signed J. T. Crosfield, president; Thomas Evans, secretary; dated 30th of January, 1798, (also inserted in the Appendix, No. 9), was published, in Ireland, in a paper, called "The Press," and the original seized, in March, 1798, in consequence of the apprehension of Arthur O'Connor, in England.

The priest, O'Coigly, referred to in these transactions, and who has since been convicted and executed at Maidstone, was a native of Ireland, and went from that country to Cuxhaven, in 1797, with another Irishman, who was obliged to fly from Ireland, and passed into Holland, at the time when the Dutch fleet, under admiral de Winter, was about to sail, with a large body of troops, on an expedition destined against Ireland. When that fleet had sailed without the troops, O'Coigly, and his companion, went to Paris, where, finding themselves thwarted by the jealousy of the resident envoy from the Irish Union, O'Coigly returned to England about the middle of December, 1797, and went to Ireland in January, 1798.

Whilst in Ireland, he appears to have had interviews and correspondence with lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the Irish conspirators; and he returned to England about the middle of February, 1798.

Intelligence was conveyed to government of this man's designs, and particularly of his intention to pass into France, for the purposes which afterwards appeared to be the object of his mission; he was therefore narrowly watched; and on the 28th of February, 1798, he was, together with Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, Allen, and Leary, taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France. The particular circumstances attending these attempts are detailed in the evidence on his trial.* One of the papers seized by the officers, who apprehended him, was an address from "the secret committee of England, to the executive directory of France," set forth in the Appendix, (No. 10); clearly demonstrating the traitorous views of those who formed the address, and were instrumental in the attempt to transmit it to France.

It appears also to your committee, both from previous and subsequent information, that Arthur O'Connor, who had been, to the moment of leaving Ireland, one of the members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France in the confi-

* For an account of his detention, trial, and execution, see our last year's Chronicle.

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dence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an accredited agent, but was confidentially employed by the remaining members of that directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of Lewins.

§ 7. *Farther Intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies: Formation of new Societies, and their Proceedings.*

At the meetings of the London Corresponding Society, for above two years before this time, it had been avowed, that the object of the society was to form a republic, by the assistance of France. Reform in parliament, or even annual elections, or universal suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned. Your committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of Astley, (one of the persons arrested in 1794), and who had, for a long time, been secretary to this society, was now acting as their agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes of the succour of a French army. Meetings were held, to contrive the means of procuring arms, to enable them to co-operate with a French force, in case of an invasion. The leading members of the disaffected societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional meeting, which was held at a cellar in Furnival's Inn, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable publication, called "The Press." This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the conspiracy. It was particularly attended by Arthur O'Connor and O'Coigly, previous to their attempt to go over to France; and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects, which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger societies. Among these plans, was that of effecting a general insurrection, at the same moment, in the metropolis, and throughout the country, and of directing it to the object of seizing or assassinating the king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houses of parliament. An officer, of some experience in his majesty's service, was selected as their military leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained, that they could command a sufficient force to effect their desperate purpose, in the first instance, by surprise. But, although the apprehension, that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears, for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt; yet the general language, held among these persons, at this period, proved, that they had brought themselves to the opinion, that matters were nearly ripe for measures of open violence.

Attempts were, at the same time, made to form, in London, upon the plan of the United Irishmen, the Society of United Englishmen, or United Britons, before referred to: and O'Coigly and John Binns appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this society into four districts, including a large part of the coasts

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of this kingdom the moſt expoſed to invaſion: and it was alſo in contemplation to combine the operations of this ſociety with thoſe of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen; of which your committee will find it neceſſary ſeparately to take notice.

Moſt of the ſocieties through England, which had uſed to correſpond with the London Correſponding Society, had alſo about this time adopted the ſame plan of forming ſocieties of United Engliſhmen; and finding their communications by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as poſſible, the keeping any papers; uſed ciphers or myſterious words, in the few writings that paſſed between them, and principally carried on their intercourſe by agents, who went from place to place, and were recognized by ſigns, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or inconſiderate perſons, throughout the country, were gradually involved in theſe criminal tranſactions; and the influence of the deſtructive principles from which they proceeded, was ſtill farther extended by the eſtabliſhment of clubs, among the loweſt claſſes of the community, which were open to all perſons paying one penny, and in which ſongs were ſung, toaſts given, and language held, of the moſt ſeditious nature.

Information having been received of a meeting of United Engliſhmen, to be held at a houſe in Clerkenwell, warrants of arreſt were iſſued, and perſons were apprehended on the 18th of April, 1798. There was found upon the ſecretary of the London Correſponding Society (who appears to have officiated as preſident at that meeting) the oath propoſed for the United Engliſhmen, ſet forth in the Appendix (No. 11); another oath, of the ſame nature, was found under the table; and alſo a printed conſtitution of the ſociety of United Engliſhmen, ſet forth in the Appendix (Nos. 12, and 13).

Information having alſo been received of an extraordinary meeting of the delegates and ſecretary of the London Correſponding Society, intended to be aſſembled at a large room in Wych-ſtreet, on the 19th of April, 1798, the perſons there aſſembled were likewiſe arreſted; and from the diſcoveries made in conſequence of theſe arreſts, the connection between the London Correſponding Society and the London Society of United Engliſhmen was clearly eſtabliſhed.

It appeared, that about forty diviſions of United Engliſhmen had been formed in London; about twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting; and that many ſimilar ſocieties were forming in different parts of the country. With reſpect to theſe latter, it was intended that the different counties in Great Britain ſhould reſpectively be divided into diſtricts; in each of which a central ſociety was to be eſtabliſhed in the principal town, and was to carry on a conſtant correſpondence, both with the ſmaller ſocieties in that diſtrict, and with the general ſociety in London. And this ſyſtem was ſo conſtructed, as to admit of ſtill farther ſubdiviſion, if the increaſe of numbers had been ſuch as the leaders hoped.

It appears to your committee, that the chief progreſs made in the formation of ſocieties of United Engliſhmen, was in London and the parts adjacent; and in Lancaſhire, and ſome parts of the weſt of England and of Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and

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in which there were many United Iriſhmen, either as reſidents or as fugitives from their country.

At Mancheſter, and in the adjacent country in particular, the plan of theſe conſpiracies was extending itſelf in the moſt alarming manner; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Iriſhmen, of whom there are very large numbers reſident in that neighbourhood. Great numbers of printed copies of the "Conſtitution of United Engliſhmen" have been diſcovered in Mancheſter and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the ſociety was making great progreſs, when it was checked by the arreſt of ſeveral of its leaders in 1798.

A ſociety of United Engliſhmen had been eſtabliſhed in and about Mancheſter before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it conſiſted of about fifty diviſions, and in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty. Each of theſe diviſions conſiſted of not leſs than fifteen members, and was again ſubdivided when the number of its members exceeded thirty-ſix. This ſociety has been particularly active in the moſt wicked attempts to ſeduce the ſoldiers in different regiments; for which purpoſe they adopted a ſyſtem of more particular ſecrecy, and it has therefore been difficult to diſcover the extent of theſe crimes; but the general good conduct of his majeſty's forces, of every deſcription in this kingdom, affords the moſt ſatisfactory proof that theſe diabolical practices have not been ſucceſsful in any conſiderable degree. The teſt uſed for the ſoldiers is ſet forth in the Appendix (No. 14). In other reſpects the ſociety has followed the United Iriſh and the United Engliſh formed in London, in their conſtitution, their teſt, and their ſigns of ſecrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the ſame myſtery, and under the ſame direction; the whole being governed by the perſons who form the committee of United Engliſhmen, ſtyled "The National Committee of England," who are, apparently, unknown to the reſt of the members of the ſociety, though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquieſce in this ſyſtem, and to obey implicitly the directions of their leaders, from the perſuaſion with which they appear to have been univerſally impreſſed, that perſons of higher ſituations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though, from circumſtances of caution, thoſe perſons had not become actually members of the ſociety; or, if they were members, concealed the fact with conſiderable care, and did not attend the meetings. In ſome degree this perſuaſion may have been well founded; but your committee are induced to think, that ſome art was uſed to ſtrengthen this impreſſion, for the purpoſe of giving greater encouragement to the members in their hopes of final ſucceſs.

The ſocieties in the country connected with Mancheſter have been formed into twelve diſtricts, each of which ſent a delegate to the committee, called the Country Committee; which appears to have correſponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but alſo with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourſe between the United Engliſhmen in theſe parts and the United Iriſh, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Iriſh frequently paſſing and repaſſing

repaſſing between Cheſhire or Lancaſhire, and Ireland, and frequently viſiting the Engliſh ſocieties. Among the perſons who have been thus travelling from one country to the other, your committee have remarked O'Coigly, who repeatedly viſited Mancheſter, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention. He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland after his journey into France before mentioned. He then wore a military dreſs, and paſſed by the name of captain Jones, the ſame appellation by which he was introduced, by Arthur O'Connor, to Mr. H. Bell, of Charterhouſe-ſquare, from whoſe houſe O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arreſt at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his converſation and conduct at Mancheſter, leave no room to doubt the objects of his different journies between Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arreſt; and there appears alſo little reaſon to doubt, that many, both of the United Engliſhmen and United Iriſh, at Mancheſter and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport, at leaſt, of his miſſion, and anxiouſly expected that aſſiſtance from France, of which they received, from him, very ſtrong aſſurances.

The ſociety at Mancheſter ſeems to have been the central ſociety of an extenſive diſtrict; and to have been managed by a very zealous and active committee. It frequently ſent delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkſhire, Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Cheſhire. Their correſpondence appears to have extended to the moſt diſtant parts of England, as well as to Edinburgh and Glaſgow.

Liverpool alſo became the ſeat of another central ſociety, preſiding over a ſurrounding diſtrict, and correſponding with other parts of England, and with Scotland and Ireland; and different emiſſaries, ſome of whom were foreigners, about this time were ſent through various parts of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the numbers and diſpoſitions of the ſocieties of United Engliſh and United Iriſh.

Whilſt the ſocieties in England were thus endeavouring to form a ſociety of United Engliſhmen, or of United Britons, on the model of the Iriſh Society, attempts were made in Scotland to form a diſtinct ſociety of "United Scotſmen", on the ſame plan. And your committee cannot forbear to remark the induſtry with which it has been attempted in this inſtance, as well as in others, to ſeparate Scotland as well as Ireland from England, and to found, on the ruins of the eſtabliſhed government, three diſtinct republics of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The attempts to form a ſociety of United Scotſmen had made little progreſs till the ſpring of 1797; but from the month of April, 1797, until November following (when a diſcovery was made in the county of Fife, on which George Mealmaker was brought to trial, and convicted of ſedition) theſe attempts appear to have been attended with more ſucceſs, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Glaſgow, and in the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Fife, and Perth. Glaſgow,

gow, and the county of Ayr, were the places in which this ſpirit firſt manifeſted itſelf, and from which emiſſaries were ſent into different parts of the country, for the purpoſe of increaſing the numbers of the ſociety, and diſſeminating what they termed "political knowledge."

The ſocieties thus formed, in Scotland, appear to have been reduced to a ſyſtem almoſt as regular and complete as that which was eſtabliſhed in Ireland; the outlines of the plan were the ſame, and the ſtudied ſecrecy of the proceedings, and the gradations of the internal arrangement, formed its great characteriſtic. By a general rule of their aſſociation, no ſociety was to conſiſt of more than ſixteen members, and when any ſociety had obtained a number of members exceeding ſixteen, it was to divide itſelf into two ſocieties. In ſome ſmall towns there were three or more ſuch ſocieties, all of which were ſometimes aſſembled, by their individual members, or by a committee from each ſociety: and ſuch aſſemblies were termed "Parochial Meetings." Each of theſe Parochial Meetings had a ſecretary, who was alſo treaſurer; and one or two delegates were choſen to repreſent the parochial at the county meeting, which was compoſed of delegates from all the Parochial Meetings, within the county or diſtrict, and was held every ſix weeks. The delegates were elected by ballot; but the ballot was ſo conducted that no perſon knew on whom the choice fell, except the ſecretary and the perſon choſen. This election was ſometimes made, by each member whiſpering in the ear of the ſecretary the name of the perſon for whom he gave his vote; and as there could be no material check on the declaration of the ſecretary, it is evident that the election of delegates might be managed in any manner moſt agreeable to the leaders of the ſociety. The meetings called "County Meetings" were not reſtricted to the known diviſions of the counties, but were compoſed of delegates from Parochial Meetings, within either larger or ſmaller diſtricts, according to the number of United Scotſmen in each neighbourhood. At the County Meeting, delegates were elected, to repreſent the ſocieties at a "National Meeting," in the ſame ſecret manner as was uſed for the election of the delegates to the County Meetings; and the place of that meeting was not generally diſcloſed. The ſecretary of the County Meeting gave the delegate, when choſen, a ſmall ſlip of paper, containing the name of a perſon to whom he was to apply, and who was to take him to the place of the National Meeting. This perſon was called "The Intermediate." The counties were alſo diſtinguiſhed by numbers, and not by their names; and the delegate received, on another ſlip of paper, the number of the county, and the time appointed for the National Meeting.

The meeting aſſuming this name was a committee formed of delegates from the county meetings, and aſſembled every ſeven weeks; and there the moſt important buſineſs of the ſociety was tranſacted. This meeting received reports from a ſecret committee and nominally directed its conduct, but the ſecret committee really had the chief management. This committee was elected, from amongſt the delegates at the national meeting, in the ſame ſecret manner as thoſe delegates had been choſen at the county meeting,

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the perſons elected being only known to the ſecretary; and the committee, thus ſecretly formed, did not diſcloſe itſelf in the tranſaction of buſineſs; all of which was conducted through the intervention of a perſon (already noticed) called "The Intermediate;" who delivered their orders, and who was the ſame perſon to whom the delegates had been directed to apply for information, reſpecting the place of aſſembly of the national meeting. Except therefore to the intermediate, to the ſecretary, and to each other, the perſons compoſing the ſecret committee remained wholly unknown.

Every proceeding was involved in the ſame myſterious ſecrecy; and though this ſyſtem of blind obedience had the effect of diſguſting and alarming ſome of the delegates, who perceived themſelves to be inſtruments in the hands of an unknown authority, for purpoſes, of which the extent was never fully diſcloſed to them; yet the committee, thus formed, continued to preſerve its general influence; diſburſing at its pleaſure the money collected; giving all orders for the places of the national meetings; ſending miſſionaries, diſſeminating papers, receiving information, and conducting every part of the buſineſs without control.

The national meeting was generally, if not always, held in or near Glaſgow; and from reports of what paſſed at thoſe meetings, it appears that they correſponded with the ſociety of United Britons, and ſent delegates to England, and received delegates from thence. When the meeting broke up, each delegate received a note of the time appointed for the next meeting; which he was to deliver to the ſecretary of his own county meeting, when the new delegate was elected.

Their communications with different parts, and particularly with England, were ſeldom carried on in writing: ſome papers, however, have been diſcovered, which clearly ſhow that the ſociety had the moſt dangerous objects in view; and that ſome of its members were ſanguine enough to profeſs an opinion, "that if the flattering accounts which they received from London were real, the emancipation of the country was at no great diſtance, when they ſhould rally round the ſtandard of liberty.

This ſyſtem of union as well as that of the United Engliſhmen, was evidently borrowed from Ireland; and there is reaſon to believe that it was introduced by delegates from that country. Signs were adopted for the purpoſe of diſtinguiſhing the members, as was practiſed in Ireland; but the knowledge of the ſigns ſeems to have been only imperfectly diffuſed; they never have been generally underſtood; or having been altered at different times in different places, without concert, were never uniform in all parts of the country.

In their ſanguine expectation of ſucceſs, theſe conſpirators formed wild and extravagant plans of ſeizing, in the ſame night, all the leading people over the whole iſland. If theſe perſons ſhould reſiſt, they were to be put to death; if they ſubmitted quietly, their lives and property were to be ſpared, but they were to be kept in cuſtody till a new conſtitution ſhould be formed, which was clearly meant to be conformable to French principles.

An oath or teſt was formally adminiſtered, and printed papers were circulated

circulated under the title of "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of United Scotsmen," a copy of which is set forth in the Appendix (No. 15).

The measures of this conspiracy were disconcerted by the arrest of Mealmaker, of Dyer, and of Archibald Gray, the latter of whom, after his indictment, escaped to the continent, and has become a member of a society at Hamburgh, which will hereafter be noticed, by the name of "The Philanthropic Society."

In addition to this view of the proceedings of the societies both in England and Scotland, at this period, it is material to remark, that whilst the rebellion was at its height in Ireland, there were found individuals in this country who so strongly manifested their desire to support the cause of the rebels, that they became the objects of criminal prosecution. Among these a man of the name of Martin Dunnovan was indicted, for distributing at Gosport the address stated in the Appendix (No. 16,) intituled, "An Irishman's Address to his Countrymen in England;" the contents of which perhaps might have warranted a prosecution for a higher crime, and are so striking a specimen of the intentions of the disaffected, that although the particular instance relates only to the conduct of one individual, your committee have thought it highly deserving of notice. This man was convicted at the last summer assizes at Winchester, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In pursuance of the same plan, the United Irishmen in this country have been incessantly labouring to disseminate their principles, both by means of secret combinations among such of them as have found their way into the naval service, and by extending their societies both in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom. The extent to which these practices have prevailed, and (notwithstanding repeated instances of detection and punishment) are still carried on in the fleet, has been fully demonstrated by the evidence which has appeared in a variety of courts martial, the proceedings of which have been laid before your committee, and which contain matter so serious and important, that your committee have thought it right to insert an abstract of them, in the Appendix (Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). It appears that oaths have been tendered by the mutineers to the crew, "to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the king or his government:" that they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France, with the express view of co-operating, for the expulsion of the protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic government; and it has been part of their plan to murder their officers, to seize on the ship, and carry her to France or Ireland.

On another occasion, the oath has been as follows: "I swear to be true to the Free and United Irish, who are now fighting our cause against tyrants and oppressors, and to defend their rights to the last drop of my blood; and to keep all secrets; and I do agree to carry the ship into Brest the next time the ship looks out ahead at sea, and to kill every officer and man that shall hinder us, except the master, and to hoist a green

green enſign with a harp in it, and afterwards to kill and deſtroy the Proteſtants."

The mutineers on board one of his majeſty's ſhips appear to have been engaged in the plan of carrying the ſhip to France, in expectation that they would there be promoted in proportion to their crimes; that one of their ringleaders was to be appointed captain, and that they were then to proceed with the French againſt Ireland; and this deep laid villany was diſguiſed and aggravated by a degree of hypocriſy and impoſture ſcarcely to be paralleled: the particulars are ſtated in the Appendix (No. 20.)

The mutineers in another ſhip were proved to be connected with correſponding ſocieties at Nottingham. The oath which they attempted to adminiſter was, "to carry the ſhip into an enemy's port, French, Dutch, or Iriſh;" and they meant, in the event of being brought into action with an enemy's ſhip, to ſhoot their own officers on the quarter-deck.

While theſe proceedings of the United Iriſhmen in the fleet exhibit ſo dreadful a picture of their ſanguinary deſigns, and of the ſimilarity of their views and principles to thoſe which have produced ſo much calamity and bloodſhed in Ireland, their conduct on ſhore has not been leſs deſerving of the moſt ſerious attention. Your committee have no heſitation in ſtating, on the cleareſt proof, ſtrongly confirmed by recent circumſtances, that among the various bodies enliſted, in any part of Great Britain, for the purpoſes of ſedition and treaſon, the ſocieties which have been formed by the United Iriſhmen in this country are in all reſpects the moſt formidable, particularly at the preſent moment; whether conſidered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the deſigns of which they are preparing, in a very ſhort time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from theſe ſocieties is much increaſed, from the conſtant communication which they maintain with the ſocieties in Ireland; their mutual confidence in each other; and the alarming circumſtance of their being at this moment ſubject to the ſame ſecret direction and the ſame chiefs.

Theſe ſocieties have been inſtituted not only in London but in different parts of the country, and have formed themſelves into ſubdiviſions. In the Appendix (Nos. 23 and 24) are inſerted printed forms of certificates of election to the ſociety, which were ſeized among the papers of a perſon long engaged in this conſpiracy. One of theſe forms has been framed for a "London Society." The other appears to relate to a ſociety called an "*External Society.*" The impreſſion of the ſeal on the former of them is the ſame with that of the ſeal found in the cuſtody of lord Edward Fitzgerald, when he was apprehended. The reference in theſe certificates to the conſtitution and the teſt confirm the unqueſtionable information which your committee have received, that theſe ſocieties form a part of the dreadful ſyſtem which was unhappily eſtabliſhed in Ireland. The conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen, ſuch as it was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings; and copies of this conſtitution have been found in the poſſeſſion of perſons principally concerned in promoting

these meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory and treasonable paper recently found at one of those meetings, of which government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which were consequently apprehended. This paper is inserted in the Appendix (No. 25). Other papers, seized at the same meeting, strongly confirm the account which your committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland), of keeping the accounts of the society, by substituting different numbers for the names of the members. Your committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix (No. 26) copy of a printed card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and particularly, among other seditious papers, in that of a person recently apprehended, who, there is reason to believe, has been very lately chosen to act as general secretary to the different societies of United Irishmen now in London. The person named in this card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons, there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable. Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become members of this society. But the most active part consists of those Irish rebels who have fled to this country, rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid and form the committee; by means of which a constant correspondence is carried on through Hamburgh, with France.

Among these plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798, it was seriously in agitation among the conspirators in Ireland to convey, in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen; and to land them on different parts of the coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the capital, in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of those trades and occupations in which the Irish, commonly resorting hither, are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society in effecting an insurrection in London at the time of the rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that country; and the plan is said to have failed, from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it. About the same period, another project was secretly formed (of

which your committee have received more diſtinct information) for collecting, at one point, a choſen body of the moſt determined from among the United Iriſh employed on the river Thames, to whom a new oath of ſecrecy, obedience, and fidelity, was to be adminiſtered; large rewards were to be promiſed; they were to be kept wholly ignorant of the preciſe ſervice they were intended to perform till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as ſoon as an attack on ſome part of the coaſt was announced on the part of the French: they were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three diviſions; and were to make an attack, by ſurpriſe, at the ſame moment, on both houſes of parliament, on the tower, and on the bank.

The intelligence obtained from time to time by government, reſpecting the proceedings and plans of the conſpirators, the ſeizure and detention of ſome of the intended leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of ſome of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realize theſe extravagant deſigns when they were firſt in contemplation.

But, notwithſtanding the continuance of every precaution, and although theſe conſpirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined ſpirit and general loyalty with which ſuch an enterpriſe would be immediately reſiſted, your committee have received undoubted proofs that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making, by agents from Ireland, to concert with the French government the time for a freſh and general inſurrection in Ireland. Intelligence has been received, that in the ports of France the utmoſt diligence is uſed in preparing another expedition to co-operate with the rebels in that kingdom. The time for making this attempt ſeems to be in a great meaſure fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the traitors in Ireland tallies, in this reſpect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your committee; and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their confederates in this country. It ſeems to be intended, at the ſame time, to attempt a diverſion by another French force on different parts of the coaſts of this kingdom. The manner in which ſuch expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the conſpirators, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſpecies of warfare which the French have had in contemplation, will be ſufficiently evident for a reference to the inſtructions of Tate, who was made priſoner in Wales (which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made laſt ſeſſion, on the treatment of priſoners of war), and to thoſe of Humbert, who commanded the force which landed laſt year in Ireland, and who had alſo been deſtined to command an expedition againſt Cornwall, which are inſerted in the Appendix to this Report (Nos. 27 and 28). For the purpoſe of co-operating with theſe attempts, and particularly with the ſame view as that to which the meaſures before enumerated were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if poſſible, reinforcements being ſent from hence to Ireland; it is

alſo part of the plan, that an effort ſhould be made to create an inſurrection in the metropolis, and in ſome other parts of the kingdom, where theſe ſocieties are moſt numerous. Your committee are fully confident, that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while government retains the means which it at preſent poſſeſſes, ſuch wild and deſperate projects may be expected to lead only to conſequences deſtructive to their authors; but your committee are, at the ſame time, ſo forcibly ſtruck with the view they have had of this part of the ſyſtem, and with the peculiar danger continually ariſing from the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the ſecure maintenance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it neceſſary to bring it thus diſtinctly under the immediate conſideration of the houſe.

§ 8. *Societies at Hamburgh.*

In addition to this maſs of treaſon in Great Britain and in Ireland, your committee find, that, for the purpoſe of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a committee of United Iriſhmen has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of thoſe diſaffected perſons who have fled from Great Britain or Ireland, either from apprehenſion of the conſequences of the treaſonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the conſpiracies carried on againſt their reſpective countries; and with the latter view it has been the centre of a correſpondence which has long ſubſiſted among the Britiſh and Iriſh ſocieties eſtabliſhed at that place, as well as in London and Paris; and this correſpondence with Great Britain and Ireland has frequently been covered by the pretence of commercial tranſactions, or of communicating intelligence for the public newſpapers.

Hamburgh has alſo been the reſort of the diſaffected of every other country, whoſe intrigues are conſtantly directed to the object of ſpreading the principles of jacobiniſm in Holſtein and the north of Germany, and generally in all the northern parts of Europe. Many emiſſaries, Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, have been diſpatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the continent, as circumſtances required. There has recently been eſtabliſhed at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a ſociety called "The Philanthropic Society," for the purpoſe of correſpondence with the republicans of all countries, upon the plan of the correſponding ſocieties eſtabliſhed in Great Britain and Ireland; and whoſe avowed object is the reform of all kingdoms and ſtates. The leading members of this ſociety, who direct all the reſt, compoſe a committee of about twenty perſons, Britiſh, French, Dutch, and Germans. The members of the ſubordinate ſocieties at Hamburgh and Altona, are all under the control of the committee, or principal ſociety before-mentioned. This committee conſtantly correſponds with Great Britain and Ireland, and all parts of Germany. It has ſecretaries ſkilled in different languages, and correſponding agents in different towns, particularly in London. It may become a

formidable engine in the hands of the French directory, and it appears to be making conſiderable progreſs; but there is reaſon to hope that it has at length attracted the notice of the governments of thoſe places.

Concluſion.

Upon a review of all the circumſtances which have come under the conſideration of your committee, they are deeply impreſſed with the conviction—that the ſafety and tranquillity of theſe kingdoms have, at different periods from the year 1791, to the preſent time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traitorous plans and practices of ſocieties, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views, of our inveterate foreign enemy:

That, although the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, in Ireland, has alone been enabled to attain its full ſtrength and maturity; yet the ſocieties inſtituted on ſimilar principles in this country, had all an undoubted tendency to produce ſimilar effects, if they had not been checked by the general demonſtrations of the zeal and ſpirit of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and by the timely and judicious uſe of thoſe extraordinary powers, which parliament has, in its wiſdom, from time to time confided to his majeſty's government:

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourſe and connection has been maintained between all theſe ſocieties in Great Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the inſtigators of theſe proceedings, in both kingdoms, were no other than the entire overthrow of the Britiſh conſtitution, the general confiſcation of property, and the erection of a democratic republic, founded on the ruins of all religion, and of all political and civil ſociety, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous reſiſtance oppoſed to the rebellion in Ireland, the ſucceſs of the meaſures which have been employed for detecting and defeating the deſigns of the conſpirators here, and the general and ardent ſpirit of loyalty and attachment to the laws and conſtitution, have hitherto counteracted the progreſs of the miſchief, and averted impending danger; but even theſe circumſtances by no means appear to your committee to juſtify the hope that the miſchief is eradicated, or the danger paſt.

The principles and views of the conſpirators remain unchanged. Their reliance on the aſſiſtance and co-operation of France, by which they expect ultimately to effect their purpoſes, continues undiminiſhed; and the ſyſtem of thoſe ſecret ſocieties which are at once the inſtruments of ſeditious conſpiracy at home, and the channel of treaſonable correſpondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means deſtroyed.

Your committee have already referred to the poſitive information laid before them, ſtating that hoſtile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in ſome of the ports of France, for the invaſion of this country, or of Ireland. The activity of ſeditious and treaſonable ſocieties, in their correſpondence with France, and in their endeavours to gain proſelytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the enemy; and the

principle

principle of ſecrecy, generally enforced by unlawful oaths, which is the great characteriſtic of theſe ſocieties, peculiarly fits them for the moſt deſperate enterpriſes, and, by holding out a proſpect of ſecurity, increaſes the means of ſeduction. It has, at the ſame time, an obvious tendency to elude detection in the firſt inſtance, and to defeat legal inquiry in the next. To this principle therefore, in the opinion of your committee, ſuch farther meaſures, as parliament in its wiſdom may think fit to adopt for the public ſafety, ſhould be more immediately and deciſively pointed.

Your committee have ſeen, with ſatisfaction, the powers which, in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the conſtitution, have from time to time, as the urgency required, been confided to his majeſty's government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arreſting and detaining ſuſpected perſons (a remedy ſo conſtantly reſorted to by our anceſtors in all caſes of temporary and extraordinary danger) has, under the preſent new and unprecedented circumſtances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the correſpondence with the enemy, and has checked, from time to time, the progreſs and communication of ſedition and treaſon at home. But from particular circumſtances which have come under the obſervation of your committee in the courſe of their inquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this meaſure would be rendered more complete, and the public tranquillity better ſecured, if the leading perſons who have been, or may be hereafter detained on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices ſhall hereafter be kept in cuſtody in places ſufficiently diſtant from the metropolis.

The whole of the ſecret information which has been laid before your committee has ſtrongly confirmed them in their opinion of the neceſſity of confiding theſe extraordinary powers to his majeſty's government; and the very circumſtances which create this neceſſity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abſtain from diſcloſing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have ſtated to the houſe the general reſult, and on which their judgement is founded; but they truſt that they have laid before the houſe ſufficient grounds to juſtify their perſuaſion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the enemies to their country carry on their dangerous conſpiracies, can only be defeated by a correſponding vigilance on the part of government, and by the exerciſe of ſuch additional powers, as may from time to time be intruſted to it by parliament, and may be beſt adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And although your committee do not think it any part of their province to ſuggeſt particular meaſures, the conſideration of which muſt be left to the wiſdom of parliament, they cannot forbear particularly and earneſtly preſſing their unanimous opinion, that the ſyſtem of ſecret ſocieties, the eſtabliſhment of which has, in other countries, uniformly preceded the aggreſſion of France, and, by facilitating the progreſs of her principles, has prepared the way for her arms, cannot be ſuffered to exiſt in theſe kingdoms compatibly with the ſafety of

their government and conſtitution, and with their ſecurity againſt foreign force and domeſtic treaſon.

Your committee have great ſatisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repreſſed, and if the ſame ſyſtem of vigilance and precaution which has been ſucceſsfully adopted for ſome years paſt, is adhered to, there is every reaſon to look forward with confidence to the ultimate diſappointment and defeat of the projects which have been ſo long purſued by our foreign and domeſtic enemies. Impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings enjoyed under our happy conſtitution, which diſtinguiſh this country from every nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of ſociety have ſhown their determination to preſerve thoſe bleſſings entire, and have ſtood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence. While this laudable ſpirit continues to pervade every part of the kingdom, and while the wiſdom of the legiſlature encourages and directs its exertions for the public ſafety, your committee entertain a full conviction that the religion, the laws, and the conſtitution of Great Britain, and with them the intereſts and happineſs of all claſſes of his majeſty's ſubjects, will, in the midſt of ſurrounding danger and calamity, and in ſpite of every machination at home or abroad, reſt, under the protection of Divine Providence, on the ſureſt baſis, ſecured by the energy and firmneſs of the government, and by the courage, the patriotiſm, and the virtue of the nation.*

Abſtract of the total Amount of the Loans raiſed by the Britiſh Government ſince the Year 1750.

1750 — 1,000,000	1767 — 1,500,000	1784 — 6,000,000
51 — 2,100,000	68 — 1,900,000	85 — none
52 — none	69 — none	86 — none
53 — none	70 — none	87 — none
54 — none	71 — none	88 — none
55 — 1,000,000	72 — none	89 — 1,002,500
56 — 2,000,000	73 — none	90 — none
57 — 3,000,000	74 — none	91 — none
58 — 5,000,000	75 — none	92 — none
59 — 6,600,000	76 — 2,000,000	93 — 4,500,000
60 — 8,000,000	77 — 5,000,000	94 — 11,000,000
61 — 12,000,000	78 — 6,000,000	95 — 18,000,000
62 — 12,000,000	79 — 7,000,000	96 — 25,500,000
63 — 3,500,000	80 — 12,000,000	97 — 32,500,000
64 — none	81 — 12,000,000	98 — 17,000,000
65 — none	82 — 13,500,000	99 — 20,500,000
66 — 1,500,000	83 — 12,000,000	

* We have thought it unneceſſary to lay before our readers the Appendix to this Report, which contains only details of the principal facts ſtated in the body of it.

Public

Public Acts paſſed in the Third Seſſion of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 17, 1798.

An act for continuing and granting to his majeſty certain duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry, for 1799.

For continuing a duty on penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, and certain duties on ſugar, malt, tobacco, and ſnuff.

To continue the act for preventing and puniſhing attemps to ſeduce perſons ſerving in the navy or army from their allegiance.

December 20.

To continue the act enabling his majeſty to accept the ſervices of ſuch part of the militia as may voluntarily offer themſelves to be employed in Ireland.

December 22.

An act for raiſing the ſum of three millions by way of annuities.

To enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the former act.

January 4, 1799.

An act for extending the time allowed for taking out certificates for uſing armorial bearings.

To amend the acts reſpecting promiſſory notes and bills of exchange.

To continue the Scotch ſmall note act.

To continue the act reſpecting merchandiſe on board of neutral ſhips, and for regulating the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

January 9.

An act to repeal the duties impoſed by an act for granting aid and contribution for the proſecution of the war, and to grant certain duties upon income in lieu thereof.

To continue the act empowering his majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuſpected perſons.

For exempting the volunteer corps from being ballotted for the ſupplementary militia, under certain conditions.

For indemnifying thoſe who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices, &c.

To revive and continue the act for eſtabliſhing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

March 7.

An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

March 21.

An act to amend the income-act.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

To continue the bounties on Britiſh and Iriſh linens exported, and taking off the duties on the importation of foreign raw linen yarns.

Mutiny-act.

For the regulation of the marines on ſhore.

To continue the act for reſtraining the negociation of promiſſory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited ſum.

To continue the Scotch ſmall note act.

To continue the act for diſallowing the bounty on ſail-cloth or canvas exported to Ireland.

To revive and continue the act for prohibiting the importation of cambrics and French lawns, except warehouſed for exportation.

To repeal part of the proviſional cavalry act.

April 10.

An act to continue the Scotch diſtillery act.

To permit ships to sail from Newfoundland without convoy.

April 19.

An act for raising a farther sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For amending the game-act respecting partridges.

May 10.

An act for raising an additional sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills.

For enlarging the time for the redemption of the land-tax.

For extending the time of the income-tax.

For amending three acts relative to the redemption of the land-tax.

To amend the act imposing stamp-duties on attornies' indentures.

For exempting the volunteer corps and associations from being ballotted for the militia, under certain conditions.

To continue the importation of rape-seed, and seal-skins, and the duties on glass.

For remedying certain defects in the law repecting offences committed upon the high seas.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, &c. on quartering soldiers.

May 20.

An act to continue the act for securing and detaining suspected persons, until March, 1800.

For making perpetual the act to explain and amend the laws relating to the punishment of felons, as far as relates to the burning in the hand.

For making perpetual such part of the same act as relates to the lodgings of judges at country assizes.

June 13.

An act for permitting certain East-India goods to be warehoused, and for repealing the duties, and granting other duties in lieu thereof.

To continue the promissory note act.

To continue the small Scotch note act.

For indemnifying the governors, &c. of the West-India islands for permitting the importation and exportation of goods in foreign bottoms.

To extend the bail given in cases of criminal information in Scotland.

To make perpetual the act for the relief of debtors.

For continuing the act for the transportation of felons, and the removal of offenders to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

For continuing the act relating to penitentiary houses.

To continue the act for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

To explain the act relating to colliers in Scotland.

For encouraging the improvement of lands subject to the servitude of thirlage in Scotland.

To grant indemnity for penalties incurred under the tanners' act, and to repeal certain parts of the said act relating to the buying of hides.

June 21.

An act for raising 15,500,000*l.* by annuities.

To repeal the duty on Prussian yarns.

For regulating the rates of porterage in London, Westminster, and Southwark.

To amend the Scotch militia-act.

July 1.

Act to grant additional duties on sugar and coffee.

For

For granting to his majesty 200,000*l.* to be placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

For allowing a bounty on pilchards, and transferring the salt duties to the excise.

For regulating the salaries of the Scotch sheriffs.

To enable a person appointed to the office of baron of the exchequer to take upon himself the degree of a serjeant-at-law.

July 12.

Act to raise a sum by lottery.

For raising three millions.

For raising 3,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer-bills.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by the same.

For repealing the salt-duties, and granting others.

For postage on ship-letters.

To continue the Scotch distillery-act.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer-bills on the credit of the income-tax.

For altering the time for making up the duties on vellum, parchment, and paper stamped.

To amend the income-act.

For exempting certain public bodies from the legacy-duty.

For regulating the spirit-licence-act.

To repeal so much of the act of queen Anne, &c. as puts an end to the forfeiture of inheritances upon attainder of treason, after the death of the pretender and his sons.

To continue the act for farming the post-horse-duty.

To regulate the importation of goods from foreign colonies in America.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia.

To allow the importation of Spanish wool.

For suppressing seditious and treasonable societies.

For regulating the carrying of slaves from the coast of Africa.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen.

For purchasing the duke of Richmond's coal-duty.

An act to regulate the quarantine of the Levant trade.

To continue certain laws respecting the Greenland-fishery.

To revive and continue certain laws respecting the British-fisheries, and Newfoundland fishery.

For prohibiting the exportation of corn.

To regulate the East-India shipping.

To protect masters against embezzlements by their clerks or servants.

For a grant to his majesty out of the consolidated fund.

For granting certain stamp-duties on bills of exchange and promissory notes.

For augmenting the judges' salaries in England and Scotland.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

For reducing the militia forces, and augmenting the regulars.

To permit the importation of certain naval stores from Germany.

For recruiting the forces of the East-India company.

To enable his majesty, by order in council, to permit the importation of certain goods in neutral ships.

An accurate Extract of the Prices of the Quartern Loaf, Wheaten Bread, at the Commencement and Conclusion of the several Mayoralties herein stated, from the Year 1735, to the present Time.

The Price at the Commencement of each Mayoralty shews the Price at the Conclusion of the preceding Mayoralty.

Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.	Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.
		d.	*lb. oz. dr.*			*d.*	*oz. dr.*
1735	Williams	5½	0 12 10	1768	Turner	6½	10 11
—36	Thompson	5¾	0 12 1	—69	Beckford*	6	11 9
—37	Barnard	5½	0 12 10	—70	Crossley	6½	10 10
—38	Perry	5¾	0 13 3	—71	Nash	7¼	9 9
—39	Salter	6	0 11 9	—72	Townsend	8	8 11
—40	Parsons*	7½	0 9 4	—73	Bull	7½	9 4
—41	Godschall*	5¼	0 13 3	—74	Wilkes	8	8 11
—42	Wilmot	4¾	0 14 10	—75	Sawbridge	6½	11 1
—43	Westley†	4¼	1 0 5	—76	Hallifax	6½	10 11
—44	Marshall	4¼	1 0 5	—77	Esdaile	7½	9 4
—45	Hoare	4¾	0 14 10	—78	Plumbe	6¼	11 1
—46	Benn	5½	0 12 10	—79	Kennet	5¼	13 1
—47	Ladbroke	5	0 13 14	—80	Lewes	7½	9 4
—48	Calvert	6	0 11 9	—81	Plomer	7	9 4
—49	Pennant*	5¼	0 13 3	—82	Newnham	8¼	8 6
—50	Cockayne	5	0 13 14	—83	Peckham	7¼	9 9
—51	Winterbottom*	6	0 11 9	—84	Clarke	7½	9 4
—52	Gascoyne	5½	0 12 10	—85	Wright	6½	10 11
—53	Ironside*	6	0 11 9	—86	Sainsbury	6	11 9
—54	Janssen	5	0 13 14	—87	Burnell	6½	10 11
—55	Bethell	5	0 13 14	—88	Gill	6½	10 11
—56	Dickenson†	7½	0 9 4	—89	Pickett	7¾	8 15
—57	Asgill	7½	0 9 4	—90	Boydell	7¼	9 9
—58	Glyn	6	0 11 9	—91	Hopkins	6½	10 11
—59	Chitty	5	0 13 4	—92	Sanderson	7¼	9 2
—60	Blackiston	5½	0 12 10	—93	Le Mesurier	7¼	9 4
—61	Fluyder	4½	0 15 7	—94	Skinner	7¼	8 15
—62	Beckford	5½	0 12 10	—95	Curtis †	12¼	5 10
—63	Bridgen	6	0 11 9	—96	Watson	8¾	7 15
—64	Stephenson	6½	0 10 11	—97	Anderson	9¼	7 8
—65	Nelson	7	0 9 14	—98	Glynn	8	8 11
—66	Kite	8	0 8 11	—99	Combe	13	5 5
—67	Harley	8¼	0 8 6				

* *Died in their Mayoralty*—Parsons succeeded by Lambert, 1740. Godschall, by Heathcote, 1741. Pennant, by Blackford, 1749. Winterbottom, by Alsop, 1751. Ironside, by Rawlinson, 1753. Beckford, by Trecothick, 1769.

† Westley, 1743, bread for two weeks, at 4d. the quartern loaf, in this mayoralty. Dickenson, 1756, bread at 9½d. four weeks. Curtis, 1795, five weeks, at 15d. the penny loaf weighed 4 oz. 10 drs.

AVERAGE

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1799.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
January . . .	6	2	3	7	2	5	4	0
February . . .	6	2	3	6	2	2	4	2
March . . .	6	3	3	7	2	6	4	2
April	6	8	3	7	2	9	4	4
May	7	7	4	6	3	4	4	9
June	7	11	4	5	3	11	5	3
July	8	4	4	6	3	10	5	5
Auguſt	9	1	4	10	4	0	5	10
September . .	9	5	4	11	4	0	6	10
October . . .	10	5	5	2	4	0	6	7
November . .	11	3	5	3	4	0	7	6
December . .	11	8	5	8	4	0	7	7
General Average	8	5	4	$5\frac{1}{2}$	3	5	5	$6\frac{1}{2}$

Account of the Import of Foreign Wheat into the Port of London, from the 1ſt of January, 1781, *to* 1799, *preſented to the Houſe of Lords:*

		Quarters.	*Buſhels.*			*Quarters.*	*Buſhels.*
1781	—	93,270	0	1791	—	49,504	5
1782	—	4,635	6	1792	—	7,065	5
1783	—	240,134	3	1793	—	170,971	3
1784	—	36,966	5	1794	—	10,654	5
1785	—	605	0	1795	—	198,911	5
1786	—	——	4	1796	—	477,877	6
1787	—	——	6	1797	—	195,462	6
1788	—	4	5	1798	—	152,449	0
1789	—	5,908	0	1799	—	233,208	4
1790	—	67,032	0				

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1799.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1799.	Bank Stock.	3 per c. red.	3 do. conf.	4 per. conf.	5p.ct. Navy.	5 p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short ann.	India Stock	India Bonds	New Loan.	S. Sea Stock	Old ann.	New ann.	Exchequer Bills.	Imp. 3 p.ct.	Imp. ann.	Irish 5p.ct.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish Lot Tickets.
Jan.	139 1/2	54 3/8	55	68 1/4	81 3/4	82 3/4	15 1/2	6 1/4	167 1/4	—	2 1/2 pr	—	53 5/8	—	—	52 1/8	10 5/8	76 3/4	13 16 0	—
	137 1/2	53 3/4	52 7/8	66 3/4	81	81	15 1/4	—	161 1/4	—	3/4 dif.	—	53 1/2	—	—	51	10 1/2	76	13 14 0	—
Feb.	141 1/4	55	54 3/4	70 1/8	83 3/4	84 1/8	16	6 3/8	168	—	2 1/2 pr	63	54 5/8	—	—	52 1/8	10 5/8	77 3/4	15 6 0	—
	138 3/4	53 1/2	52 3/4	67 7/8	80 3/4	81 7/8	15 1/2	6 1/4	162 1/4	—	3/4 dif.	59	53 5/8	—	—	51	10 1/2	75 1/2	13 1 6	—
Mar.	142 1/2	55 7/8	54 5/8	71	84	—	16	6 3/8	168	—	—	57 5/8	55 1/4	54 1/4	1/8 dif.	52 1/4	10 5/4	77 1/4	20 0 0	—
	134 1/2	54 3/4	53 1/8	69 7/8	81 3/8	—	15 1/2	6 1/4	164 1/4	—	—	57 1/4	55	54	1/4 dif.	51 1/4	10 3/8	76	8 10 0	—
Apr.	140	54 3/4	55	71 1/8	86 1/4	83 7/8	16 1/8	6 1/8	170	7 pr.	—	57 5/8	54 1/8	—	1 dif.	52 7/8	10 7/8	75 3/4	—	7 12 0
	135	54 1/4	53 5/8	69 3/8	81 3/4	83 3/8	15 3/4	6	165	3	—	57 1/4	53 1/8	—	4	61 3/4	10 1/2	74	—	7 8 0
May	140 1/4	56	56 1/4	70	87 3/4	85 1/2	16 1/8	6 1/8	171 3/4	2 pr.	—	—	55 3/8	—	3 pr.	5	10 3/4	80	—	7 13 0
	137	54 1/8	54 3/4	68 7/8	85 5/8	83 1/4	15 5/8	6	169	—	—	—	55	—	1	52 1/2		74 1/4	—	7 14 0
June	154 1/4	61 1/2	62 3/4	76 3/4	88 3/4	90 3/4	17 5/8	6 1/4	185	—	—	—	60 1/4	—	4 pr.	58 7/8	11 1/2	87 1/4	—	8 0 0
	140	55 7/8	56 1/8	70 1/2	87 1/4	85 3/8	16	6 1/8	170	—	Omnium	—	55 1/4	—	1 dif.	53 3/8	10 3/4	80	—	7 16 0
July	168 1/4	65	66	83 1/2	96	97	19 1/4	6 1/2	199	4 pr.	15 pr	—	64 1/4	—	3 pr.	63 1/8	—	93	—	8 10 0
	153	59 3/4	61	75 7/8	93 1/2	89 1/4	17 1/2	6 3/8	180 1/2	1 dif.	6	—	61 1/4	—	2 dif.	57 3/4	—	86 3/4	—	8 0 0
Aug.	176	69	68 3/8	86	99 1/2	99	20 3/4	6 7/8	203 1/2	9 pr.	21	173 1/2	64 3/4	—	7 pr.	67 7/8	12 7/8	96 1/2	15 9 0	7 10 0
	164	62 7/8	61	80 3/4	92 3/4	93 3/4	18 3/4	6 1/2	190	—	9 1/2	170	—	—	1	61	12 1/2	90 7/8	15 8 0	
Sept.	174	69	69	85	99	100 1/4	19 1/4	6 5/8	202	2	20 1/4	—	—	—	5 1/2 pr	67 1/4	12 5/8	96	15 12 0	7 14 0
	163	68 1/2	60 5/8	83 1/2	93 1/4	98 3/4	19 1/2	—	193	—	7 1/4	—	—	—	3 dif.	60 1/8	12	89 3/8	15 10 0	7 10 0
Oct.	160 1/2	61	63 1/4	76 1/2	93 1/2	90 1/2	18 1/8	6 3/8	197 1/2	4	10 1/2	—	60 1/4	62 3/4	5	62 1/8	—	89		7 17 0
	155 1/2	58	58 3/4	74 7/8	88	88 3/4	17 3/8	5 3/4	189	2	2 1/2	—	57 7/8	—	1	58	—	81 1/4	15 12 0	7 14 0
Nov	160 1/2	62 7/8	63 1/2	77 3/8	95	91 7/8	17 7/8	6 1/4	200	6	12 1/2	—	62 3/4	62 1/4	7	61 5/8	—	86 1/4	15 15 0	8 5 0
	152	59	59 3/4	74 3/8	90 3/4	88 1/8	17 1/8	5 7/8	190 3/4	3	4 1/2	—	59	60 1/8	5	59 1/8	—	82 3/4	15 12 0	7 17 6
Dec.	158	63 1/2	63 3/4	77 3/8	94 1/2	92 1/4	18	5 7/8	198 3/4	5	11 1/4	—	62 3/4	—	7	60 3/8	—	85 1/2	15 17 0	—
	154 3/4	61 1/4	62 3/4	76 7/8	94 1/4	90 1/2	17 5/8	—	197 1/4	2	9	—	61 5/8	—	4	59 1/2	—	84 7/8	15 15 0	—

Total Value of Imports into Great Britain, in the following Years:

In the year 1785	£ 15,94,8000
1786	15,786,000
1787	17,804,000
1788	18,027,000
1789	17,821,000
1790	19,130,000
1791	19,669,000
	124,185,000
Average of these 7 years	17,740,000

In the year 1792	£ 19,659,000
1793	19,256,000
1794	22,288,000
1795	22,736,000
1796	23,187,000
1797	21,013,000
1798	25,654,000
	153,793,000
Average of these 7 years	21,970,000
	17,740,000
Excefs in the laft 7 years	4,230,000

Total Value of Exports from Great Britain, in the following Years:

	Foreign Manufactures.	*Britifh Manufactures.*	*Total.*
In the year 1785	5,004,000	11,082,000	16,086,000
1786	4,470,000	11,830,000	16,300,000
1787	4,815,000	12,053,000	16,869,000
1788	4,747,000	12,724,000	17,472,000
1789	5,561,000	13,779,000	19,340,000
1790	5,199,000	14,921,000	20,120,000
1791	5,921,000	16,810,000	22,731,000
	35,717,000	93,199,000	128,918,000
Average of these 7 years	5,102,000	13,314,000	18,416,000
In the year 1792	6,568,000	18,336,000	24,904,000
1793	6,497,000	13,892,000	20,390,000
1794	10,008,000	16,725,000	26,734,000
1795	10,785,000	16,527,000	27,312,000
1796	11,416,000	19,102,000	30,518,000
1797	12,013,000	16,903,000	28,917,000
1798	14,028,000	19,771,000	33,800,000
	71,315,000	121,256,000	192,575,000
Average of these 7 years	10,187,000	17,322,000	27,510,000
	5,102,000	19,314,300	18,416,000
Excefs in the laft 7 years	5,085,000	4,008,000	9,094,000

METEO-

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1799.

1799.	*Thermometer without.*			*Thermometer within*			*Barometer.*			*Hygrometer.*			*Rain.*
	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January . .	50	23	35,6	55	41	49,0	30,43	29,25	29,98	86	61	79,1	0,949
February .	56	22	33,7	60	42	51,0	30,26	28,88	29,70	92	57	75,2	2,235
March . . .	56	28	39,4	62	49	53,6	30,23	29,31	29,84				0,433
April . . .	56	30	44,7	58	47	54,3	30,23	28,75	29,62				1,671
May	70	40	53,2	62	54	58,7	30,38	29,33	29,84				1,749
June	77	49	59,4	67	58	62,1	30,41	29,18	30,04				0,552
July	77	52	63,1	68	62	64,9	30,18	29,22	29,82				2,913
Auguſt . .	72	51	61,1	66	62	63,3	30,12	29,26	29,81	78	45	59,8	2,209
September.	71	46	57,2	67	60	62,1	30,40	29,04	29,82	83	45	63,9	2,824
October . .	63	35	49,7	63	55	59,5	30,37	29,34	29,80	88	53	69,4	2,191
November.	58	32	45,0	60	53	56,1	30,40	28,82	29,87	87	55	71,9	1,587
December .	50	17	34,7	57	43	50,4	30,54	29,19	29,93	85	60	71,1	0,349
Whole Year			48,5			57,1			29,84				19,662

A GE-

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 11, 1798, to DECEMBER 10, 1799.

Christened { Males 10087 / Females 8883 } 18970. Buried { Males 9046 / Females 9088 } 18134.

Increaſed in the burials this year, 21.

Died under 2 years - 5211	30 and 40 - 1724	70 and 80 - 1125	101 - 2
Between 2 and 5 - 1790	40 and 50 - 1924	80 and 90 - 456	105 - 0
5 and 10 - 644	50 and 60 - 1758	90 and 100 - 63	108 - 0
10 and 20 - 573	60 and 70 - 1565	100 - - - 0	117 - 0
20 and 30 - 1299			

DISEASES.							
Abortive and ſtill born	580	Dropſy	906	Palpitation of the heart	2	Bruiſed	2
Abſceſs	27	Ear-ach	1	Palſy	105	Burnt	13
Aged	1343	Eaten by lice	1	Pleuriſy	14	Drowned	99
Ague	3	Evil	5	Quinſy	1	Exceſſive drinking	5
Amputation		Fevers of all kinds	1784	Raſh	1	Executed *	12
Apoplexy and ſuddenly	249	Fiſtula	3	Rheumatiſm	3	Found dead	10
Aſthma and Phthiſic	663	Flux	5	Rickets	0	Fractured	2
Bedridden	2	French pox	23	Scurvy	3	Frighted	2
Bleeding	16	Gout	91	Small pox	1111	Frozen	2
Burſten and rupture	20	Gravel, ſtone, and ſtrangury	11	Sore throat	12	Killed by falls and ſeveral other accidents	64
Cancer	48	Grief	4	Sores and ulcers	11	Killed themſelves	28
Childbed	131	Head-ach	0	Spaſm	2	Killed by a cow	0
Colds	14	Headmouldſhot, horſe ſhoehead, and water in the head	76	St. Anthony's fire	0	Killed by fighting	0
Colick, gripes, and twiſting of the guts	8	Jaundice	78	Stoppage in the ſtomach	11	Murdered	3
Conſumption	4843	Jaw locked	1	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Poiſoned	6
Convulſions	3794	Impoſthume	1	Swine pox	2	Scalded	2
Cough and hooping cough	451	Inflammation	433	Teeth	335	Shot	1
Cramp	1	Itch	2	Thruſh	35	Smothered	1
Croup	16	Leproſy	1	Tumor in the womb	0	Starved	4
Diabetes	1	Livergrown	10	Vomiting and looſeneſs		Sprain	0
		Lunatic	107	Worms	11	Strangled	0
		Meaſles	233			Suffocated	7
		Miſcarriage	3	CASUALTIES.		Tooth-ach	0
		Mortification	226	Bit by a mad dog	2	Total	269
				Broken limbs	4		

* There have been executed, in Middleſex and Surrey, 25; of which number 12 only have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the bills of mortality.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1799.

NAVY.

	£	s.	d.
November 27, 1798.			
That 120,000 ſeamen be employed, including 20,000 marines.			
For wages for ditto	2,886,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto	2,964,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ſhips in which they are to ſerve,	4,680,000	0	0
For ordnance ſea-ſervice on board ſuch ſhips	390,000	0	0
December 3.			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea and marine officers	729,063	6	7
For buildings and repairs of ſhips, and other extra works	693,750	0	0
June 25, 1799.			
For the expenſe of the tranſport-ſervice, and for the maintenance of priſoners of war in health	1,311,200	0	0
	£ 13,654,013	6	7

ARMY.

December 3, 1798.			
That 52,051 men be employed for land-ſervice, including 5,766 invalids.			
For guards, garriſons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney, and in Ireland	1,977,253	7	10
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, thoſe on ſpecial ſervices, and a corps of foot in New South Wales	861,653	10	3
For difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh pay of ſix regiments of foot for ſervice abroad	42,901	19	0
For four troops of dragoons, and twenty companies of foot, ſtationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments ſerving in Eaſt India	29,124	3	4

	£	s.	d.
For recruiting and contingencies for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	185,000	0	0
For general and ſtaff-officers, and officers of hoſpitals	114,144	5	5
For full pay to ſupernumerary officers	41,741	16	0
For allowances to the paymaſter-general of the forces, commiſſary-general of the muſters, &c. &c.	123,006	13	3
For the increaſed rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to inn-keepers, and others, on quartering ſoldiers	220,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land-forces and marines	169,379	7	1
For allowances to reduced horſe guards	20	12	11
On account of officers late in the ſervice of the ſtates-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto - - - of reduced officers of Britiſh American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to ſeveral reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0
For the in and out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, and the expenſes of the hoſpital	142,688	11	3
For penſions to widows of commiſſioned officers	18,591	3	3
For expenſes expected to be incurred in the barrack-maſter-general's department	622,478	0	0
For foreign corps in the ſervice of Great Britain	173,735	18	7
June 25, 1799.			
To defray the extraordinary ſervices of the army for 1799	2,500,000	0	0
	£ 7,277,319	8	2

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

December 3, 1798.			
For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and ſeveral corps of fencible infantry	3,139,908	10	8
For contingencies for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry	60,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia, and corps of miners	279,934	19	2
For corps of fencible cavalry	418,440	5	8
For extra feed for ditto	25,000	0	0
For the embodied proviſional cavalry	109,151	3	8
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry	500,000	0	0
June 13, 1799.			
Making proviſion for pay and clothing of the militia.			
Ditto - - - for allowances to ſubaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.			
	£ 4,532,434	19	2

ORDNANCE.

December 3, 1798.

	£	s.	d.
For ordnance land-ſervice, for 1799	1,324,413	14	7
Ditto, not provided for in 1797	81,969	17	4
For ſea-ſervice, not provided for in 1797	56,218	11	11
Ditto, land-ſervice, not provided for in 1798	108,225	1	2
	£ 1,570,827	5	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 3, 1798.

For the civil eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	7,150	0	0
Plantations. Ditto of Nova Scotia	5,415	0	0
Ditto of New Brunſwick	4,650	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Iſland	1,900	0	0
Ditto of the Iſland of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	2,451	1	0
Ditto of the Bahama Iſlands	4,100	0	0
Ditto of the Bermudas, or Somers Iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto of the Iſland of Dominica	600	0	0
Ditto of New South Wales	6,016	15	0

March 11, 1799.

That his majeſty be enabled to grant a yearly ſum, out of the conſolidated fund, not exceeding 12,000*l.* to prince Edward

Ditto to prince Erneſt Auguſtus

March 16.

For his majeſty's ſecret ſervice abroad	150,000	0	0
For relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese emigrants, and American loyaliſts	226,000	0	0
For aſſiſting the Levant company in carrying on their trade	5,000	0	0

April 18.

For printing the journals, &c. of the houſe of commons, in 1798, over and above the eſtimated ſum	2,773	15	0
Ditto, for the year 1799	8,000	0	0
For defraying the charge of the ſuperintendance of aliens	7,819	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
For discharging the balance due on account of the expenses of the mint, for 1798	25,307	6	1
For defraying the extraordinary expenses incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin, in 1797, over and above the estimated sum	284	17	6
Ditto, in the year 1798	1,607	9	4
For defraying the expenses of convicts at home, in 1798, over and above the estimated sum	971	0	7½
Ditto, for the year 1799	35,923	15	4
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
For support of the veterinary college	1,500	0	0
For repairing the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster	6,721	0	0
May 9.			
To defray the sums which the commissioners, under the American treaty, have awarded to be paid by the British government; and the expenses attending the said commission	25,150	14	4
To make good money issued pursuant to addresses	9,337	5	6
June 8.			
Towards enabling his majesty to make good such engagements with the emperor of Russia, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs	825,000	0	0
To make good the deficiency of the consolidated fund, on the 5th of January and 5th of July, 1797	699,043	11	2
To complete the supplies granted for 1797	35,990	9	6
To make good the sums paid for discount on prompt payments of the loan and lottery granted for 1798	211,791	2	7
To discharge bills to be drawn from New South Wales, and which may become due in 1799	20,000	0	0
June 13.			
To make good money paid to the bank, for receiving contributions to the loan and lottery for 1798	14,698	9	2
Ditto, the deficiency of the grants for 1798	519,888	11	4
Ditto, the charges of preparing and drawing the lottery for 1798	12,200	0	0
Ditto, money issued for secret service abroad, above the sum granted in the last session	20,502	0	0
Ditto, for payment of expenses arisen from the execution of the alien-act, ditto	2,450	7	4
Ditto, for the purchase of an instrument for measuring altitudes, &c. for the commissioners appointed to ascertain the situation of St. Croix	97	9	0
Ditto, to sundry officers of the house of commons, for attendance on committees	909	13	6

	£	s.	d.
Ditto, for purchaſe of the old goal in the county of Surrey, for the purpoſe of converting the ſame into a court and priſon for the Marſhalſea	4,214	12	0
Ditto, for making up, and publiſhing weekly, returns of the average price of ſugar	897	6	0
Ditto, to Mr. Baldwin, for his attendance in the houſe of peers, on the trial of Mr. Haſtings	261	15	6
Ditto, for allowances and ſalaries to additional clerks in the office of the commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts	2,762	15	0
Ditto, for diſburſements on account of the ſettlement at New South Wales	529	12	0
Ditto, for expenſes of alterations at the houſe of the ſpeaker	849	16	3¾
Ditto, for expenſes attending the parliament-office	412	9	10
Ditto, for the purchaſe of a houſe, for an office of one of the ſecretaries of ſtate	7,878	3	0
Ditto, to pay the expenſe of the police-office in Wapping	1,437	6	6
Ditto, to defray extraordinary expenſes of proſecutions relating to the coin	300	0	0
Ditto, for completing the indexes to the rolls of parliament, and to the journals of the houſe of lords	1,955	18	0
Ditto, for making a ſurvey of the Iſle of Dogs, and ſeveral plans and eſtimates of docks, and other works, and for executing copper-plates of the plans thereof	411	5	9
Ditto, for ſalaries to officers, and incidental expenſes of the commiſſion for reducing the national debt	1,731	16	0
Ditto, for incidental expenſes attending the execution of the act for ſale of the land-tax	600	0	0
Ditto, for a clerk employed on various buſineſſes and references relative to American claims	121	11	6
For the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	4,000	0	0
For ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa	20,000	0	0
To enable his majeſty to purchaſe the collection of natural hiſtory belonging to the late Dr. John Hunter, for the uſe of the public	15,000	0	0

June 25.

To enable his majeſty to make remittances, to be applied to his ſervice in Ireland, on proviſion being made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the intereſt and charges of a loan to that amount	3,000,000	0	0

Ditto,

	£	s.	d.
Ditto, to make good the ſums which may be awarded under the ſeventh article of the treaty with America, to be paid by the Britiſh government .	60,000	0	0
Ditto, to make indemnification to earl St. Vincent and ſir Charles Grey, on account of decrees againſt them for the detention of American ſhips . . .	35,000	0	0
To be paid to William Aſhforth, and others, being the amount of the firſt payments on the ſum ſubſcribed to the loan of 7,500,000*l.* in 1796, by Robert Reeves, ſtock-broker, and which became forfeited to the public, by his omitting to make the future payments	4,275	16	0
June 27.			
For the purchaſe of ground for erecting a penitentiary houſe for convicts, and towards the expenſe of erecting the ſame	36,000	0	0
	£ 6,105,310	14	8¼

NATIONAL DEBT.

June 8, 1799.			
To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commiſſioners for reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

June 8, 1799.			
To make good the ſums paid for principal and intereſt of certain exchequer-bills, charged on the ſupplies of 1797	153,148	10	7
Ditto, the intereſt paid on exchequer-bills, raiſed on the credit of the loan of 18,000,000*l.* granted for 1797	114,037	16	3½
Ditto, the ſums paid for intereſt on exchequer-bills, granted for 1798	210,071	5	11½
June 13.			
For payment of intereſt due to the bank, on ſundry exchequer-bills, and for advances on bills of exchange drawn on the lords of the treaſury .	465,759	16	11¼
June 18.			
For paying off exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of act of laſt ſeſſion, for raiſing 3,000,000*l.* thereby .	3,000,000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Ditto, by virtue of act for enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of 1,000,000*l.*	1,000,000	0	0
Ditto, by virtue of act for raiſing an additional ſum thereby	3,500,000	0	0
	£ 8,443,017	9	9¼

VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 8, 1799.

To enable his majeſty to enter into ſuch farrher engagements, and take ſuch meaſures, as may be beſt adapted to the exigency of affairs	3,000,000	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	13,654,013	6	7
Army	7,277,319	8	2
Militia and ſencible corps	4,532,434	19	2
Ordnance	1,570,827	5	0
Miſcellaneous ſervices	6,105,310	14	8¼
National debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer-bills	8,443,017	9	9¼
Vote of credit	3,000,000	0	0
Total ſupplies	£ 44,782,923	3	4½

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

ANNUAL GRANTS.

November 30, 1798.

For continuing certain duties on ſugar, malt, tobacco, and ſnuff; and for raiſing four ſhillings in the pound upon penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates	2,000,000	0	0
For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry	750,000	0	0

June 18, 1799.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax			
That the allowances to certain ſubaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the ſame			
	£ 2,750,000	0	0

EXTRA-

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

	£	s.	d.
December 11, 1798.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by annuities	3,000,000	0	0
February 23, 1799.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills	3,000,000	0	0
April 8.			
For raiſing 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills	1,500,000	0	0
April 18.			
For applying 521,890*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.* being part of the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund, on the 5th of April, 1799	521,890	16	7½
May 2.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills	3,000,000	0	0
June 8.			
For raiſing 15,500,000*l.* by annuities	15,500,000	0	0
June 13.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills	3,000,000	0	0
June 17.			
For raiſing 703,541*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by a lottery . . .	703,541	13	4
June 18.			
For applying 3,229,000*l.* out of the moneys that ſhall ariſe of the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund . .	3,229,000	0	0
June 20.			
For raiſing 3,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . . .	3,500,000	0	0
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by ditto	3,000,000	0	0
June 25.			
For applying 34,145*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* remaining in the hands of the paymaſter-general of the forces, out of the ſum granted for defraying the extraordinary expenſes of the army, for 1799	34,145	2	9
	39,988,577	12	8½
Annual grants	2,750,000	0	0
Total of ways and means .	£ 42,738,577	12	8½

TAXES.

1. Income Duty.

December 4, 1798.

Charging annually, during a term to be limited, certain proportional duties upon Income from 60*l.* to 200*l.*; whether any ſuch income ſhall ariſe from lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or from any kind of perſonal property, or other property whatever; or from any profeſſion, office, employment, trade, or vocation: and one-tenth part of ſuch income, if the ſame ſhall amount to 200*l.* and upwards.

2. Duties on Sugar and Coffee.

June 8, 1799.

For charging an additional duty of 8*d.* per cwt. on brown and muſcovado ſugar, of the Britiſh plantations, imported.

Ditto of 4*s.* per cwt. on white, or clayed ſugar, ditto.

Ditto of 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on ſugar, not of the Britiſh plantations, imported and warehouſed, upon the delivery of the ſame, out of warehouſe, for exportation.

Ditto of 6*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on ſugar imported by the Eaſt-India company, ditto.

That 2*s.* 6*d.* part of the drawback now allowed on the exportation of every hundred weight of ſugar exported in the ſame ſtate in which it was imported; and alſo on the exportation of every hundred weight of ſugar called baſtards, and ground or powdered ſugar, and refined loaf ſugar broken in pieces, and all ſugar called candy; be no longer paid or allowed.

That 4*s.* part of the drawback now allowed on the exportation of every hundred weight of any other refined ſugar, be no longer paid or allowed.

For charging an additional duty of 4*s.* per cwt. on coffee, imported and warehouſed, upon the delivery of the ſame, out of warehouſe, for exportation.

June 13.

For charging an additional duty of 8*d.* per cwt. on brown and muſcovado ſugar imported by the Eaſt-India company.

3. Duties on Bills of Exchange, and Notes.

June 8, 1799.

For charging a duty of 2*d.* on bills of exchange, and notes, where the ſum expreſſed therein, or made payable thereby, ſhall not amount to forty ſhillings.

June 11.

For charging a duty of 2*d.* upon notes under forty ſhillings, which may be re-iſſuable from time to time, after payment at the place where firſt iſſued.

Ditto of 4*d.* upon notes under forty ſhillings, which may be re-iſſued from time to time, after payment at the ſame or any other place than where firſt iſſued.

STATE

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1796-7, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	£ 5,703,906		
Madras	1,996,328		
Bombay	315,937		
			8,016,171
Charges—Bengal	3,862,942		
Madras	2,408,492		
Bombay	841,825		
			7,113,259
Nett revenues of the three Presidencies			902,912
Deduct supplies of Bencoolen, &c.			101,190
Remainder			801,722
Deduct farther interest paid on debts.			
Bengal	352,325		
Madras	37,040		
Bombay	37,482		
			426,847
Nett surplus from the Territorial revenues			£ 374,875
Add			
Amount sales of imports, certificates, &c.			381,938
Amount applicable to purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.			756,813
Amount actually advanced for purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of the China investment,			
At Bengal	£ 1,202,394		
Madras	642,048		
Bombay	286,913		
Bencoolen	18,183		
			2,149,533
Exceeds amount applicable from revenues as before			1,392,725
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1796-7, with charges			1,877,432

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of Estimates 1797-8, *collectively.*

Revenus—Bengal	£ 5,743,848		
Madras	2,334,676		
Bombay	319,101		
			8,397,625

Charges

Charges—Bengal	3,893,991	
Madras	2,482,858	
Bombay	844,050	
		7,220,979
Nett eſtimated revenue of the three Preſidencies		1,176,746
Deduct		
Supplies of Bencoolen, &c.		85,840
Remainder		1,090,906
Deduct farther		
Intereſt on the debts		576,775
Add		514,131
Eſtimated amount, ſales of imports, and certificates, &c.		500,336
Amount eſtimated to be applicable in 1797-8, to the purchaſe of inveſtments, payment of commercial charges, &c.		1,014,467

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount ſtated laſt year	7,146,084
Amount this year	9,294,539
Increaſe	2,148,455
Debts transferred in the year	544,402

Debts bearing Intereſt.

Amount laſt year	5,590142
Amount this year	7,479,162
Intereſt of debt bearing intereſt	1,889,020
Amount of intereſt payable by accounts of laſt year	419,345
Amount of intereſt payable by accounts of this year	576,775
Increaſe of intereſt payable annually	157,430

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Conſiſting of caſh, goods, &c. laſt year	8,958,669
Ditto by the preſent ſtatement	10,531,145
Increaſe of aſſets	1,572,476
Deduct	
Increaſe of aſſets from the above increaſe of debts—the ſtate of the Company's affairs of India is worſe by	575,979

HOME

HOME ACCOUNTS.

	£	£
Aggregate amount of ſales		6,053,401
Leſs than laſt year	£ 2,108,908	
Difference in Company's goods alone	1,434,488	
Private trade more than laſt year	30,746	
Remaining difference in ſale of Dutch goods		
Sales of Company's goods, eſtimated at		6,282,282
Actually amounted to		4,718,822
Leſs than eſtimated		1,556,060
Receipts on ſale of Company's goods, eſtimated at		6,555,116
Actually amounted to		5,946,468
Receipt leſs than eſtimated		608,648
Charges and profit on private trade, eſtimated at		196,000
Actually amounted to		115,808
Leſs than eſtimate		80,198

GENERAL RESULT.

Balance at cloſe of year 1797-8, expected to be againſt the Company	1,836,320
Actual balance in conſequence of iſſue of bonds, of aid by loans, and of ſmaller payments for freight, &c. than expected, was in favour	540,646
Making the balance of caſh better than eſtimated	2,376,966

ESTIMATES, 1798-9.

Receipt for ſales of Company's goods	5,905,927

RESULT.

After calculating on a payment to the bank, amounting to 800,000*l.* and a large ſum for freight, without reckoning an increaſe of capital, iſſue of bonds or loans, the balance againſt the Company, on 1ſt of March, 1799, expected to be	1,318,937

DEBTS AT HOME.

In March, 1797	7,918,559
In March, 1798	7,288,692
	Decreaſe

	£
Decreaſe	132,069
Aſſets at home and afloat on the 1ſt of March, 1797	12,476,719
Ditto on the 1ſt of March, 1798	13,213,370
Increaſe	732,597
Adding increaſe of aſſets to the above decreaſe of debt, the ſtate of affairs at home appears better	1,366,322

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance in China laſt year in favour	£ 279,250	
Ditto this year againſt	718,945	
Difference at China againſt		998,195
Balance at St. Helena laſt year	58,463	
Ditto this year	54,248	
Decreaſe at St. Helena		4,215
Leſs at China and St. Helena		1,002,410

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increaſe of debt in India		£ 2,148,455
Decreaſe of debts at home		631,765
Increaſe of debts		1,516,690
Increaſe of aſſets in India	1,572,476	
Increaſe of aſſets at home	734,557	
Deduct	2,307,033	
Balance at China and St. Helena, leſs	1,002,410	
Nett increaſe of aſſets		1,304,623
The increaſe of debt, or the general ſtate of the the Company's concerns, is, in this view, more than at the cloſe of the laſt year		212,067
Add charges of four ſhips from Bombay, arrived in time for inſertion in the home account		201,153
The total then is		£ 413,220

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, 22d January.

G. R.

HIS majeſty is perſuaded that the unremitting induſtry with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of effecting the ſeparation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majeſty recommends it to this houſe to conſider of the moſt effectual means of counteracting, and finally defeating, this deſign; and he truſts that a review of all the circumſtances which have recently occurred (joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt) will diſpoſe the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner which they ſhall judge moſt expedient for ſettling ſuch a complete and final adjuſtment as may beſt tend to improve and perpetuate a connection eſſential for their common ſecurity, and to augment and conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources, of the Britiſh empire.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, 1ſt March.

G. R.

HIS majeſty being deſirous of making competent proviſion for the honourable ſupport and maintenance of his dearly beloved ſons, Prince Edward and Prince Erneſt Auguſtus, which the money applicable to the purpoſes of his majeſty's civil government would be inſufficient to defray; and being alſo deſirous of being enabled to extend to his beloved daughter, the Princeſs Amelia, the proviſion which he has been enabled to make out of the hereditary revenue for the other branches of his royal family, deſires the aſſiſtance of parliament for this purpoſe: and his majeſty relies on the affection of his faithful commons, that they will make ſuch proviſion as the circumſtances of the caſe may appear to require.

Proteſt entered on the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, againſt the Addreſs in Favour of an Union with Ireland, 11th April.

1ſt, BECAUSE the meaſure of a legiſlative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the policy of which is highly queſtionable, and the importance of which demands the moſt calm, diſpaſſionate, and deliberate examination, is perſiſted in and urged forward in compliment to his majeſty's miniſters, under circumſtances which ought imperiouſly to have deterred us from the proſecution of it.

The

The moment of civil diſturbance and diviſion, when the neceſſity of military law is alleged by miniſters, and acknowledged by parliament, ſeems ill calculated for enſuring the full and unequivocal conſent of the Iriſh people, without which even the ſupporters of the meaſure muſt confeſs it to be illuſory, and dangerous in the extreme. And to commit the parliament of Great Britain to the wiſdom of a project which the commons of Ireland have rejected, and to which the inhabitants of that kingdom are diſinclined, appears to us a whimſical expedient for ſecuring the connection of the two countries, and conſolidating the ſtrength of the empire.

2dly, Becauſe, as no jealouſy or diviſion has exiſted between the two legiſlatures, the preſent dangers and diſcontents in Ireland cannot be attributed to the independence of parliament, but muſt rather be conſidered as the bitter fruits of a coercive ſyſtem of policy, ſuggeſted by his majeſty's adviſers, and enforced under the ſanction of the executive power with unconſtitutional and wanton ſeverity.

3dly, Becauſe, though the poſſibility of a different will, in the two ſeparate legiſlatures, cannot be controverted, yet poſſible inconveniences in remote and extreme caſes from ſuppoſed legiſlative meaſures, or poſſible inſtances of additional embarraſſment to the executive government, are no arguments for the ſubverſion of a ſyſtem in which no ſuch inconveniences have been experienced, and no ſuch difficulties encountered. For the conſequences of ſuch reaſoning would lead us to conſolidate into one the different branches of our own excellent conſtitution; to remove all the checks which the jealouſy of our anceſtors has impoſed on the executive government; to condemn whatever theory might ſuppoſe difficult, though practice had ſhown it to be eaſy; and to ſubſtitute hypotheſis and ſpeculation for hiſtory, fact, and experience.

4thly, Becauſe the notion, that a legiſlative union will either conciliate the affections of the diſcontented in Ireland, or furniſh more effectual means for defeating the deſign of the enemy in that country, ſeems unſupported by reaſoning, and in direct contradiction to analogy and experience. Were we to admit the beneficial conſequences of an union, yet the benefits which, according to ſuch hypotheſis, are likely to reſult to Ireland from the meaſures, are, at leaſt, progreſſive and diſtant, and can furniſh, therefore, no reaſonable hope of allaying immediate diſcontent, ſuppreſſing actual rebellion, or defeating deſigns already on foot. If, indeed, the enemies of the connection endeavoured to effectuate a ſeparation of the two kingdoms, by ſowing jealouſies and diſſentions between the two parliaments (as was the caſe in Scotland, immediately previous to the union), the meaſure propoſed would manifeſtly be an effectual, it might be repreſented as the only remedy for the evil: but if it be true that their object is to diſſeminate jealouſy, and foment diſcontent, not between the diſtant legiſlatures and governments of England and Ireland, but between the people and parliament, between the governed and government of that country; and if, by repreſenting their legiſlature as the corrupt agent of Britiſh miniſters, and laviſh engine

gine of Britiſh tyranny, they have ſucceeded in alienating a large portion of his majeſty's ſubjects; and if it be farther true, as ſtated in the report of the committees of ſecrecy of the Iriſh parliament, that the miſrepreſentations of a few individuals have been found ſufficient to ſeduce the allegiance of one whole province in Ireland; we are indeed at a loſs to conceive how the danger of ſuch deſigns is to be averted, or the force of ſuch miſrepreſentations diminiſhed, by a meaſure, which reduces the number of repreſentatives of the Iriſh people, transfers the legal organ of their will out of the boſom of their own country, and annihilates all independent and excluſive authority in that kingdom.

An examination of the immediate conſequences which the union formerly produced in Scotland, and a contemplation of the recent effects of its diſcuſſion in Ireland, ſuggeſt yet ſtronger reaſons for doubting its efficacy either in healing diſcontents, or furniſhing the means of reſiſtance to any attempt of the enemy. We learn, from the moſt authentic documents of thoſe times, that in Scotland its agitation produced diſorder and tumult; that, ſix years after it paſſed, nearly all the Scotch peers voted for its diſſolution, and founded that vote on the diſcontents it had occaſioned; that it remained for a long period a ſubject of ſullen diſcontent; that a promiſe of its diſſolution was conſidered, by the agents of the Pretender, as advantageous to his cauſe in Scotland; and that two rebellions broke out in that kingdom, ſubſequent to its accompliſhment.

Furthermore, from what information we have been able to procure, we obſerve, with the deepeſt concern and alarm, that its diſcuſſion in Ireland has already been attended with the moſt fearful ſymptoms. From the increaſed powers with which it has recently been deemed neceſſary to arm the executive power, we cannot but infer, that the proſpect of an incorporating union has failed to conciliate the minds of the diſaffected; and, from the ferment occaſioned by its diſcuſſion, it is evident that all other parties in Ireland are alienated or divided, and the means of reſiſtance in caſe of inſurrection or foreign invaſion thereby materially weakened.

We thought it therefore more prudent, in this moment of alarm, to deſiſt from the proſecution of a meaſure, which might become a freſh ſubject of complaint, and a new ſource of diſcontent and diviſion. And we were more diſpoſed to ſeek for the re-eſtabliſhment of mutual confidence, in the adoption of conciliatory laws, in the removal of odious diſabilities, in the redreſs of grievances, and the operation of a milder ſyſtem of policy on the affections of the Iriſh people, than in any experiment of theory and nominal union of governments.

5thly, Becauſe, at a time when the danger of innovation has been deemed a ſufficient pretext for the continuation of abuſes, the ſuſpenſion of improvement, and the preſervation of a defective repreſentation of the people, we cannot regard without jealouſy and alarm an innovation of direct contrary tendency, viz. the introduction of a number of members into the Britiſh parliament, from a legiſlature, one branch of which has acknowledged the imperfection of its own conſtitution; and againſt the other branch of which the ſale of peerages has been publicly

publicly alleged, and as publicly offered to be proved.

And, however invidious it might be to cite any example in confirmation of such opinion, we are not so blind to matters of notoriety, or so deaf to the lessons of experience, as not to apprehend, from a measure of this nature, an enormous increase of the influence of the crown; neither could we perceive, either in the present temper of the Irish people, inflamed by civil animosity, and exasperated by recent rebellion, or in the general moderation of his majesty's present advisers, any thing to allay our apprehensions or remove our jealousies; and we were unwilling to give our consent, at a period when new burdens are every day imposed, and new sacrifices every day required of the people, to a measure which must supply additional reasons for doubting the adequacy of their representation, and suspecting the independence of parliament.

(Signed) Holland.
Thanet.
King.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 6th June.

G. R.

HIS majesty thinks proper to acquaint this house, that he had some time since concluded an eventual engagement with his good brother and ally, the Emperor of Russia, for employing forty-five thousand men against the common enemy, in such manner as the state of affairs in Europe at that period appeared to render most advantageous. The change of circumstances which has since arisen, having rendered a different application of that force more desirable, his majesty has recently had the satisfaction to learn that the views of the Emperor of Russia in that respect are entirely conformable to his own. But his majesty has not yet received any account that the formal engagements to that effect have been regularly concluded. He has, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the same promptitude and zeal, in support of the common cause, which his ally has already manifested in a manner so honourable to himself, and so signally beneficial to Europe, have induced him already to put this army in motion towards the place of its destination, as now settled by mutual consent. His majesty therefore thinks it right to acquaint the house of commons, that the pecuniary conditions of this treaty will oblige his majesty to pay the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in stipulated instalments, as preparation-money; and to pay a monthly subsidy of seventy-five thousand pounds, as well as to engage for a farther payment, at the rate of thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds per month; which payment is not to take place till after the conclusion of a peace made by common consent.

His majesty relies on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, to enable him to make good these engagements.

And his majesty being desirous of continuing to afford the necessary succours to his ally, the queen of Portugal, as well as to give timely and effectual assistance at this important conjuncture to the Swiss Cantons, for the recovery of their ancient liberty and independence, and to make every other exertion for improving to the utmost the signal advantages

vantages which, by the bleſſing of God, have attended the operations of the combined arms on the continent, ſince the commencement of the preſent campaign; recommends it alſo to the houſe of commons to enable his majeſty to enter into ſuch farther engagements, and ſo take ſuch meaſures, as may be beſt adapted to the exigency of affairs, and moſt likely, by continued perſeverance and vigour, to complete the general deliverance of Europe from the inſupportable tyranny of the French republic.

Proteſt entered in the Houſe of Lords againſt committing the Treaſon Forfeiture Bill, 4th July.

Diſſentient,

FIRST, Becauſe the ſtatute, which it is by this bill propoſed to make perpetual, appears to us to be unjuſt and impolitic, and contrary to the mild ſpirit of the laws of England—unjuſt, becauſe it reduces to poverty and ruin children for the crimes of their anceſtors; impolitic, becauſe, inſtead of healing the diviſions and animoſity occaſioned by civil war, it tends to make them continue.

It appears to us to be contrary to the expreſs declaration of Magna Charta, which ſays, that no perſon ſhall be diſinherited or deprived of his franchiſes unleſs he be heard in his defence; for in this caſe we diſinherit perſons who cannot be heard, and who have committed no crime.

Secondly, Becauſe it does not appear that any urgent neceſſity calls for the immediate adoption of this law at this late period of the ſeſſion, when it cannot receive the due conſideration which a queſtion of this ſort deſerves, and when the attendance is ſo thin in this houſe.

Thirdly, Becauſe we have the ſatisfaction of thinking it is not neceſſary for the preſervation of his majeſty, whoſe throne cannot be more ſecure by ſevere penal ſtatutes. We therefore will not agree to deſtroy that hope which ſir William Blackſtone exultingly ſays our poſterity may entertain—that corruption of blood may one day be aboliſhed and forgotten.

Ponſonby.
Holland.

Proteſt againſt the third reading of the Militia Reduction Bill, 12th July.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE the meaſures preſcribed by the bill are deſtructive of the conſtitutional force of the country; by making the militia ballot a fund for the ſupply, and its diſcipline a drill for the accommodation of other corps, and by degrading its officers to the humiliating ſituation of commanding the miſerable remnants of their regiments rejected by recruiting ſerjeants of the line.

Becauſe the ſubverſion of this conſtitutional force muſt be the inevitable conſequence, as it is probably the object, of theſe meaſures; for it cannot be imagined that gentlemen of property (ſuch as are required by the ſtill remaining wreck of the militia laws) ſhould hereafter come forward, in times of difficulty and danger, with a zeal and patriotiſm ſo much applauded, and ſo bitterly inſulted; that men of the higheſt conſideration and fortune, ſuch as alone can form a conſtitutional force, ſhould quit their domeſtic

meſtic comforts and family occupations without perſonal views, or profeſſional allurements, to fill a ſtation ſo degrading to them as that of drill ſerjeants for the army. But excluſive of this great and inſuperable objection, we conſider this bill as framed under circumſtances of groſs inattention to the public intereſt, to private rights of various deſcriptions, and to the cleareſt and moſt important principles of the conſtitution: and we ſhould eſteem ourſelves neglectful of our own characters, as well as deficient in public duty, if we did not record our marked and unreſerved reprobation of a meaſure of ſuch dangerous tendency: Firſt, becauſe the promoters of this bill have, contrary to every principle of common juſtice, eſtabliſhed an arbitrary proportion, by which the reſpective counties are hereafter to be burdened with the expenſe of raiſing their future militia, deviating from the eſtabliſhed ſcale, approved and ſanctioned by the acts of the twenty-ſixth and thirty-ſeventh of the king, without any grounds laid before parliament, by which the juſtice of ſuch deviation could be eſtimated; though in a few days, and with no expenſe, the annual liſt for the county ballots returned to the lieutenants of each county, and directed (by the 26th of George the Third, chap. 107, clauſe 50) to be tranſmitted to the ſecretary of ſtate, would without error have produced a correct ſcale.

Secondly, Becauſe all militia-men, not arriving (after the enroiment) at their reſpective regiments at the exact time contained in any order which may be given to them, are declared to be deſerters, liable to be taken from ſervice in the militia for five years within the kingdom, and condemned to ſerve in regiments of the line for life in any part of the world, by ſentence of a regimental court marſhal, where neither the judge nor the witneſſes are upon oath; and by an additional injuſtice the county, which paid the ſervice of the man, is liable to the farther charge of ſupplying his place.

Thirdly, Becauſe the difficulties and embarraſſments which men enrolled to ſerve in the militia are expoſed to by this bill are ſo obviouſly cruel and unjuſt, that it affords no ſlight ground of ſuſpicion that they are intended to promote the recruiting the regular forces from the militia by the forced deſertions of the unfortunate individual who ſhall be engaged in the militia ſervice; for the man, as ſoon as he is enrolled, perhaps many hundred miles from his regiment, is ordered to join it, but by this bill no pay is to commence nor allowance to be granted till he actually arrives at his regiment; he is deprived of all former ſources of ſubſiſtence, and is not entitled to the means of preſent ſupport; plunder or charity alone can maintain him on the road: and if under all theſe inſurmountable difficulties he does not arrive within the time limited in his orders, he is liable to be treated as a deſerter.

Fourthly, Becauſe by this bill the regiments of militia are invited to a ſtate of diſorder and mutiny by anticipation, as the bill has publicly declared that deſertion before the period of its paſſing into a law was to be made an offence not neceſſarily followed by puniſhment, but that every man may by ſuch deſertion take leave of abſence till Auguſt, if by that time he ſhall enliſt into the regular ſervice. The bill encourages immediate deſertion from a

ſervice to which the man had ſworn fidelity, and the king is empowered to authorize the deſerter's entrance into another ſervice, diſcharged from any claim by the militia regiment to which he belongs.

Fifthly, Becauſe by this bill the moſt important and incontrovertible principle of the conſtitution is flagrantly impeached. Whether it is legal or not, to appropriate public money by an order of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and levy money on the land-owners by a ſimilar order, without conſent of parliament, is ſtated by this bill as a matter of doubt entertained by parliament; and on the grounds of this pretended doubt, a clauſe of indemnity is introduced, of which the title of the bill gave no intimation, and to which the attention of the legiſlature had not been directed.

In the general neglect, overthrow, and denial of private juſtice, public principles, and national rights, it is not to be wondered at, that little attention ſhould be paid to the feelings of individuals, however called by their country to ſtations of conſiderable confidence and truſt; yet we cannot but expreſs our diſapprobation of the grating directions to commanding officers of militia regiments, to crimp for another ſervice their aſſociates and fellow-ſoldiers, and become at once the inſtruments both of their own diſgrace, and of that of the militia eſtabliſhment, to which they are zealouſly attached.

Carnarvon.
Radnor.
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

His Majeſty's Speech, to both Houſes of Parliament, on cloſing the Seſſion, 19th July.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE favourable appearances, which I announced to you at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, have ſince been followed by ſucceſſes beyond my moſt ſanguine expectations.

By the progreſs of the imperial arms, under the command of the Archduke Charles of Auſtria, a great part of Switzerland has already recovered its ancient religion, laws, and liberties: and the uninterrupted and brilliant victories of the combined armies under the command of field-marſhal Suwarroff, have, in the ſhort period which has elapſed ſince the opening of the campaign, nearly accompliſhed the deliverance of Italy from the degrading yoke of the French republic.

The deciſion and energy which diſtinguiſh the councils of my ally the emperor of Ruſſia, and the intimate union and concert happily eſtabliſhed between us, will enable me to employ, to the greateſt advantage, the powerful means which you have intruſted to me, for eſtabliſhing, on permanent grounds, the ſecurity and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe.

I have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, that internal tranquillity is in ſome degree reſtored in my kingdom of Ireland.

The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a diſtant quarter muſt nearly extinguiſh even the precarious hope which the traitorous and diſaffected have entertained of foreign aſſiſtance.

But our great reliance for the immediate ſafety of that country muſt ſtill reſt on the experience, zeal, and bravery of my troops of

all

all deſcriptions, and on the unſhaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful ſubjects in both kingdoms.

Its ultimate ſecurity can alone be enſured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain; and I am happy to obſerve that the ſentiments manifeſted by numerous and reſpectable deſcriptions of my Iriſh ſubjects juſtify the hope that the accompliſhment of this great and ſalutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wiſh, as it unqueſtionably is the common intereſt, of both my kingdoms.

The proviſions which you have made for ſuppreſſing thoſe dangerous and ſeditious ſocieties, which had been formed for the purpoſe of diſſeminating the deſtructive principles of the French revolution, are peculiarly adapted to the circumſtances of the times, and have furniſhed additional ſecurity to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

The unuſual ſacrifices which you have made in the preſent moment, on behalf of my ſubjects, are wiſely calculated to meet effectually the exigencies of this great criſis. They have, at the ſame time, given additional ſecurity to public credit, by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of finance, beneficial alike to yourſelves and to poſterity; and the cheerfulneſs with which theſe heavy burdens are ſupported evinces at once the good ſenſe, the loyalty, and the public ſpirit of my people.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is impoſſible to compare the events of the preſent year with the ſtate and proſpects of Europe at the diſtance of but a few months, without acknowledging, in humble thankfulneſs, the viſible interpoſition of Divine Providence, in averting thoſe dangers which ſo long threatened the overthrow of all the eſtabliſhments of the civilized world.

It may be permitted to us to hope that the ſame protecting Providence will continue to us its guidance through the remainder of this eventful conteſt; and will conduct it finally to ſuch an iſſue as ſhall tranſmit to future ages a memorable example of the inſtability of all power founded on injuſtice, uſurpation, and impiety; and ſhall prove the impoſſibility of ultimately diſſolving the connection between public proſperity and public virtue.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes at the Meeting of Parliament, 24th September.

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE called you together at this unuſual ſeaſon, in order to recommend it to you to conſider of the propriety of enabling me, without delay, to avail myſelf, to a farther extent, of the voluntary ſervices of the militia, at a moment when the increaſe of our active force abroad may be productive of the moſt important and beneficial conſequences.

We have ſeen the happy effects of the meaſure which you adopted on this ſubject in the laſt ſeſſion; and the forces which I was thereby enabled to employ, have already diſplayed, in the face of the enemy, a courage, diſcipline, and ſteadineſs, worthy of the character of Britiſh ſoldiers.

In the ſhort interval ſince the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion our ſituation and proſpects have, under the bleſſing of Providence, improved beyond the

moſt

moſt ſanguine expectation. The abilities and valour of the commanders and troops of the combined imperial armies have continued to be eminently diſplayed. The deliverance of Italy may now be conſidered as ſecured by the reſult of a campaign, equal in ſplendour and ſucceſs to any of the moſt brilliant recorded in hiſtory; and I have had the heart-felt ſatisfaction of ſeeing the valour of my fleets and armies ſucceſsfully employed to the aſſiſtance of my allies, to the ſupport of our juſt cauſe, and to the advancement of the moſt important intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

The kingdom of Naples has been reſcued from the French yoke, and reſtored to the dominion of its lawful ſovereign, and my former connections with that power have been renewed.

The French expedition to Egypt has continued to be productive of calamity and diſgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views againſt our eaſtern poſſeſſions have been utterly confounded. The deſperate attempt which they have lately made to extricate themſelves from their difficulties has been defeated by the courage of the Turkiſh forces, directed by the ſkill, and animated by the heroiſm, of a Britiſh officer, with a ſmall portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that reſtleſs and perfidious power, who, inſtigated by the artifices, and deluded by the promiſes of the French, had entered into their ambitious and deſtructive projects in India, has placed the Britiſh intereſts in that quarter in a ſtate of ſolid and permanent ſecurity.

The vigilance, deciſion, and wiſdom of the governor-general in council on this great and important occaſion, and the tried abilities and valour of the commanders, officers, and troops employed under his direction, are entitled to my higheſt praiſe.

There is, I truſt, every reaſon to expect that the effort which I am making, for the deliverance of the United Provinces, will prove ſucceſsful. The Britiſh arms have reſcued from the poſſeſſion of the enemy the principal port and naval arſenal of the Dutch republic; and although we have to regret the loſs of many brave men in a ſubſequent attack againſt the enemy, whoſe poſition enabled them to obſtruct our progreſs, I have the ſtrongeſt ground to expect that the ſkill of my generals, and the determined reſolution and intrepidity of my troops, and of thoſe of my allies, will ſoon ſurmount every obſtacle; and that the fleet which, under the uſurped dominion of France, was deſtined to co-operate in the invaſion of theſe iſlands, may ſpeedily, I truſt, under its ancient ſtandard, partake in the glory of reſtoring the religion, liberty, and independence of thoſe provinces, ſo long in intimate union and alliance with this country.

While you rejoice with me in the events which add ſo much luſtre to the Britiſh character, you will, I am perſuaded, as cordially join in the ſentiments ſo juſtly due to the conduct of my good and faithful ally the emperor of Ruſſia; to his magnanimity and wiſdom directing to ſo many quarters of Europe the force of his extenſive and powerful empire, we are, in a great degree, indebted for the ſucceſs of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favourable change in the general ſituation of affairs. I have directed copies to be laid before you of thoſe engage-

ments, which have conſolidated and cemented a connection ſo conſonant to the permanent intereſts of my empire, and ſo important at the preſent moment to every part of the civilized world.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

The ample ſupplies which you have granted to me in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, will, I truſt, ſo nearly provide for the exigencies of the public ſervice, even on the extenſive ſcale which our preſent operations require, as to enable me, without farther aid, to continue thoſe exertions to the cloſe of the preſent year:—but in order to afford you the convenience of a longer receſs, I recommend it to you to conſider of providing for the expenſe which will be neceſſary in the early part of the enſuing year; and with this view I have ordered the proper eſtimates to be laid before you.

My lords and gentlemen,

In purſuance of your recommendation, I judged it proper to communicate to my two houſes of parliament in Ireland, at the cloſe of their laſt ſeſſion, the ſentiment which you had expreſſed to me reſpecting an incorporating union with that kingdom. The experience of every day confirms me in the perſuaſion that ſignal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important meaſure; and I truſt that the diſpoſition of my parliament there will be found to correſpond with that which you have manifeſted for the accompliſhment of a work, which would tend ſo much to add to the ſecurity and happineſs of all my Iriſh ſubjects, and to conſolidate the ſtrength and proſperity of the empire.

Proteſt againſt the Militia Service Extenſion Bill.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, BECAUSE, by this bill, and by the recited act of the laſt ſeſſion, whoſe powers are by this bill aggravated and extended, the conſtitutional purpoſes of the militia eſtabliſhment are totally and finally ſubverted.

2dly, Becauſe all the purpoſes of procuring men for the army might have been eaſily obtained, by diſbanding the ſupplementary war militia (which by its extraordinary increaſe had confeſſedly occaſioned a ſcarcity of men), without reducing the permanent militia eſtabliſhment to a ſervice, in which no gentleman could hereafter hope that his patriotic and diſintereſted induſtry would enable him to form his county regiment to a continued ſtate of diſcipline, at the head of which he might, with credit and honour to himſelf, anſwer the purpoſe of its inſtitution in the defence of his country againſt invaſion.

3dly, Becauſe, by this meaſure, all that ſyſtem and arrangement which nouriſhed the zeal of independent country gentlemen is irrecoverably done away in the exiſting preſſure of a formidable and alarming war, and the peace-eſtabliſhment of the militia (if, mangled as it is by this bill, it can ſurvive the war) will neceſſarily be reduced to a mere ſtanding army of the worſt ſort: independent of an annual vote of parliament—deprived of all its former conſtitutional advantages—connected with the people by nothing but the unequal and oppreſſive burdens it impoſes on them, and commanded by ſuch perſons as may be procured to be regulating officers

ficers to a mere drill of army recruits.

4thly, Becauſe the landed intereſt of England and Wales, already ſo heavily burdened, is moſt materially affected by this total revolution in the militia ſyſtem; inaſmuch as the peculiar expenſes of a militia, originally formed for our unalienable domeſtic defence and inſular garriſon, are unjuſtly continued on the oppreſſed owners and occupiers of land in England and Wales, when they are by this meaſure deprived of the advantages which they had purchaſed; namely, thoſe of ſecurity, reſulting from a permanent domeſtic protection for their wives and children, which, under the faith of parliament, was held out to them as the valuable conſideration for heavy taxes impoſed ſolely on them.

5thly, Becauſe this bill operates with moſt unjuſtifiable partiality; it does not fairly and equally extend to Scotland; Scotland is ſtill protected in the enjoyment of a conſtitutional militia; neither reduced to the diſgraceful condition of a drill for the army, nor liable to be employed in the defence of England: from its ſervices (confined and limited ſolely to the boundaries of Scotland), England and Wales can derive no protection, whilſt the reduced remnants of the militia of England and Wales may be removed from the defence of their own homes, to that of the moſt remote parts of Scotland.

Carnarvon.
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

For all but the ſecond reaſon.
Buckinghamſhire.

Declaration between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Ruſſia, in Addition to the Treaty of December, 1798.

BY the proviſional treaty, concluded between his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, and his majeſty, the emperor of all the Ruſſias, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798, it is ſtipulated, that the body of 45,000 men, furniſhed by his ſaid imperial majeſty for the ſupport of the common cauſe, ſhould be employed in co-operating with the troops of his Pruſſian majeſty, if that ſovereign ſhould be induced to join his forces to thoſe of their majeſties; but the endeavours which their royal and imperial majeſties have employed for this purpoſe having been unſucceſsful, and that prince perſiſting in his adherence to his ſyſtem of neutrality, the two high contracting parties, in order to neglect nothing on their part, which may contribute to the ſucceſs of the good cauſe, have reſolved, that the ſaid body of 45,000 men, originally deſtined to ſecond the hoſtile demonſtrations of Pruſſia againſt France, ſhall be equally employed againſt the common enemy, in whatever other quarter their majeſties may judge to be moſt advantageous to their common operations.

For this purpoſe, the plenipotentiaries of their ſaid royal and imperial majeſties have ſigned the preſent declaration, which is to be conſidered as forming a part of the proviſional treaty above-mentioned, concluded between the two courts the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

Done at St. Peterſburgh, this 29th (18th) of June, 1799.
(L. S.) Le comte de Kotſchoubey.
(L. S.) Le comte de Roſtopchin.
(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Convention between his Britannic Majeſty, and the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, ſigned at St. Peterſburgh, 22d (11th) June, 1799.

In the name of the moſt holy and indiviſible Trinity.

HIS majeſty, the king of Great Britain, and his majeſty, the emperor of all the Ruſſias, in conſequence of the friendſhip and the ties of intimate alliance which exiſt between them, and of their common and ſincere co-operation in the preſent war againſt the French, having conſtantly in their view to uſe every means in their power moſt effectually to diſtreſs the enemy, have judged that the expulſion of the French from the ſeven United Provinces, and the deliverance of the latter from the yoke under which they have ſo long groaned, were objects worthy of their particular conſideration; and wiſhing, at the ſame time, to give effect, as far as poſſible, to a deſign of that importance, their ſaid majeſties have reſolved to conclude with each other a convention relative to this plan, and to the moſt proper means of carrying it into the moſt ſpeedy execution. For this purpoſe, they have named, as their plenipotentiaries, to wit, his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, ſir Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the imperial court of Ruſſia, knight of the order of the bath; and his majeſty, the emperor of all the Ruſſias, the count of Kotſchoubey, his vice-chancellor, actual privy counſellor, actual chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newſky, commander of that of St. John of Jeruſalem, and great croſs of the order of St. Vladimir of the ſecond claſs; and the count of Roſtopſchin, his actual privy counſellor, member of the college of foreign affairs, director-general of the poſts, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newſky and of St. Anne of the firſt claſs, great chancellor and great croſs of that of St. John of Jeruſalem; who, after having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. His majeſty, the king of Great Britain, thinking that the object, above announced, cannot be better attained than by the aid of a body of Ruſſian troops, his imperial majeſty, notwithſtanding the efforts which he has already made, and the difficulties of his employing an additional body of forces to act at a diſtance from his dominions, has, nevertheleſs, in conſequence of his conſtant ſolicitude in favour of the good cauſe, conſented to furniſh ſeventeen battalions of infantry, two companies of artillery, one company of pioneers, and one ſquadron of huſſars, making, in all, 17,593 men, to be deſtined for the ſaid expedition to Holland. But as that number of troops, according to the plan propoſed by his Britannic majeſty, is not ſufficient, and as it has been judged that 30,000 men would be neceſſary for that purpoſe, his ſaid majeſty will, on his ſide, furniſh 13,000 men of Engliſh troops, or at leaſt 8,000 men, if that ſmaller number

number ſhould be deemed ſufficient, and amongſt whom there ſhall be a proportion of cavalry ſufficient for the ſervices of ſuch an army.

II. This corps of troops, of 17,593 men, together with the neceſſary artillery, ſhall aſſemble at Revel, in order that they may be from thence conveyed to their deſtination, either in Engliſh or other veſſels freighted by his Britannic majeſty.

III. In order to enable his majeſty, the emperor of all the Ruſſias, to afford to the common cauſe this additional and efficacious ſuccour, his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, engages to furniſh the undermentioned ſubſidies, upon the condition that his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhall have a right to recall, into his dominions, the abovementioned corps of troops, if, through any unforeſeen event, ſuch ſubſidies ſhould not be regularly furniſhed to him.

IV. The amount and the nature of thoſe pecuniary ſuccours have been ſettled and regulated in the following manner: 1ſt. In order to enable his imperial majeſty to aſſemble and expedite this corps as ſoon and as well equipped as poſſible, his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, engages, as ſoon as he ſhall receive advice that the abovementioned troops have reached the place of their rendezvous, that is to ſay, at Revel; and that it ſhall be declared that they are ready to embark (whether the tranſports be arrived or not), to pay for the firſt and moſt urgent expenſes, the ſum of 88,000*l.* ſterling, dividing the payments into two parts, to wit, that 44,000*l.* ſterling be paid immediately after it ſhall have been declared, either by the commander-in-chief of that corps to the Engliſh commiſſary, or by the miniſtry of his imperial majeſty to the miniſter of his Britannic majeſty reſident at St. Peterſburgh, that the ſaid corps is ready; and that the ſecond payment, completing the ſum total of 88,000*l.* ſterling, ſhall take place three months afterwards and at the commencement of the fourth. 2d. His majeſty, the king of Great Britain, engages, in like manner, to furniſh to his majeſty, the emperor of all the Ruſſias, a ſubſidy of 44,000*l.* ſterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the above-mentioned corps of troops ſhall be ready. This ſubſidy ſhall be paid at the commencement of each month, and deſtined for the appointments and the entertainment of the troops. It ſhall be continued until they ſhall return into Ruſſian ports, in Engliſh or other veſſels, freighted by his Britannic majeſty.

V. If this corps of Ruſſian troops ſhould meet with difficulties in procuring, during the expedition to which it is deſtined, or in caſe of its wintering, as ſhall be hereafter mentioned, in England, or during the voyages it ſhall have to make, its neceſſary ſubſiſtence, by means of the meaſures which the Ruſſian commanders or commiſſaries may take for that purpoſe, his Britannic majeſty, upon the requiſition of the miniſter of his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, reſiding at his court, ſhall furniſh whatever may be neceſſary to the Ruſſian troops; and an exact account ſhall be kept of all the proviſions and other articles ſo delivered, in order that their value may be afterwards deducted from the ſubſidy, ſuch proviſions

and other articles being valued at the price paid for them by his majeſty for his own troops.

VI. As the tranſport of the horſes neceſſary for the officers, the artillery, and the baggage, would require a great many veſſels, and as that arrangement would lead to many other inconveniences, and more particularly to that of a delay, prejudicial to the above-mentioned expedition, his Britannic majeſty engages to furniſh, at his own expenſe, the neceſſary number of horſes, according to the ſtatement which ſhall be delivered, and to have them conveyed to the place where the Ruſſian troops are to act: his ſaid majeſty will, in like manner, maintain them at his own expenſe during the whole time theſe troops ſhall be employed, and until they ſhall be re-embarked, in order to return to the ports of Ruſſia. His Britannic majeſty will then diſpoſe of them in ſuch a manner as he ſhall judge proper.

VII. In caſe that the Ruſſian troops, after having terminated in Holland the projected expedition, or in conſequence of its being deferred through, any unforeſeen circumſtances, ſhould not be able to return into the ports of his imperial majeſty during the favourable ſeaſon, his majeſty the king of Great Britain engages to receive them into his own dominions, to provide them there with good quarters, and all other advantages, until the troops ſhall be able to return on the opening of the navigation, or ſhall be employed upon ſome other deſtination, which ſhall be previouſly ſettled between their royal and imperial majeſties.

VIII. As the principal object of the employment of this corps of troops is a ſudden attack to be made on Holland, by means of which his Britannic majeſty hopes to produce there a favourable change; as, beſides, no fixed term for the continuance of the ſubſidies is ſtipulated, whilſt on the other hand the ſaid troops, after their return to Ruſſia, muſt be reconducted to their ordinary quarters, moſtly at a great diſtance; and as the marches which they will have to make will require conſiderable expenſes, his majeſty the king of Great Britain hereby engages to make good this charge by a payment of ſubſidies for two months, to be computed from the day of the arrival of thoſe troops in Ruſſian ports. In like manner his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, without fixing any term, reſerves to himſelf the right of cauſing the ſaid corps of troops to return into his dominions, in the ſpring of the next year 1800; or if any hoſtile aggreſſion upon Ruſſia, or any other important event, ſhould render it neceſſary: in theſe two caſes, the above-mentioned engagement of his Britannic majeſty, concerning the payment of two months ſubſidy, ſhall equally take place.

IX. As it is underſtood that the expedition to Holland, which has given riſe to the preſent convention, is to be effected in common by Ruſſian and Engliſh troops, each party ſhall follow, relative to the employment and to the command of the troops, literally the treaty of defenſive alliance concluded between the two high contracting parties the 7th (18th) of February, in the year 1795. In like manner, if any difficulties ſhould ariſe either between the commanders of the reſpective forces or otherwiſe, which may regard the above-mentioned troops of his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias,

Ruſſias, the ſolution of ſuch difficulties ſhall be looked for in the ſtipulations of the ſaid treaty of the year 1795, or likewiſe in that concluded with the court of Vienna the 3d (14th) of July, 1792.

X. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and by his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias; and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged here in the ſpace of two months, to be computed from the day of its ſignature, or ſooner, if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underſigned, furniſhed with full powers by his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and by his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, have, in their names, ſigned the preſent convention, and have affixed thereto the ſeal of our arms.

Done at St. Peterſburgh, the 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le comte de Kotſchoubey.
(L. S.) Le comte de Roſtopſchin.
(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Separate Article.

I. Although it be ſtated in article II. of the convention concluded this day, that the corps of Ruſſian troops, forming 17,593 men, deſtined for the expedition to Holland, ſhall be conveyed to its deſtination in Engliſh, or other veſſels freighted by his majeſty the king of Great Britain; nevertheleſs, in order ſo much the more to facilitate this important enterprize, his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias conſents to furniſh ſix ſhips, five frigates, and two tranſport veſſels, which being armed *en flutes*, will receive on board as many troops as they ſhall be able to contain, whilſt the remainder of the ſaid corps ſhall be embarked on board of Engliſh or other tranſport-veſſels, freighted by his Britannic majeſty.

II. His majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias will lend theſe ſhips and frigates upon the following conditions: 1ſt. There ſhall be paid by England, upon their quitting the port of Cronſtadt, in order to go to the place of rendezvous, which is Revel, the ſum of 58,927*l.* 10*s.* ſterling, as a ſubſidy for the expenſes of equipment, &c. for three months, to be computed from the day, as it is above ſtated, of their departure from Cronſtadt. 2dly, After the expiration of theſe three months, his Britannic majeſty ſhall continue the ſame ſubſidies, that is to ſay, of 19,642*l.* 10*s.* ſterling a month, which ſhall be paid at the commencement of each month. 3dly. Independently of this pecuniary ſuccour, his Britannic majeſty ſhall provide for the ſubſiſtence of the crews; and the officers and ſailors ſhall be treated on the ſame footing as are the Engliſh officers and ſailors in time of war, and as are the Ruſſian officers and ſailors, who are at preſent in the ſquadron of his imperial majeſty, which is united to the Engliſh ſquadron. 4thly. All theſe ſtipulations ſhall have full and entire effect until the return of the above-mentioned ſhips and frigates into Ruſſian ports.

III. If it ſhould happen, contrary to all expectation, that thoſe ſix ſhips, five frigates, and two tranſport veſſels, ſhould not be able, through ſome unforeſeen event, to return to Ruſſia before the cloſe of the preſent campaign, his Britannic majeſty engages to admit them into the ports of England, where they ſhall receive every poſſible aſſiſtance both for neceſſary repairs, and

for the accommodation of the crews and officers.

IV. As the ſix ſhips, five frigates, and two tranſports, above mentioned, having been originally intended for another deſtination, were furniſhed with proviſions for three months, his Britannic majeſty, inſtead of furniſhing them in kind, as it is ſtated in the ſecond article, engages to pay, according to an eſtimate which ſhall be made, the value of theſe proviſions. With regard to the officers, his majeſty the king of Great Britain will adopt the ſame principle as has been followed until the preſent time, reſpecting the officers of the Ruſſian ſquadron which is joined to the naval forces of England. That ſhall ſerve as a rule for indemnifying them for the preparations which they may have made for the campaign, ſuch as it had been originally intended to take place.

This ſeparate article ſhall be conſidered as forming part of the convention above-mentioned, as being inſerted therein word for word; and it ſhall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in the ſame manner.

In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned, furniſhed with the full powers of his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and of his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, have, in their names, ſigned the preſent ſeparate article, and have affixed thereto the ſeal of our arms.

Done at St. Peterſburgh, this 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le comte de Kotſchoubey.
(L. S.) Le comte de Roſtopſchin.
(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington to the Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company; dated 20th March, 1799.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable ſirs,

IN my ſeparate diſpatch of the 21ſt of November, by the Eurydice, I informed your honourable court, that, although I had deemed it my duty to call your armies into the field in every part of your poſſeſſions, my views and expectations were all directed to the preſervation of peace in India.

2. In the letter of the 13th of January, from the governor-general in council at Fort St. George, I apprized your honourable court of my arrival at this preſidency, to which I thought it my duty to proceed from Bengal, in the hope of opening a negociation with Tippoo Sultaun, for the amicable adjuſtment of the differences which had ariſen between that prince and the honourable company's government.

3. In my diſpatches to the ſecret committee of your honourable court, I have regularly tranſmitted advices of the ſtate of political affairs in India, and I have fully explained the principles which have governed my conduct, not only towards Tippoo Sultaun, but towards all the native powers, ſince I have taken charge of the government general.

4. Having ultimately been compelled to commence hoſtilities againſt Tippoo Sultaun, it is now become my duty to lay before your honourable court an accurate detail of the cauſes of the war in which we are engaged.

5. For this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to draw your attention to a period

a period of time as remote as the month of June, 1798, and to trace from that date the progreſs of thoſe events which have finally produced the neceſſity of reſorting to arms for the ſecurity of your intereſts committed to my charge.

6. A proclamation iſſued by the governor-general of the Iſle of France, in the month of February, 1798, made its firſt appearance at Calcutta on the 8th June of the ſame year. (A. Encloſure, No. 1*.)

7. This proclamation ſtates, that an embaſſy had arrived at the Iſle of France with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addreſſed not only to the government of that iſland, but to the executive directory of France, propoſing to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the French, to ſubſidize and to ſupply whatever troops the French might furniſh to the ſultaun, and to commence againſt the Britiſh power in India a war of aggreſſion, for which the ſultaun is declared to be fully prepared, waiting with anxiety the moment when the ſuccour of France ſhall enable him to ſatisfy his ardent deſire of expelling the Britiſh nation from India. The proclamation concludes by offering encouragement to the ſubjects of France to enter into the ſervice of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed with his ambaſſadors then on the ſpot.

8. Although I was inclined, in the firſt inſtance, to doubt the authenticity of this extraordinary publication, I thought it adviſable to tranſmit a copy of it, on the 9th of June, to lieutenant-general Harris, (then governor of Fort St. George, and commander-in-chief on the coaſt of Coromandel, informing him, that, if the proclamation ſhould prove authentic, it muſt lead to a ſerious diſcuſſion with Tippoo Sultaun; and directing lieutenant-general Harris to conſider, without delay, the means of aſſembling the army on the coaſt of Coromandel, if neceſſity ſhould unfortunately require ſuch a precaution.

9. On the 18th of June, 1798, I received a regular authentication of the proclamation, in a letter from his excellency the earl of Macartney, dated the 28th of March; and at the ſame time ſeveral perſons arrived at Calcutta, who had been preſent in the Iſle of France, at the time of the publication of the proclamation.

10. By a ſtrict examination of the moſt reſpectable of theſe perſons, I was enabled to obtain an authentic and accurate ſtatement of all the material circumſtances attending the publication of the proclamation at the Iſle of France; the ſubſtance of which ſtatement I have already forwarded to your ſecret committee, and now have the honour to ſubmit to your honourable court.

11. Tippoo Sultaun diſpatched two ambaſſadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Iſle of France, and arrived at Port Nord-oueſt in that iſland, towards the cloſe of the month of January, 1798. The ambaſſadors were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumſtance of diſtinction and reſpect, and they were entertained at the public

* In the courſe of this letter will be found referrences to ſeveral documents, which, as the ſubſtance of them is herein ſtated, we do not think it neceſſary to lay at full length before the public. The proclamation above mentioned may be found in our Annual Regiſter, for 1798, p. 255.

expenſe

expenſe during their continuance on the iſland.

12. Previous to the arrival of ambaſſadors on the iſland, no idea or rumour exiſted there of any aid to be furniſhed to Tippoo Sultaun by the French, or of any proſpect of a war between that prince and the company; but within two days after the arrival of the ambaſſadors, the proclamation in queſtion was fixed up in the moſt public places, and circulated through the town of Port Nord-oueſt.

13. The ambaſſadors, far from proteſting againſt the matter or ſtyle of the proclamation, held without reſerve, in the moſt public manner, the ſame language which it contains, with reſpect to a war of aggreſſion to be commenced by Tippoo Sultaun againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India; and they even ſuffered the proclamation to be publicly diſtributed by their agents at the place of their reſidence.

13. The ambaſſadors were preſent when the French government proceeded to act under the proclamation in queſtion; and the ambaſſadors aided and aſſiſted in the execution of the proclamation, by making promiſes, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpoſe of inducing recruits to enliſt in his ſervice.

15. The ambaſſadors propoſed to levy men to any practical extent, ſtating their powers to be unlimited with reſpect to the force to be raiſed in the name of Tippoo Sultaun. They entered into certain ſtipulations and engagements in the name of the ſultaun (according to the tenour of the laſt paragraph of the proclamation) with ſeveral Frenchmen, and others, particularly with Mr. Dubuc, whom the ambaſſadors engaged in the ſervice of their ſovereign, for the expreſs purpoſe of aſſiſting in the war to be immediately commenced againſt the Britiſh power in India.

16. The proclamation therefore originated in the arrival of Tippoo's ambaſſadors at the Iſle of France; it was diſtributed by their agents, it was avowed in every part by their own public declarations, and finally it was executed, according to its tenour, by their perſonal aſſiſtance and co-operation.

17. On the 7th of March, 1798, the ambaſſadors embarked at Port Nord-oueſt, on board the French frigate La Preneuſe, together with the force thus raiſed in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, amounting to about two hundred men, incluſive of ſeveral officers, the chiefs of whom were M. M. Dubuc and Chapuy.

18. Such is the ſubſtance of the evidence obtained from the perſons who were preſent in the Iſle of France during the reſidence of Tippoo's ambaſſadors; from other authentic ſources I learnt the ſequel of the tranſaction.

19. The French frigate La Preneuſe, with the ſultaun's ambaſſadors and the French troops levied for his ſervice, arrived at Mangalore on the 26th of April, 1798.

20. An opportunity now occurred of aſcertaining, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, whether the acts of the ſultaun's ambaſſadors in the Iſle of France were conformable to the inſtructions of their ſovereign. For although the preſumption was already ſufficiently powerful, that the ambaſſadors would not have ventured to tranſgreſs the limit of their commiſſion in a matter of ſuch momentous importance, as the concluſion of offenſive engagmements with the French

French againſt the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, it yet remained a queſtion, whether Tippoo Sultaun would venture openly to avow proceedings, which could not fail to expoſe him to the juſt reſentment of your government.

21. This queſtion was immediately ſolved, for the ſultaun, without heſitation, permitted the French force to land publicly at Mangalore; and, far from manifeſting the leaſt ſymptom of diſapprobation of the conduct of the embaſſy in any part of the negociation, he formally received his ambaſſadors, and the French officers, and principal perſons in their ſuite, with public and extraordinary marks of honour and diſtinction; and finally, he admitted the greater part of the French force, raiſed for the purpoſe of making war upon the honourable company, into his ſervice, in which it is ſtill entertained.

22. By this public and unequivocal ſanction, he muſt be conſidered not only to have perſonally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation of the governor-general of the Iſle of France, but to have taken the preliminary meaſures for accompliſhing the deſign which the ambaſſadors had avowed in his name.

23. Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, having actually concluded offenſive and defenſive engagements with the French againſt the honourable company; having collected, by the aid of the French, a force openly deſtined to carry thoſe engagements into effect; having applied to the executive directory of France, for a more powerful force, deſtined to the ſame end; having ſignified, through his public ambaſſadors, to the enemy, that his preparations for war (as far as they depended upon himſelf) were actually complete; having avowed the object of thoſe preparations to be the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire in India; and finally, having declared the delay of the meditated blow to proceed from no other cauſe, than his expectation of receiving farther aid from the enemy; I could not heſitate to pronounce, that he had flagrantly violated the treaties of peace ſubſiſting between him and the honourable company; and that he had committed an act of direct hoſtility and aggreſſion againſt the Britiſh government in India.

24. To confirm the concluſions neceſſarily reſulting from the facts already ſtated, I received undoubted information, that Tippoo Sultaun had, for ſome time paſt, been employed in military preparations, conformably to the hoſtile ſpirit of his engagements with the enemy; that the greater part of his army was actually in a ſtate of equipment for the field, and that a large portion of it was there encamped under his perſonal command.

25. To your honourable court it would be ſuperfluous to obſerve, that no provocation had been offered by any of your governments in India, to juſtify or to palliate any act of hoſtility, or even any emotion of jealouſy or ſuſpicion on the part of Tippoo Sultaun; but I think it neceſſary to remark in this place, that, at the very moment of receiving the authentic copy of the proclamation iſſued in the Iſle of France, I had ordered the diſputed diſtrict of Wynaad to be delivered to the ſultaun, after a public acknowledgement of the juſtice of his claim to that poſſeſſion, and I had propoſed to open an amicable negociation for the purpoſe of adjuſting his recent

claims

claims to a part of the diſtrict of Cooya, on ſimilar principles of equity, according to the tenor of the ſeventh article of the treaty of Seringapatam.

26. The ſultaun himſelf had not attempted to allege even the pretext of a grievance againſt the Britiſh government: in his letters to ſir John Shore, (written a ſhort time before the return of the Myſorean ambaſſadors from the Iſle of France, and received at Fort William, on the 26th of April, 1798, the day on which the French force landed at Mangalore) Tippoo declares, "that his friendly heart is diſpoſed to pay every regard to truth and juſtice, and to ſtrengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations;" and he ſignifies his deſire, that "Sir John Shore would impreſs lord Mornington with a ſenſe of the friendſhip and unanimity ſo firmly ſubſiſting between the two ſtates."

27. This is not the language of hoſtility, nor even of diſcontent; from what diſpoſition in the friendly heart of the ſultaun theſe amicable profeſſions have proceeded, how they are connected with a regard to truth and juſtice, or calculated to ſtrengthen the foundations of harmony and concord, and to impreſs me with a ſenſe of the firmneſs of the ſultaun's friendſhip, your honourable court can now determine without difficulty, ſince it is now proved, that theſe letters were written at the very criſis when he was in anxious expectation of the hourly arrival of that military ſuccour which he had earneſtly ſolicited from the enemy, for the expreſs purpoſe of commencing a war of aggreſſion againſt the company's poſſeſſions.

28. That Tippoo Sultaun had not yet received the effectual ſuccour which he had ſolicited from the French, might have been aſcribed either to the diſtracted ſtate of the government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cauſe, or to the raſhneſs and imbecility of his own councils; but neither the meaſure of his hoſtility, nor of our right to reſtrain it, nor of our danger from it, were to be eſtimated by the magnitude of the force which he had actually obtained, for I knew that his demands of military aſſiſtance were unlimited; I knew that they were addreſſed not merely to the government of the Mauritius, but to the executive directory of France, and I could not aſcertain how ſoon, either by ſome revolution in the government of the Mauritius, or by direct intercourſe with France, thoſe demands might be ſatisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations.

29. Under all theſe circumſtances an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpoſe of fruſtrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge, appeared to me to be demanded by the ſoundeſt maxims both of juſtice and policy.

30. The act of Tippoo Sultaun's ambaſſadors, ratified by himſelf, and followed by the admiſſion of a French force into his army, was equivalent to a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war. But while his hoſtile purpoſe had been clearly manifeſted, the immediate means of accompliſhing it had happily diſappointed the ardor of his hopes.

31. The inconſiderable amount of the aid which he had already received from the French, while it could

could not be conſtrued as a limitation of my juſt right to vindicate the public ſafety, affording ſtrong argument of policy in favour of attacking this deſperate, implacable, and treacherous enemy, before he could either complete the improvement of his own army, under the French officers whom he had already admitted into his ſervice, or could receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength, under the progreſſive operation of his alliance with France.

32. In the moment of his comparative weakneſs, of his diſappointment and probable dejection, the principles of juſtifiable ſelf-defence, and of prudential precaution, required that we ſhould ſtrike ſuch an inſtantaneous blow againſt his power and reſources, as ſhould preclude the poſſibility of his deriving any ſubſtantial advantage from the aid of France, whenever it might reach his dominions.

33. Such was the tenor of my opinions as early as the 20th of June, 1798. Although at that early period I could not aſcertain from what quarter the French would attempt to aſſiſt the ſultaun, I recorded my conviction that ſome attempt to aſſiſt him would be among the earlieſt of their operations. The concluſion of peace upon the continent of Europe, the weak ſtate of our allies in India (particularly of the Nizam, whoſe councils and army were at that period ſubjected to the overbearing influence of a powerful French faction), might appear both to Tippoo and to France to offer a favourable criſis for the attack of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India. The diſpoſition of the French government to attempt ſuch an enterpriſe has never been diſguiſed; and, although I had not obtained poſitive proof that any formal and regular correſpondence, between Tippoo Sultaun and the executive directory of France, had exiſted previous to the embaſſy and letters which arrived at the Mauritius, in January, 1798, yet the nature of that tranſaction afforded a ſtrong preſumption that a previous intercourſe of the ſame hoſtile character had taken place. This preſumption was farther corroborated by my certain knowledge, that for ſome time paſt various emiſſaries of France had reached the councils of Tippoo Sultaun, and that through their repreſentations he had been taught to entertain a confident expectation of ſpeedy and effectual ſupport.

34. Even admitting that this expectation was likely to be fruſtrated, either by a failure of faith on the part of France, or by the vigilance and ſuperior power of his majeſty's fleets, I was apprized that Tippoo had alſo diſpatched an embaſſy to Zemaun Shah, the object of which could be no other than to encourage that prince in the proſecution of his long-threatened invaſion of Hindoſtan. The whole tenor of my advices from the north-weſtern countries of Hindoſtan, led me to believe that Zemaun Shah would croſs the Attack, and would endeavour to purſue his avowed project of invaſion, in the courſe of the enſuing ſeaſon; and it appeared probable that his approach, which muſt neceſſarily engage the attention of the army in Bengal, might be the ſignal to Tippoo Sultaun for an irruption into the Carnatic.

35. In addition to theſe conſiderations, it appeared by no means improbable, that the impetuoſity of

Tippoo

Tippoo Sultaun's temper, exaſperated by the aſſiduous and unremitting inſtigations of the emiſſaries of France, might break forth into hoſtilities, without waiting for the actual movement of any Indian or European ally. His late embaſſy to the Iſle of France ſufficiently manifeſted a diſpoſition capable of purſuing its favourite object of vengeance againſt the Britiſh nation with more zeal than diſcretion. It is my duty farther to remark, that, in the month of June, 1798, the diſtribution and condition of the army on the coaſt of Coromandel, to which I ſhall advert more fully in a ſubſequent part of this diſpatch, offered but too ſtrong a temptation to the enterpriſe of a faithleſs and active enemy. Under ſuch circumſtances it would have been an unmanly and weak policy to have confided the ſafety of the Carnatic to the precarious forbearance of Tippoo Sultaun, or to have left him any longer in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the powerful advantage of being able to chooſe, according to his convenience, the time and mode of the attack, which he had openly menaced.

36. I therefore recorded my decided judgement, that it was neceſſary to aſſemble the armies on the coaſt of Coromandel and Malabar without delay, and I iſſued my final orders for this purpoſe on the 20th June, 1798.

37. To aſſemble the army on both coaſts was an indiſpenſable precaution, which I could not have been juſtified in omitting, from the moment that I was apprized of Tippoo Sultaun's offenſive engagements with the French, and of the landing of a French force at Mangalore. But, being reſolved, on all occaſions, to ſubmit to your court a full and diſtinct view of the whole ſcope of my motives and intentions, I have no heſitation in declaring, that my original reſolution was (if circumſtances would have admitted) to have attacked the ſultaun inſtantly, and on both ſides of his dominions, for the purpoſe of defeating his hoſtile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object; I was concerned however to learn, from perſons moſt converſant in military details, at Fort St. George, (notwithſtanding the diſtinguiſhed diſcipline of your army on the coaſt of Coromandel, and the eminent valour, activity, and ſkill of its officers), its diſperſed ſtate, and certain radical defects in its eſtabliſhments, would render the aſſembling a force equal to offenſive movements againſt Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended.

38. Some officers of approved military talents, experience, and integrity, at Fort St. George, declared that your army in the Carnatic could not be aſſembled for offenſive purpoſes before the commencement of the year 1800, and that a period of ſix months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpoſe of defending the Carnatic againſt any ſudden attack. The difficulty of aſſembling and moving your army on the coaſt of Coromandel, furniſhed indeed an alarming proof of the defenceleſs and perilous ſtate of the Carnatic in that arduous conjuncture. But in proportion to the preſſure of that difficulty, the neceſſity of an inſtantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for whether the army, when aſſembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared

appeared an equally indiſpenſable meaſure of precaution to reſume, without delay, the power of meeting that vindictive and reſtleſs prince in the field. I was not therefore diſcouraged, either by the ſuggeſtions to which I have referred, or by ſubſequent repreſentations of a ſimilar character and tendency, from inſiſting on the immediate execution of my orders for aſſembling the army; and adverting to the fatal conſequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardneſs of hoſtile equipments in Myſore, I reſolved to intruſt the protection of your poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel to no other ſecurity than a complete and early ſtate of preparation for war.

39. At Bombay, my orders for aſſembling the army were executed with great promptitude and alacrity, unaccompanied by any ſymptoms of indiſpoſition to thoſe united and zealous efforts, which the exigency of the criſis demanded from every branch of your civil and military ſervice.

40. The unavoidable delay which obſtructed the aſſembling your army in the Carnatic, having compelled me to relinquiſh my firſt intention of ſtriking an immediate blow againſt the power and reſources of Tippoo Sultaun, I applied myſelf to the formation of ſuch a permanent ſyſtem of preparation and defence, as, while it tended to reſtore to the government of Fort St. George, with all practicable diſpatch, the power of repelling any act of aggreſſion on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, might ultimately enable me to demand both a juſt indemnification for the expenſe which the Sultaun's violation of treaty had occaſioned to your government, and a ſeaſonable ſecurity againſt the conſequences of his recent alliance with the enemy.

41. With this view, while the army was aſſembling on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, my early attention was directed to ſtrengthen and improve the defenſive alliance concluded between the honourable company, and their highneſſes the Nizam and Peſhwah, under the treaties of Paangul, Poonah, and Seringapatam, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a barrier againſt the ambition and revenge of Tippoo Sultaun.

42. The ſtate of this alliance afforded abundant matter of painful anxiety; I found both the Peſhwah and the Nizam (whoſe reſpective power it was the object of the treaty of Seringapatam to maintain) in ſuch a ſtate of efficiency as might render them uſeful allies in the event of a war with Myſore, reduced to the loweſt condition of depreſſion and weakneſs, the former by the intruſion of Doulet Row Sindia, and the latter by the threatened hoſtilities of the ſame chieftan, by the eſtabliſhment of a numerous and active French faction, in the centre of the Decan; and while the internal convulſions of each ſtate had diminiſhed the reſources of both, their co-operation againſt Tippoo Sultaun had become impracticable, by the progreſs of their mutual animoſities and diſſenſions.

43. In this ſcene of general confuſion, the power of Tippoo Sultain alone, (which it had been the policy of all our alliances and treaties to reduce) had remained undiſturbed and unimpaired, if it had

had not been augmented and improved.

44. The final result to the British government appeared to me to be, first, the entire loss of the benefit of the treaty of triple alliance against Tippoo Sultaun, by the utter inability of our allies to fulfil their defensive engagements with the company; and, secondly, the establishment of a French army of 14,000 men, in the dominions of one of our allies, in the vicinity of the territories of our irreconcilable enemy, and on the confines of the Carnatic and of the northern circars.

45. In this state of our political relations, the company was exposed, without the aid of a single ally, to the hazard of a contest with the united force of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the French.

46. My separate dispatch, under date the 21st of November, forwarded by the Eurydice, will have apprized your honourable court of the measures which I took for the purpose of restoring to his highness the Nizam, the power of fulfilling his defensive engagements with the company.

47. At the same time my endeavours were employed, with equal assiduity, to give vigour and effect to the treaties subsisting with his highness the Peshwah. The return of Nana Furnaveess to the administration, afforded, for some time, a just expectation that our alliance with the Mahrattahs would speedily be restored with additional vigour and advantage; but the increasing distractions of the Mahratta empire unfortunately frustrated the wise counsels of that experienced and able statesman, and disappointed my views at the court of Poonah; I had, however, the satisfaction to ascertain, that the disposition of that court, under the administration of Nana, continued perfectly favourable to the British interests; and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun.

48. Towards the commencement of the month of August, 1798, I learnt the preparations making by the French, in the Mediterranean. Various circumstances attending the equipment of that armament, inclined me to apprehend, that at least a part of it might be destined for an expedition to India, although I could not believe that the attempt would be made through Egypt. Under these impressions, I took the earliest opportunity of directing the attention of rear-admiral Rainier to the coast of Malabar; and at the same time I proposed to strengthen his majesty's squadron in those seas, according to any arrangement which his excellency might suggest; and I issued orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, to attend to his excellency's suggestions on this important subject. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that his excellency, with the utmost readiness, acceded to the proposition which I had suggested to him, with respect to the defence of the coast of Malabar, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the first instance, to the straits of Malacca.

49. On the 18th of September, I ratified the new subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, of which I have stated the substance in my separate dispatch, of the 21st of November, by the Eurydice.

50. On the 18th of October, I received the first authentic information

tion of the invaſion of Egypt, by the French, and of the progreſs of their arms in that country.

51. It is unneceſſary to call the attention of your honourable court to the evident connection of the invaſion of Egypt, with the joint deſigns of the French, and of Tippoo Sultaun, againſt the Britiſh power in India; and I truſt it is now equally ſuperfluous to enter into any detailed reaſoning for the purpoſe of ſatisfying you of the ſecurity which, at that period of time, would have reſulted to your intereſts in India, if my original intention of anticipating the hoſtile projects of Tippoo Sultaun could have been carried into immediate effect, according to my anxious wiſh. The neceſſity, however, of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himſelf from the intereſts of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they ſhould be enabled to reach India, now became too evident to admit of any doubt. My opinion had long been decided, that no negociation with Tippoo Sultaun could be ſucceſsful, unleſs accompanied by ſuch a diſpoſition of our force as ſhould alarm him for the ſafety of his capital, and that no military operation could effect an adequate or ſpeedy reduction of his power, unleſs directed immediately to the ſiege of that city.

52. On the 20th of October, therefore, I gave peremptory orders to the government of Fort St. George, for completing the equipment of their battering train, and for advancing it with all practicable diſpatch to the moſt eligible ſtation on the frontier of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam at the earlieſt poſſible period, if ſuch a movement into Myſore ſhould become neceſſary. At the ſame time I ſignified, to the government of Fort St. George, my intention of reinforcing their army with 3000 volunteers from the native infantry, on the eſtabliſhment of Bengal, who had offered their ſervices with the utmoſt alacrity and zeal.

53. To the government of Bombay, I iſſued farther orders for the collection not only of their troops, but of the largeſt poſſible ſupplies on the coaſt of Malabar.

54. On the 22d of October, (as I have already informed your houourable court,) the diſmiſſion of the French faction in the Nizam's army was happily accompliſhed at Hydrabad.

55. On the 31ſt of October, I received the intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by his majeſty's ſquadron, under the command of ſir Horatio Nelſon; but being ſtill uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by the ordinary paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, I did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under my orders. The opportunity now appeared favourable for opening a negociation with Tippoo Sultaun. I had already communicated to the allies, the Nizam, and the Peſhwah, a circumſtantial detail of the conduct of that prince, and had received from both the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of their entire concurrence in my ſentiments and views, as well as of their determi-

nation to support my just claims of satisfaction for the infraction of the treaty of Seringapatam.

56. On the 8th of November, therefore, I addressed to Tippoo Sultaun a letter, of which a copy, (No. 2, A. and B.) accompanies this dispatch.

57. Your honourable court will perceive, that in this letter I have carefully avoided every hostile expression, merely apprizing the sultaun of my knowledge of the nature of his intercourse with the French nation, and proposing to him to receive major Doveton on the part of the allies, for the purpose of proceeding to an amicable arrangement of all subsisting differences

58. My expectation was, that the necessary impression of the success of his majesty's fleet against the French in Egypt; the revival of our defensive alliance with the Nizam; the destruction of the French influence in the Decan; the declared disposition of the Peshawh to fulfil his defensive engagements to the utmost extent of his power; the presence of his majesty's squadron on the coast of Malabar, reinforced by such of the honourable company's ships as had been equipped for the purpose; and, finally, the progress of our military preparations on both coasts, might have induced the sultaun to accede to my proposals for opening the channels of pacific negociation; and, under these circumstances, I trusted that the terror of the British arms might have rendered their actual employment unnecessary.

59. With such expectations I resolved to proceed to Fort St. George, for the purpose of conducting the expected negociation with the sultaun, which I flattered myself my presence on the coast of Coromandel might enable me to bring to an issue, before the season should be so far advanced as to relieve Tippoo Sultaun from those alarms for the safety of his capital, on which I founded my sole hope of obtaining any satisfactory adjustment with him.

60. On the 10th of December, I addressed the letter, marked No. 3, to the sultaun, informing him of my intention to proceed to Fort St. George, and again urging him to receive major Doveton. On the 25th of December, I embarked on board his majesty's ship the Sybille, captain E. Cooke, and arrived at this presidency on the 31st of the same month.

61. A few days previous to my arrival, the corps of native volunteers from Bengal had landed in perfect safety, and in the highest spirits, and soon after a corps of artillery arrived from Fort William, under the command of colonel Montague.

62. The letter marked No. 4. was delivered to me on my arrival at Fort St. George.

63. In this letter, your honourable court will observe the prevarication and falsehood which mark the sultaun's statement of his late intercourse with the French, and you will perceive the evasion by which he eludes the moderate and amicable proposition of the allies for opening a negociation.

64. To this letter, from the sultaun, I returned the answer dated 9th of January, and marked No. 5, in which, I renewed the proposition of opening a negociation, and urged the sultaun not to delay his reply beyond the period of one day after my letter should reach him; intimating

making that dangerous consequences might result from a longer delay.

65. The advanced period of the season absolutely required that I should ascertain the sultaun's views within a short time; my proposition contained nothing derogatory to the honour or dignity of the sultaun. It was now urged for the third time without variation, and it related simply and distinctly to the admission of an ambassador, for the purpose of opening a negociation; to demand an immediate answer to a proposition of such a nature, could not, therefore, be deemed either offensive or unreasonable.

66. Subsequently to the dispatch of my letter No. 5. I received from the sultaun the letter No. 6. in reply to my letter No. 3. dispatched from Fort William. The sultaun's silence in his letter No. 6. with respect to the admission of major Doveton, afforded an additional proof of his disposition to evade the pacific advances of the allies.

67. I now employed every effort, to advance the military preparations in the Carnatic, which had already made a considerable progress during the months of November and December. From the moment of my arrival at Fort St. George, all the inhabitants of this settlement, and every officer, civil and military, appeared to be animated by an unanimous determination to discharge their respective duties, with a degree of cheerfulness and ardour, correspondent to the exigency and importance of the occasion; and I was soon satisfied that the disposition, of which I lamented the appearance in the months of July and August, had either been subdued, by the just exercise of authority, or corrected by reflection, and by the more full disclosure of the views of the enemy. The zeal, alacrity, and public spirit, of the bankers and commercial agents at Madras, as well as of the most respectable of your civil servants at this presidency, enabled me, within a few weeks, to raise a large sum of money, by loan, for the public service. Previous to my departure from Bengal, I had remitted twenty lacks of rupees in specie for the use of this presidency; I now dispatched the Sybille to Calcutta for a farther supply; and the extraordinary exertion of his excellency the vice-president in council, assisted by the diligence and ability of Mr. Thomas Myers, the accountant-general of Bengal, furnished me with an additional aid of twenty lacks, within so short a time, that the movement of the army was not delayed for an instant, on account of a deficiency of treasure; and lieutenant-general Harris was provided with a sufficient supply of specie to maintain his army in the field until the month of May.

68. Tippoo Sultaun remaining silent for a considerable time, after the receipt of my letter of the 9th of January, I concluded that his object must be to delay his answer until the season should be so far advanced, as to render the capture of Seringapatam impracticable during the present year.

69. In the mean while the advices from Bussorah, Bagdad, Constantinople, and Bombay, were of so uncertain a nature, as to leave me still in doubt with respect to the condition of the French army in Egypt; the only safe conclusion which could be drawn from those advices being, that the French still maintained the possession of that country with a large army.

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea reſpecting the arrival of any of his majeſty's ſhips on that ſtation; nor had I been able to aſcertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the ſpot, to enable them to reach the ſultaun's dominions.

71. In addition to theſe circumſtances, I knew that while Tippoo Sultaun had declined to receive an ambaſſador, from the honourable company, and had omitted to anſwer my late letters, he had diſpatched native vakeels from Seringapatam, who, together with M. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French force raiſed in the Iſle of France, under M. Malartie's proclamation), were on the point of embarking at Tranquebar, with an avowed miſſion from the ſultaun to the executive directory of France.

72. On the 3d of February I had received no anſwer from the ſultaun to my letter of the 9th of January, although the communication between Seringapatam and Fort St. George does not require, at the moſt, a longer time than eight, and is ſometimes effected in four days.

73. In order, therefore, to defeat the object of the ſultaun's ſilence, and to avail myſelf of the actual ſuperiority of our force, and of the advantages of the preſent ſeaſon, before the French could effect any junction with him, I determined to commence hoſtilities without delay, and to ſuſpend all negociation, until the united forces of the company, and of their allies, ſhould have made ſuch an impreſſion on the territories of Myſore, as might give full effect to our juſt repreſentations.

74. With theſe views, on the 3d of February, I directed lieutenant-general Harris to enter the territory of Myſore with the army aſſembled under his command. On the ſame day, I iſſued orders to lieutenant-general Stuart to be prepared to co-operate from Malabar; and I ſignified to rear-admiral Rainier, and to the ſeveral allies of the company, that I now conſidered the Britiſh government in India to be at war with Tippoo Sultaun.

75. At length, on the 13th of February, I received, from Tippoo Sultaun, the letter marked No. 7, informing me, that, being frequently diſpoſed "to make excurſions and hunt," he was, accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excurſion," and deſiring "that I would" diſpatch major Doveton "ſlightly attended."

79. But the ſeaſon for negociation through the pacific channels, ſo often offered by me, was now elapſed. After mature deliberation on the grounds already ſtated I had directed the advance of the army into the territory of the ſultaun; and I had ſignified to the allies my determination to proceed to hoſtilities. To have delayed the advance of the army, would at once have thrown the advantages which I then poſſeſſed into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and have rendered the ſiege of his capital impracticable, during the preſent ſeaſon. On the other hand, an embaſſy, combined with the hoſtile irruption of any army into Myſore, would have been liable to the imputation of inſincerity towards Tippoo Sultaun; and while it bore the appearance of indeciſion in the eyes

eyes of the allies, would have promoted, and perhaps warranted, a ſimilar degree of inſtability in their councils and operations.

77. The deſign of this tardy, reluctant, and inſidious, aſſent to the admiſſion of an embaſſy from the Britiſh government could be conſidered in no other light than that of a new artifice for the purpoſe of gaining time, until a change of circumſtances and of ſeaſon might enable the ſultaun to avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of France. This concluſion was now confirmed by my knowledge of the actual embarkation of M. Dubuc and two native vakeels, on an embaſſy from Tippoo to the executive directory of France; an event which took place at Tranquebar, on the 7th of February.

78. I therefore replied to the letter of Tippoo Sultaun in the terms of the enclоſure, No. 8; in which I have declared lieutenant-general Harris to be the only perſon now authorized by me to receive and to anſwer whatever communications the ſultaun may think fit to make, with a view to the reſtoration of peace, on ſuch conditions as appear to the allies to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to their common ſecurity. This letter I directed general Harris to forward to the ſultaun on the day on which the army under his command ſhould paſs the frontier, and, at the ſame time, I inſtructed him to iſſue, in the name of the allies, the accompanying declaration, marked No. 9.

79. The Nizam's contingent conſiſts of above 6,000 of the honourable company's troops, ſubſidized by his highneſs, of about the ſame number of his own infantry (including a portion of Mr. Peron's Sepoys, now commanded by Britiſh officers) and a large body of cavalry.

80. This force, under the general command of Mur Allum, formed a junction with the Britiſh army on the 19th of February; and it is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I remark to your honourable court, the beneficial effects which the company have already derived from the recent improvement of our alliance with the court of Hydrabad. The Nizam's contingent actually arrived in the vicinity of Chittoor, in a ſtate of preparation for the field, before general Harris was ready to proceed on his march from Vellore.

81. I have annexed to this diſpatch, No. 10, the laſt return of lieutenant-general Harris's army, previous to his paſſing the frontier, an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally ſupplied in every department, or more perfect in its diſcipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal, of its officers, never took the field in India. The army, on the coaſt of Malabar, (of which I alſo enclоſe a return, No. 11.) is in an equally efficient and reſpectable condition; and the extraordinary efforts which have been made by lieutenant-general Stuart and major-general Hartley, ſeconded by the cordial attachment and unremitting aſſiduity of the rajah of Coorga, have collected, within a very ſhort period of time, a ſupply ſo abundant, that I am induced to tranſmit the particulars of it to your honourable court, as a teſtimony of the diſtinguiſhed merits of thoſe valuable officers, and of the loyalty and active exertions of that faithful tributary of the honourable company. (No. 12.)

82. A conſiderable force, under the command of lieutenant-colonels Read and Brown, will co-operate with lieutenant-general Harris in the ſouthern diſtricts of the Carnatic and Myſore.

83. Under theſe circumſtances, general Harris entered the territory of Myſore, on the 5th of March, with orders to proceed directly to Seringapatam.

84. Having thus ſubmitted to your honourable court, according to the order of dates, a detailed relation of the events which have led to the war in which we are actually engaged, and having declared to you the motives and objects of my conduct, in every ſtage of this important tranſaction, I muſt requeſt your permiſſion to conclude this diſpatch with ſuch reflections as ariſe in my mind from the review of my paſt meaſures, and from the proſpect of their ultimate conſequences and permanent effect.

85. From the firſt diſcloſure of the nature and object of Tippoo Sultaun's embaſſy to the Iſle of France, every principle of juſtice and policy demanded from your government in India, that an inſtantaneous effort ſhould be made to reduce his power and reſources, before he could avail himſelf of the advantages of the alliance which he had concluded. The defect of means is the ſole conſideration which can juſtify me for not having made that effort at the early period when its ſucceſs would have placed the ſecurity of your poſſeſſions on a foundation, which the invaſion of India by a French force could not have impaired.

86. For, without the aid of ſome native power, it is ſcarcely poſſible that the French ſhould ever make any permanent impreſſion on your empire in India; and no native power (excepting Tippoo Sultaun) is ſo infatuated as to be diſpoſed to aſſiſt or receive a French army.

87. The progreſs of events, ſince the date of my orders of the 20th of June, 1798, has not only confirmed the principles of juſtice and policy, by which an attack upon the ſultaun was, at that time, demanded, but has manifeſted that the deſigns of France, as well as of the ſultaun, were of a much more extenſive and formidable nature, than any which have ever been attempted againſt the Britiſh empire in India ſince the hour of its firſt foundation.

88. While the magnitude and danger of theſe deſigns were gradually diſcloſed, I had the ſatisfaction to feel that the means of averting them were augmenting in a proportion nearly equal, by the ſucceſs of the negociations at Hydrabad, and by the advance of the military preparations, which I had ordered, throughout your poſſeſſions.

89. At the commencement of the month of February, the criſis arrived in which I was called upon to form my ultimate deciſion on the important queſtion at iſſue with Tippoo Sultaun, and to determine the final reſult of the whole ſyſtem of my meaſures.

90. On the one hand, the apparent eſtabliſhment of the French army in Egypt, and the uncertainty of the ſtate of our naval power in the Red Sea, rendered the danger ſtill urgent from that quarter; while Tippoo Sultaun's repeated evaſions of my propoſals for negociation, combined with his embaſſy to the executive directory of France, under the conduct of M. Dubuc, appeared

ed to preclude all hope of detaching the ſultaun from his recent alliance with the enemy. On the other hand, I now poſſeſſed ample means of fruſtrating the moſt dangerous effects of that alliance, by a ſeaſonable application of the powerful force, which the treachery and aggreſſion of the ſultaun had compelled me to collect at a heavy expenſe to your finances.

91. Your honourable court will determine, whether, in this ſtate of affairs, my orders of the 3d of February, were premature, and whether I ſhould have been juſtified, on the 13th of February, in recalling thoſe orders, for the purpoſe of admitting, at that late period, a negociation, which would have enabled Tippoo Sultaun to defeat every object of the armament of the allies for the preſent ſeaſon, and would have afforded him ample time to reap the full benefit of his connection with France, before the ſeaſon for beſieging his capital ſhould return.

92. In deciding theſe important queſtions, you will neceſſarily conſider what degree of reliance was to be placed on the ſincerity of the ſultaun's diſpoſition to conclude an amicable adjuſtment with your government, at the very moment when he had actually diſpatched, on an embaſſy to the executive directory of France, the commander of the French troops raiſed in the Mauritius, and admitted into the ſultaun's ſervice, for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying on a war of aggreſſion againſt your poſſeſſions in India.

93. The admirable condition of your armies on both coaſts, and the unequalled perfection of their equipment in every department, added to the extraordinary ſpirit and animation with which the campaign has been opened, afford every reaſon to hope, that the iſſue of the war will be ſpeedily and proſperous, and that it muſt terminate in a conſiderable reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's reſources and power.

94. The wiſdom of your honourable court will anticipate the extenſive benefits which muſt reſult to your intereſts, from an event now become eſſential to the peace and ſecurity of your poſſeſſions in India.

95. The policy of the treaty of Seringapatam certainly was not to maintain Tippoo Sultaun's power in ſuch a ſtate as ſhould leave him a conſtant object of alarm and apprehenſion to the company: that he has been juſtly ſo conſidered for ſome years paſt, cannot be doubted by any perſon acquainted with the records of any of your governments in India. The preſent is the ſecond criſis within the laſt three years, in which the government-general has thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the army on the coaſt of Coromandel, for the ſole purpoſe of checking his motions; and the apprehenſion of his intentions has obſtructed our operations againſt our European enemies in India during the courſe of our preſent war.

96. The continuance of Tippoo's power on its actual ſcale, and under ſuch circumſtances, muſt have proved to the company a perpetual ſource of ſolicitude, expenſe, and hazard. But the engagement which he has contracted with the French, the public proofs which he has given of his eagerneſs to receive in Myſore as large a force as they can furniſh, combined with the prodigious magnitude of their preparations, and the incredible progreſs of their arms, evidently directed to the deſtruction of the Britiſh power in India, form

new and prominent features in our political ſituation in this quarter of the world.

97. Admitting the wiſdom of that policy, which dictated the preſervation of Tippoo Sultaun's power, at the cloſe of the laſt war with Myſore, the ſpirit of our preſent councils muſt be accommodated to the variation of circumſtances, and to the actual poſition, character, and views of our enemies.

98. In ſuch a conjuncture of affairs, I am perſuaded that your honourable court will be of opinion, that no object can be deemed ſo urgent, or ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of your poſſeſſions, as the effectual reduction of the only declared ally of France now exiſting among the native powers of India.

99. If Tippoo Sultaun had been diſpoſed to content himſelf with the quiet poſſeſſion of his preſent dominions; if he could have been brought to a ſenſe of his own peril in forming a connection with the French, the repreſentations which I addreſſed to him would have produced an early and ſalutary impreſſion. Whatever ſpeculative opinions might have been entertained with reſpect to his intereſts, views, and power, the juſtice and moderation of the Britiſh government would never have diſturbed his tranquillity. But he reſolved to attempt the recovery of his loſt dominions, at the hazard of thoſe which he ſtill retains; and in the ardour of his paſſionate purſuit, he overlooked not only the certain deſtruction of his own independence, the inevitable conſequence even of the moſt proſperous ſucceſs of any alliance with France, but alſo the predominant influence of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, which would detect his treachery, and turn againſt his own empire the ruin which he had meditated againſt theirs.

100. The ſecrecy of his councils, the promptitude of his reſources, his conſtant and active ſtate of equipment for war, added to the facility of his intercourſe with the French through his remaining territories on the coaſt of Malabar, form the moſt dangerous circumſtances in the actual condition of his power and dominion, and conſtitute his principal means of offence.

101. If ſucceſs ſhould attend your arms in this war, I entertain a firm confidence that thoſe dangers will either be wholly averted, or ſo conſiderably diminiſhed, as to afford to your government in India the proſpect of durable ſecurity and genuine peace.

102. I cannot cloſe this letter without repeating to your honourable court the cordial expreſſions of my entire ſatisfaction in the zealous and honourable co-operation of lord Clive, as well as of all the members of this government. The beneficial effect of their cheerful and ready concurrence, in forwarding all my views, is manifeſt in the rapid progreſs and perfect completion of the equipments of the army in the field, and furniſhes a ſtriking and ſalutary example of the ineſtimable advantages of unanimity and concord among your ſervants in India. I have the honour to be, honourable ſirs, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient
and faithful ſervant,
Mornington.

Fort St. George,
20th March, 1799.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Executive Directory.

The Circar Condabad to the Executive Directory, reſpreſenting the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

In the name of the friendſhip which the Circar Condabad and his nation vow to obſerve towards the French republic, a friendſhip and alliance which will endure as long as the ſun and moon ſhall continue to ſhine in the heavens, and will be ſo ſolid that the moſt extraordinary circumſtances ſhall never break or diſunite either the one or the other.

The Engliſh, jealous of the connection and friendſhip which for a long time reigned between my circar and France, have united themſelves to the Mahrattahs, to the Nizam Ali Khan, and to my other enemies, for the purpoſe of declaring war againſt me; a war as odious and unjuſt as that which had laſted for ſome years before, and which was attended with ſuch fatal conſequences to me, by taking from me my fineſt provinces, three crores and thirty lacks of rupees.

The republic is not ignorant of any of theſe unfortunate circumſtances; and of my having endeavoured to diſpute every inch of territory, which I was forced to give up to our common enemy. I ſhould not have been compelled to make thoſe cruel ſacrifices had I been aſſiſted by the French, my ancient allies; who, deceived by the perfidious projects of governor-general Conway, at Pondicherry, together with governor Campbell, at Madras, agreed to the evacuation of the place which they commanded. The French republic, by expelling the Engliſh from their rich poſſeſſions in India, will certainly repair the faults of their ancient government.

Animated for a long time by theſe ſentiments, I have communicated them to the government of the Iſle of France, through the medium of two ambaſſadors, from whom I have juſt had the high ſatisfaction of receiving ſuch anſwers as I wiſhed for; as well as the republican colours from the chief of brigade Chapuys, and naval captain Dubuc, who have brought to me ſuch ſuccours in ſoldiers and officers as circumſtances have permitted general Malartie and rear-admiral Sercey to ſend me.

I keep near me the former officer, and ſend you the ſecond in quality of an ambaſſador, for the purpoſe, at the ſame time that he demands your alliance offenſive and defenſive, of obtaining forces ſufficient to attack and annihilate our common enemies. I will tranſmit to you, by his means, my ſtandard, which, united to that of the republic, will ſerve as a baſis of the alliance which the two nations are about to contract. I have alſo charged him to communicate particular orders to you.

I join with him in the embaſſy Sheik Abdoubraim and Mahomet Biſmilla, my ſubjects, who are equally directed to repreſent me in all affairs which they have to tranſact with you.

Whatever may be the circumſtances in which the two nations may hereafter find themſelves, whether together or ſeparately in all their tranſactions, may the good, the glory, and the advantage of both be always the end of them! May their reſpective ſentiments be guaranteed

guaranteed by the appearances of fidelity, and the folemn pledges given by each of them! and may the heavens and earth draw near to each other and unite, fooner than our alliance fhall experience the flighteft alteration!

Given at my palace at Seringapatam, July 20, 1798.

Copy of Articles of Engagement propofed by Tippoo Sultaun to the Directory.

Recapitulation of the demands which my ambaffadors are to make of the executive directory at Paris:

Article I. Ten or fifteen thoufand troops, confifting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

II. A naval force to carry on hoftilities on the coaft where our armies may be, in order to favour their operations, or reinforce them, if neceffary.

III. The circar fhall furnifh all warlike ftores and provifions to the armies of the republic, as well as horfes, oxen, and every neceffary article, with the exception of European liquors, which he has not in his country.

IV. The orders of the king fhall be taken with refpect to all the marches and military operations.

V. The expedition fhall be directed againft fome point of the coaft of Coromandel, and in preference againft Porto Novo, where the difembarkation of the troops fhall take place; and the king fhall firft repair thither with his army, his intention being to commence his operations in the heart of the enemy's country.

VI. The king demands, that notice fhall be given to him by the republic, in difpatching two corvettes from Europe, at a diftance of twenty days from each other, of the number of fhips and troops to be fent to him, that he may immediately enter upon the campaign, and make himfelf mafter of the coaft of Coromandel, before the arrival of the republican forces.

VII. All the conquefts made from the enemy fhall, with the exception of the provinces which the king has been obliged to cede to the Engliih, to the Mahrattahs, and to Nizam Ali Khan, be equally divided between the two nations, and according to the refpective conventions; the fame diviiion fhall take place of the enemy's veffels and the Portuguefe colonies, for the purpofe of indemnifying the king for the expenfes of the war.

VIII. If any difficulty fhall arife between the allied armies, each of them fhall poffefs the right of referring to their modes of juftice, according to their laws and cuftoms, and every difcretionary article fhall be agreed upon in writing between both nation.

IX. That whatever may be the wifh of the republic to make peace with England, or to continue the war, it fhall always confider the king as its friend and faithful ally, and include him in all its treaties, and communicate to him all its intentions.

X. All French who now are in, or may come into the ftates of the king, fhall be treated as friends and allies; and they fhall be empowered to come and go, and carry on trade, without being liable to any trouble or moleftation, but fhall, on the contrary, receive every aiffiftance of which they may ftand in need.

XI. This article relates to bringing into the fervice of the fultaun

several

ſeveral French artiſts and mechanics, ſkilled in caſting cannon, in paper and glaſs making, with ſome engineers and builders.

Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my ſignature, that of my prime miniſter, and authenticated with the ſtate ſeal, on the 20th of July, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Dubuc to the Rajah of Travencore's Miniſter at Aleppo.

My lord,

I expect, with impatience, the arrival of ſome veſſels from India, to hear from you, and to learn from you that your health is perfectly reeſtabliſhed, if, as it has been reported here, it has been in a bad ſtate.

As the means of ſending intelligence to India are very fluctuating, I take the opportunity of a veſſel which is ſailing for the coaſt of Coromandel, to write to the prince Tippoo Sultaun, with whom I have the honour to correſpond. I requeſt he will be pleaſed to communicate my letter to you, after having cauſed it to be tranſlated into the Oriental language, that it may not be neceſſary for you to ſhow it to any one.

I have often conſidered, in my own mind, why your prince was not in alliance with the ſultaun; and in recollecting that the great nabob, Hyder Ali, his father, had been the friend and ally of Ram Rajah, I was aſtoniſhed that that friendſhip, which had been deranged by ſome event, had not been renewed. It is very common in Europe for a power which has been at war with its neighbour to become its friend and ally. You have been at war with the Pacha. I feel the ſincereſt conviction that every reſentment ſhould be forgotten; that all former diſputes ſhould be conſigned to oblivion; and that it is the duty of the two princes to enter into a treaty of alliance and friendſhip, in a way ſolid and ſuitable to their reciprocal intereſts. Were I in India, I ſhould give you, as well as the ſultaun, ſuch ſubſtantial grounds for that proceeding, that I am confident my wiſhes would be fulfilled; but it will be peculiarly your glory to unite theſe two powers. You are the counſellor and the friend of your king; you direct his affairs ſo advantageouſly, that if you find this alliance profitable (and I do not doubt but you will), it will be ſufficient for you to propoſe it to him, and the two princes will readily come to a good underſtanding.—Should my hopes be gratified in this reſpect, my joy will be complete, for you will be conſidered our ally in becoming that of a prince who has been for a long time united with France. I pray heaven to grant you long and happy days; and that thoſe of your king may be proſperous, is the ſincere wiſh of your ſervant and friend,

Mal. Deſcombre.

Iſle de France, March 5, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Dubuc to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 10th December, 1798, O. S.

Grand Pacha—health and reſpect!

The men have fortunately arrived, but we are in want of the moſt eſſential thing—the letters which they left on their way. I however hope they will arrive in a few

few days. They have been four months on their journey, and you may judge of their diſpatch and of their punctuality in their ſervices to you. The Hircarrahs whom I diſpatched to you, on the 11th of laſt month, returned yeſterday with your majeſty's anſwer of the 29th of the ſame month, and I haſten to ſend them back, as they are very faithful perſons, and I wiſh them to be liberally rewarded. The perſon who was to have furniſhed the money has not made his appearance, and I fear there will be conſiderable difficulty in getting them paid. I think it indiſpenſably neceſſary for you to expedite an order for taking up immediately all the money which is at Mercieu's, and to annex it to a letter of credit, as I had requeſted of you, on the republic. The importance of my miſſion is ſuch, and the reſult of it muſt prove ſo advantageous to your majeſty, that I cannot too often repeat, money muſt be conſidered as nothing when affairs of ſuch immenſe moment are carrying on. It will be neceſſary for me to depart, and without money I cannot. In all countries money is the ſinew of war; and if your majeſty does not wiſh to be ruined by the Engliſh, and loſe the aſſiſtance of your good friends the French, give me a ſufficent demonſtration of your confidence in giving me the proper means of proceeding. Socars with money will not be ſtopped, more particularly if it be in pagodas with ſtars. Uſe diſpatch in ſending it to me, and I ſhall inſtantly ſet off. The cloths are not yet come, and I have diſpatched people to forward them. I requeſt your majeſty will authorize me to take a year's ſalary in advance, as you promiſed me, in order to provide for the ſubſiſtence of my family in my abſence, ſince the ſix months for which I have been paid expire on the 8th of next month, and I have been compelled to expend every thing in my poſſeſſion. The Engliſh having taken my ſhip and my property, you will conſider my demand juſt in every point of view, when you reflect that my family are in a foreign country, deprived of every reſource. I once more repeat my earneſt deſire, that your majeſty will give me full powers in that reſpect, and order me immediately to be provided with the neceſſary funds. The Hircarrahs have promiſed to return within thirty days, and I ſhall be abe to depart in forty. It would be prudent to have ſome other Hircarrahs here, that you may receive intelligence every eight days. I beg leave to recommend earneſtly to you the Ouaquil, who is not ſufficiently paid, and has received nothing for eight months paſt. He alſo ſhould have a palanquin; for the envoy of a great prince, ſo truly noble and generous as you are, ought not to walk on foot like a cooly. Are you content with my conduct? Speak candidly. You know how much I am attached to you, and you ſhall have certain proofs of my fidelity. I beſeech your majeſty to countenance, with your bounty and protection, my good friend and colleague, general Chapuys. See him often, and the more you ſhall ſee him the more you ſhall know that he is worthy of your eſteem, as a man of honour and prudence.

I have learned, that your majeſty has written to the government of Madras and to lord Mornington. What will be the iſſue of their anſwer? Be on your guard againſt them;

them; be ready either to defend yourſelf, or to make an attack. The preparations for war are going on with great rapidity. The army of the Nizam is already on its march; it muſt be ſtopped. The Engliſh were deſirous of carrying away Quaquil Sadas Chidevaram; but I diſcovered the plot, and it has not ſucceeded. It is neceſſary that your majeſty ſhould inſtantly write to the government of Tranquebar, by a ſwift courier, to demand its immediate protection for your general-in-chief Dubuc, his major Fillietag, the interpreter De Bay, and your Quaquil. Lord Mornington, governor-general of Bengal, and general Clarke, are coming to the coaſt about the end of this month, for the purpoſe of entering into negociations with your majeſty; which, if they are not advantageous to them, they will cauſe you to declare war againſt them. The reſult of that meaſure will be the invaſion of your country, and the dethroning of you, by ſubſtituting for you and your heirs a nabob of their own making. Your majeſty muſt perceive, that nothing leſs is in agitation than the deſtruction of your kingdom. You muſt exert yourſelf, and negociate every where to maintain your power, until the moment when I ſhall be able to ſecure it for ever for yourſelf and your auguſt children. It is very eaſy for the Engliſh, in conſequence of their intrigues in every part of India, to cauſe troubles of a ſerious kind, and deprive you of all your allies. Should they ſucceed in the war againſt your majeſty, they would afterwards effect the deſtruction of the power of the Mahrattahs, and deprive them of every poſſeſſion which might be ceded to them by a new treaty of peace. It is therefore evidently their intereſt to treat jointly with you, for the purpoſe of finding a certain and mutual guarrantee, and that each member may defend the ſtipulations and ceſſions made by each at the peace which you ſigned in your capital with the contracting parties. The Engliſh threaten you, the Mahrattahs are bound to ſupport you, and not ſuffer you to be overcome. The barrier, which ſeparates you from the former, ſhould exiſt without any encroachment. You may rely on your allies as long as you poſſeſs intereſts in common, and you would be abandoned by them were theſe common intereſts to ceaſe.

The time is ſhort and precious. You muſt give proofs of your good intentions, and gain over the Engliſh; and, at the ſame time, throw obſtacles in the way of their negociations at Poona. In ſuch a conjuncture, the Mahrattahs ought to give to the law of treaties all poſſible weight, and not to omit recalling to the minds of the Engliſh the aſſiſtance granted by them againſt your majeſty. Should their remonſtrances be neglected, and the means of conciliation prove fruitleſs, let them inſtantly take up arms, and threaten the nation guilty of a breach of the treaties. Such a proceeding would, perhaps, ſtop all military deſigns and operations againſt your majeſty. But if the event ſhould prove different, the ſword muſt be drawn, and the ſheath thrown ſo far as to render every ſearch for it uſeleſs. We have no intelligence of any peculiar intereſt from Europe. The republic is uniformly victorious, and continues to refuſe peace to England. Scindia has already taken Delhi; and I think

think he muſt have alſo finiſhed the conqueſt of Agra. It would be prudent in your majeſty to diſpatch couriers to him, to acquaint him with the ſituation in which you are placed. I entreat your majeſty to read my letter attentively. It has been dictated by candour, truth, and a ſenſe of your intereſt.

I pray God to grant ſucceſs to the exertions of your majeſty, to whom I have the honour to be,

(Signed) Dubuc, commander-in-chief, naval captain of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(True Copy) C. Macauley, ſec.

Major Fillietag begs you to accept his homage and attachment to your majeſty.

(True copy) N.B. Edmonſtone, P.T.

Proclamation by Lieut.-gen. George Harris, the Honourable Hen. Welleſly, Lieut.-col. W. Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-col. Barray Cloſe, the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of Myſore, 24th June, 1799, at Seringapatam.

WHEREAS the deceaſed Tippoo Sultaun, unprovoked by any act of aggreſſion on the part of the allies, entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpoſe of commencing war againſt the honourable Engliſh Eaſt-India company, Bahadur, and its allie the Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah Bahadur, aud the Peſhwah Row Pundit Purdham Bahadur; and the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun having attempted to evade the juſt demands of ſatisfaction and ſecurity made by the honourable Engliſh company Bahadur, and its allies, for their defence and protection againſt the joint deſigns of the ſaid ſultaun and of the French.

The allied armies of the honourable Engliſh company, Bahadur, and of his highneſs Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah Bahadur, proceeded to hoſtilities in vindication of their rights, and for the preſervation of their reſpective dominions from the perils of foreign invaſion, and from the ravages of a cruel and relentleſs enemy.

And whereas it has pleaſed Almighty God to proſper the juſt cauſe of the ſaid allies with a continued courſe of victory and ſucceſs, and finally to crown their arms, by the reduction of the capital of Myſore, the fall of Tippoo Sultaun, the utter extinction of his power, and the unconditional ſubmiſſion of his people.

And whereas the ſaid allies being diſpoſed to exerciſe the rights of conqueſt with the ſame moderation and forbearance which they have obſerved from the commencement to the concluſion of the late ſucceſsful war, have reſolved to uſe the power which it has pleaſed Almighty God to place in their hands, for the purpoſes of obtaining reaſonable compenſation for the expenſes of the war, and of eſtabliſhing permanent ſecurity and tranquillity for themſelves and their ſubjects, as well as for all the powers contiguous to their reſpective dominions.

Whereas the ſaid allies have reſolved, that of the territory poſſeſſed by the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun, the diſtricts ſpecified in the ſchedule A hereunto annexed, ſhall be ſubjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the Engliſh company Bahadur; and

that the diſtricts ſpecified in the ſchedule B hereunto annexed, ſhall be ſubjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah Bahadur; and that a ſeparate government ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Myſore, under the Mikiſioor Maharaj Kiſhenrai Wuddiar, a deſcendant of the ancient Rajas of Myſore, who ſhall poſſeſs the diſtricts ſpecified in ſchedule C hereunto annexed, and which ſhall form the ſeparate government of Myſore. And farther, that the diſtricts in ſchedule D ſhall remain for the preſent under the authority of the ſaid Maharaj Kiſhenrai Wuddiar.

And whereas the arrangements and ſtipulations neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing the aforeſaid diviſion and allotment of the territory poſſeſſed by the late Tippoo Sultaun, between the ſaid allies, have been finally concluded.

We, the above-named commiſſioners, do promulgate the aforeſaid diviſion and allotment of the territories poſſeſſed by the late Tippoo Sultaun; and do farthor hereby require, from all inhabitants and perſons belonging to, or reſiding in, the aforeſaid territories, that they pay full and implicit obedience to the government to which they become reſpectively ſubject by the foregoing arrangements and ſtipulations.

[Here follow the ſchedules.]

Speech of the Lord-lieutenant, 22d January, 1799, at the Meeting of the Iriſh Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE received his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament.

I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievement of the detachment of his majeſty's fleet under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelſon; on the total defeat of the French ſquadron off the coaſts of this kingdom, by that under the command of ſir J. B. Warren; and on the brilliant and important conqueſt of Minorca. Thoſe events, while they afford to us, in common with every other deſcription of his majeſty's ſubjects, matter of juſt pride and ſatisfaction, muſt, at the ſame time, give confidence to other powers, and ſhew to all Europe the beneficial effects of a ſyſtem of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perſeverance againſt the deſtructive projects of the common enemy.

I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you, that a ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill prevails in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, and that the ſecret agents of the enemy are active in raiſing an expectation of freſh aſſiſtance from France.

In this ſituation, and under the evident neceſſity of continuing the war with vigour, his majeſty firmly relies upon that ſpirit and magnanimity which have hitherto marked all your exertions in ſupport of the honour of his crown, of the intereſt of this kingdom, and of the general cauſe of the empire.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I have ordered the public accounts and eſtimates to be laid before you; and as I am confident your wiſdom will raiſe the ſupplies which may be neceſſary, in the manner leaſt burthenſome to the ſubject, ſo you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and economical application.

It

It is with great ſatisfaction I obſerve, that, notwithſtanding our internal calamities, this kingdom, blended as its intereſts are in the general proſperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the increaſing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have increaſed.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have ſo long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and ſupport. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen-manufacture, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and other charitable inſtitutions, will require, and will, I am ſure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give farther attention to the juſt and honourable claims of thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

His majeſty depends upon your perſevering energy to repreſs, by every wiſe effort, the ſpirit of diſaffection, which ſtill requires the exerciſe of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occaſion has required it, to acts of indiſpenſable ſeverity, I have not been inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal juſtice, and the neceſſary exertions of the powers of the ſtate, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be conſiſtent with the public ſafety.

In the general cauſe, which engages the empire, our proſpect is highly encouraging; but in proportion as a ſucceſsful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts ſhould be redoubled, in order to ſecure it.

The zeal of his majeſty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable cooperation of the Britiſh fencibles and militia, and the activity, ſkill, and valour of his majeſty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, conſidering, on the one hand, the ſtrength and ſtability of Great Britain, and, on the other, thoſe diviſions which have ſhaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for ſome permanent adjuſtment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our ſiſter kingdom to every part of this iſland.

The unremitting induſtry, with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a ſeparation of this kingdom from Great Britain, muſt have engaged your particular attention; and his majeſty commands me to expreſs his anxious hope, that this conſideration, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, eſſential to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power, and the reſources of the Britiſh empire.

His Excellency's Speech to both Houſes, on proroguing the Parliament, 1ſt June.

My

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE received his majeſty's commands to releaſe you from your farther attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts of the kingdom, which are ſtill agitated by the projects of the diſaffected, may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.

I am at the ſame time to thank you, in his majeſty's name, for the continued and undiminiſhed zeal which you have manifeſted for counteracting the wicked plots of internal conſpirators, and for the defeat of every hoſtile attempt which the deſperation of the enemy may meditate.

The ſituation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in the period which has elapſed ſince the commencement of the ſeſſion. The ſignal advantages already obtained by the Auſtrian arms, and the vigorous and deciſive exertions on the part of Ruſſia, muſt be ſubjects of great joy and congratulation to all who can eſtimate the value of eſtabliſhed order and legitimate government. I know the pleaſure you muſt derive from the conſoling proſpect, that Europe may be ultimately reſcued from the ravaging arms and the defolating principles of France.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I thank you, in his majeſty's name, for the large and extraordinary ſupply which you have ſo honourably voted to meet every wiſh of the government, and every exigency of the ſtate. You muſt reflect with the higheſt ſatisfaction on the liberal co-operation which, in every moment of difficulty, you have experienced from the Britiſh parliament: and I have the fulleſt confidence, that the public ſpirit of this country will not be found inferior to that of Great Britain, in ſubmitting to ſuch temporary burdens as the ſafety of the community may require.

I ſincerely regret, that ſo extenſive a demand ſhould be made on your liberality; but, when no meaſure has been left untried by the malice of our enemies to ſever this kingdom from the Britiſh empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of rebellion and maſſacre, you have diſplayed true wiſdom in proportioning your exertions to the bleſſings you have to preſerve, and the miſeries you have to avert.

My lords and gentlemen,

I am to return you his majeſty's acknowledgments for the many important meaſures you have accompliſhed this ſeſſion. Your liberality and juſtice, to thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty, will confirm the exertions of the well-diſpoſed; and your judicious proviſions for the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preſerve its credit from depreciation without diminiſhing the neceſſary circulation.

I am ſenſible of the confidence which you have repoſed in me, by enabling me to exerciſe the powers of martial law in the manner beſt adapted to the preſent circumſtances of the country. It will be my care to employ thoſe powers for the purpoſes for which they were given, by taking the moſt effectual and ſummary meaſures for the ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of rebellious proceedings, interfering as little as poſſible with the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice among his majeſty's peaceable ſubjects.

I have his majeſty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint addreſs of the two houſes of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his majeſty, accompanied by reſolutions, propoſing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be eſtabliſhed by the mutual conſent of the parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution, and government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections. His majeſty will receive the greateſt ſatisfaction in witneſſing the accompliſhment of a ſyſtem, which, by allaying the unhappy diſtractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the ſecurity, wealth, and commerce of his reſpective kingdoms, muſt afford them at all times, and eſpecially in the preſent moment, the beſt means of jointly oppoſing an effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of foreign and domeſtic enemies; and his majeſty, as the common father of his people, muſt look forward with earneſt anxiety to the moment, when, in conformity to the ſentiments, wiſhes, and real intereſts of his ſubjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inſeparably united in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour and dignity of his majeſty's crown, and in the preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire.

I feel moſt ſenſibly the arduous ſituation in which I am placed, and the weight of the truſt which his majeſty has impoſed upon me at this moſt important criſis; but if I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the ſucceſs of this great meaſure, I ſhall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the ſervice of my country amply repaid, and ſhall retire with the conſcious ſatisfaction, that I have had ſome ſhare in averting from his majeſty's dominions thoſe dangers and calamities which have overſpread ſo large a portion of Europe.

Decree of the Prince of Brazil, declaring himſelf Regent of Portugal.

TAKING into conſideration that, in virtue of the laws on which is founded the Portugueſe monarchy, all the rights of ſovereignty have devolved on my perſon, on account of the melancholy, verified, and very notorious infirmity of the queen my mother, and her incapacity of continuing to exerciſe them; and finding myſelf convinced (by the prolonged experience of ſeven years, in which the care and aſſiſtance of the moſt reputed phyſicians have been entirely ineffectual) that the ſame infirmity, in common language, would be conſidered an inſanity; it has appeared to me, that in the actual circumſtances of public affairs, as well as to what reſpects the foreign concerns, as to the internal adminiſtration of the kingdom, the good of the faithful Portugueſe ſubjects, and my perſonal honour, are equally intereſted, in that (by my revoking my decree of the 10th of February, 1792, which was ſolely dictated by the ſentiments of reſpect and filial love, of which I have always deſired, and do deſire, to give to the queen my ſovereign and mother the moſt ſuperabundant proofs) the government of theſe kingdoms and their

their dominions ſhould continue from this day forward under my proper name and ſupreme authority; on which account, without withdrawing myſelf from the ſaid ſentiments, but acknowledging that they, from their nature, ought to be ſubordinate to the good of the people, and to the honour of the ſovereignty, I have reſolved that, from the date of the preſent decree, all laws, acts, decrees, reſolutions, and orders, (which ought to be made out in the name of the queen my ſovereign and mother, if ſhe was actually governing this monarchy), ſhall be formed and made out in my name, as prince regent, which I am during her actual impediment; and that, in like manner, ſhall be addreſſed to me all conſultations, petitions, requeſts, and repreſentations, which in future may aſcend to my preſence.

Joſeph Sierra de Souſa, counſellor of ſtate for the affairs of the kingdom, ſhall make it to be ſo underſtood, and cauſe it to be executed, ſending copies of this decree to thoſe parts whereto they belong. Done at the palace of Quelez. on the 15th of July, 1799.

(Signed) L. S. De Souſa.

(The princes ſeal, &c.)

Meſſage of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, to the Councils, February 16.

THE Ottoman Porte, informed that the expedition to Egypt was only directed againſt its real enemies, had begun to look upon it with a favourable eye; but it was ſoon led aſtray by the perfidious inſinuations of England and the coaleſced powers. The war which it has declared againſt its ancient and faithful allies has been the fruit of this error, and will lead to its total ruin. It has drawn the Barbary powers into a war with France. The French government has adopted meaſures of repriſal, and it gives you notice of having done ſo.

Treaty of Commerce between the French Republic and the Helvetic Republic.

THE French republic and the Helvetic republic, in execution of the article XV. of the treaty of alliance concluded at Paris, the 2d Fructidor, in the 6th year of the French republic (19th Auguſt, 1798), and being deſirous to ſecure, in a manner the moſt invariable and reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations of the two countries, have nominated, for the purpoſe of carrying a treaty of commerce into completion and effect, to wit, the executive directory of the French republic, on the one part, citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, miniſter of foreign affairs; and the executive directory of the Helvetic republic, on the other part, citizens Pierre Joſeph Zeltner, and Amedee Jenner, miniſters plenipotentiary; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. Neither of the two republics ſhall ever be at liberty to prohibit the importation, conſumption, or carriage of any merchandiſe of the growth or manufacture of the other republic its ally, on condition that ſuch merchandiſes ſhall be accompanied with certificates of their origin.

II. Neither of the two republics ſhall ever prohibit the exportation of any produce of its territory or manufactures deſtined for the republic its ally, except corn or flour, and that only when the ſame prohibition ſhall have taken place by a general regulation extending to all nations: and as a prohibition at preſent exiſts in France, againſt the exportation of grain, the French republic, conſidering the indiſpenſable want of this article under which the Helvetic republic labours and deſirous to give it a particular proof of its affection, conſents that it ſhall be authorized to export annually, on its own account, from the French territory, a million of myriagrammes of corn or flour, on condition that it ſhall be carried by the following places, viz. Verſoix, Jougnes, Verrieres-de-Joux, and Bourg Libre, on Swiſs carriages, conducted by Swiſs carriers; and in certain caſes when this importation of corn or flour ſhould not be ſufficient for the manifeſt wants of Helvetia, the French republic farther conſents that in ſuch caſe, by particular treaties to be yearly renewed, it ſhould be at liberty to import to the amount of four millions of myriagrammes, but in no event whatever to exceed that quantity.

III. The duties on the import and export of merchandiſes of the growth or manufacture of the two allied republics, in their paſſage from one to the other, and which are fixed by the weight according to exiſting tarifs, ſhall continue to be collected in the ſame way, taking, however, for a baſis the value of the merchandiſe, ſo far that in no caſe the duty paid ſhall exceed ſix per cent. of the value: and for this purpoſe, invoices of each kind of merchandiſe ſhall be made out by the reſpective governments, who ſhall tranſmit a table of the various articles of their growth and manufacture, and regulate the form of the certificates which are to authenticate their origin. And in the mean time, and until the ſaid regulations ſhall be carried into complete effect, it is agreed that the perception of duties ſhall take place on the baſis of the declared value of the merchandiſes, ſaving to the comptrollers the privilege of detaining them, paying their ſaid avowed value, with ten per cent. over, and upon condition that the articles exported from Helvetia ſhall not enter France except through the offices deſignated in the preceding article, to which ſhall be added one of the offices of the department of Mont-Terrible.

IV. The duties paid in Helvetia on retailed wines ſhall be the ſame on the wines of France as on thoſe of the growth of Helvetia.

V. Whereas the reciprocal liberty of tranſfer of goods and manufactures is ſtipulated by the firſt article, the duty on the tranſfer ſhall not exceed one half per cent. of the value of the articles ſo tranſferred. The taxes for the maintenance of routes, as well by land as by water, ſhall not exceed thoſe payable by the citizens of the republic which levies them. Waggoners, carriers, and watermen, on entering the territory of the one republic or the other, ſhall conform themſelves to the laws and regulations reſpectively eſtabliſhed in each of them

VI. The two republics agree that their reſpective moneys ſhall be ſtruck after the ſame model, and that then they ſhall have a legal circulation in the two countries, reciprocally.

VII. If

VII. If a merchant or any other French citizen ſhall die in Switzerland, the Helvetic republic undertakes to treat heirs, or other perſons having a right to his property, as if they were natives, and ſo reciprocally in France, in caſe of the demiſe of a Swiſs citizen.

VIII. French citizens domiciliated in Helvetia, and Helvetic citizens domiciliated in France, ſhall have their paſſports verified by the conſuls of their reſpective nations.

IX. French citizens and Helvetic citizens, who ſhall travel for an unlimited term in the ſtates of either allied republic, ſhall be at liberty to leave them with paſſports of their nation, on having them verified by the reſpective legations or conſuls, and conforming to the police-laws in force in the countries in which they ſhall ſo travel.

X. It is agreed that the treaties or conventions, which the French and Helvetic republics ſhall make with other ſtates, ſhall never injure in any reſpect the execution of the preſent, but, on the contrary, that each of them, on ſuch occaſions, ſhall uſe its efforts to ſecure the commercial advantages hereby ſtipulated to its allied republic.

XI. Nothing herein contained ſhall change or affect the commercial and political articles of the treaty of alliance.

The ratifications of the preſent treaty ſhall take place in the ſpace of three decades, reckoning from the day of its being ſigned, and its full execution within four decades after the exchange of the ratifications.

Concluded and ſigned at Paris, the 11th Prairial, 7th year (30th May, 1799).

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand.
P. J. Zeltner.
A. Jenner.

Meſſage from the Executive Directory to the Councils, propoſing to declare War againſt the Emperor of Germany, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, 13th of March.

Citizens repreſentatives,

WHATEVER may have been the magnitude of the events that have taken place, ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Campo Formio, we have ſtill the remembrance of thoſe that preceded it. We have not forgotten that it was after five years of triumphs, and at the moment in which the French armies were no more than thirty leagues from Vienna, that the republic conſented to ſuſpend the courſe of her victories, and preferred to the ſucceſs of ſome laſt efforts, the immediate eſtabliſhment of peace. It may be recollected, that when the treaty was concluded, the moderation of the conqueror appeared ſo great, that it wanted, in ſome ſort, an apology.

Could we have foreſeen that this compact, in which force ſhewed itſelf ſo indulgent—in which the moſt liberal compenſation ought to have ſilenced all regret, ſo far from obtaining the promiſed ſtability, would have been from the beginning but the deceiving pledge of an ephemeral reconciliation, and that the ſudden attacks made againſt it ſhould all come from a power which was indebted to it for an ample indemnification for the loſſes ſhe had experienced by the war? What a ſtrange contraſt! Whilſt the republic with conſtant care fulfils every ſtipulation of a treaty, which is in proportion neither with her ſucceſſes, nor with what ſhe might deduce as legitimate revenge for the plans of deſtruction formed and

purſued againſt her; Auſtria, inſtead of ſhowing herſelf ſatisfied with an approximation that has ſpared her the greateſt misfortunes, appears to be occupied only with deteriorating and deſtroying the compact that has formed her ſafety.

Among the violations of the treaty which that power has been guilty of, ſome have been ſo manifeſt, that they have already excited the ſurpriſe of Europe, and the indignation of republicans:—others, leſs public, or leſs perceived, have yet not been leſs hoſtile; and the directory can no longer defer marking out to the legiſlature the circumſtances of the conduct of the cabinet of Auſtria; a conduct truly offenſive, invaſive of the ſtate of peace, and which no effort nor example has been able to bring back to the obſervance of engagements contracted.

At the period of the concluding of the treaty of Campo Formio, it was reciprocally ſtipulated, by an additional act to the treaty, that all that part of the German territory, extending from the Tyrol and the frontier of the Auſtrian ſtates to the left bank of the Mein, ſhould be evacuated at once by the French and imperial troops, except the poſt of Kehl, which was to remain with the republic. A convention ſtill more particular, concluded and ſigned at Raſtadt, the 11th Frimaire, 6th year, renewed that engagement, and marked a fixed term for its execution. On the part of the republic that execution was prompt and entire. On the part of Auſtria it was deferred, eluded, and is not yet obtained. In Philipſburg the emperor has kept a garriſon and proviſions, which belong to him, in ſpite of the pretence that covers them. In Ulm and Ingoldſtadt he has not ceaſed to keep troops, and an etat major to receive more. All the places of Bavaria have remained at his diſpoſal; and ſo far from that dutchy having been evacuated, according to the terms of the treaty, we ſee that it contains 100,000 Auſtrians deſtined at once to reſume hoſtilities againſt the republic, and to invade a country ſo long coveted by the court of Vienna. If that court had intended to have ſhown itſelf faithful to the treaty, the firſt effect of this diſpoſition would without doubt have been to preſs the reciprocal eſtabliſhment of the reſpective legations: but ſo far from Auſtria having entertained a wiſh of making any beginning upon this head, what was the ſurpriſe of the directory when they were informed it was conſidered at Vienna, that the plenipotentiaries ſent on both ſides to the congreſs of Raſtadt were ſufficient to keep up the communications between the two ſtates, and that the treaty of Campo Formio was to receive, by the treaty with the empire, ulterior developements, before the habitual relations of perfect underſtanding could be entirely eſtabliſhed! So cold an interpretation of the treaty, ſo formal a diſtance, did not preſage that it would be long reſpected.

In the mean time, a government, whoſe exiſtence atteſted alſo the moderation of the republic, dared to provoke anew her vengeance by the moſt horrible attacks. The pope expiated his crime, and Rome acquired liberty; but the directory, foreſeeing that perſons would not fail to alarm the imperial court, and to give to the moſt juſt repriſals the aſpect of ambitious aggreſſion, thought proper to wave all conſiderations of etiquette, which might have

have prevented them, and to ſend to Vienna citizen Bernadotte, as ambaſſador from the French republic, to make it underſtood that the deſtruction of the pontifical government at Rome would make no change in the limitation of the ſtates of Italy: that the exiſting and recogniſed republics would not be increaſed by any part of the Roman territory, which left the treaty of Campo Formio in all its integrity, ſince, by fixing the extent of the Ciſalpine republic, it could not foreſee nor prevent, with reſpect to their reſult, the events which might change the form of other ſtates of Italy on account of their own aggreſſions. Yet the ambaſſador of the republic was received at Vienna with coldneſs. This mark of the moſt loyal eagerneſs, this ſending of an agent inveſted with the moſt auguſt character, was without reciprocity: and ſoon an event leſs injurious by the circumſtances that accompanied it than by the impunity which it has obtained, manifeſted the ſecret ſentiments of the court of Vienna. If, at the firſt news of this event, the directory had not had ſome foundation for ſeeing in it only the work of two courts eager to revive the war upon the continent; if they could have believed that the emperor knew the plot woven under his eyes; they would not have heſitated a moment in inciting the national vengeance againſt ſo outrageous a violation of the ſtate of peace and the rights of nations, ſo religiouſly reſpected by the republic in the midſt even of the moſt violent ſtorms of the revolution. But it was poſſible that the cabinets of London and Peterſburgh might have prepared and directed, by their agents, a tumult neither known nor approved by the emperor. The expreſſions of regret conveyed, in the firſt moment, to the ambaſſador of the republic by M. de Colloredo, the announced appointment of M. Degelmann to Paris, were the motives for thinking that the imperial court would haſten to purſue and puniſh an attack, whoſe exiſtence it acknowledged, and of which it feared to appear the accomplice. When it was known beſides, that the miniſter who was accuſed of having ſeconded the fury of England and Ruſſia, had given up his place to the count de Cobenzel, and that the latter was goint to Seltz to make reparation, the directory could not repent having incited theſe conferences, by ſhowing herſelf leſs ready to follow the firſt impulſe of a legitimate reſentment, than eager to do away, by common explanation, every thing that might oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of the moſt perfect harmony.

Such was their deſire to produce conciliation, that the envoy extraordinary of the republic had for his definitive inſtruction to content himſelf, in reparation for the event at Vienna of the 21ſt Germinal, with a ſimple diſavowal, and a declaration that the guilty ſhould be ſought after. But ſcarcely had the conferences been opened at Seltz, when the imperial court altered its tone and its conduct—baron Degelmann did not proceed to Paris—M. de Thugut returned to the miniſtry—the informations commenced remained unavailing and ineffectual. The count de Cobenzel, inſtead of offering or giving the reparation, which was the principal object of his miſſion, affected a wiſh to direct the diſcuſſion to other points; and concluded by declining all ſatisfaction, even that with which the re-

public would have contented herſelf, when he was convinced that the directory would not liſten to the inſinuations by which the court of Vienna wiſhed to render her, in the midſt even of peace, an accomplice in the moſt ſtrange ſpoliation.

The negociators ſeparated, and ſoon afterwards the negociator who had been ſent to Seltz, by his imperial majeſty, to make profuſe and vain proteſtations of peace, received a miſſion to Berlin and Peterſburgh, to connect himſelf with all the incitements of the Britiſh government to revive the war. The directory muſt have been animated with a profound love for peace, not to have yielded from that time to the evidence of the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the houſe of Auſtria, and to have avoided anſwering the provocations received. They ſaw that at Raſtadt, from the very opening of the congreſs, both the imperial miniſter and the miniſter of Auſtria had inceſſantly ſhown themſelves adverſe to all the propoſitions of the republic, and to all thoſe which might lead to a definitive and ſtable pacification. They knew the difficulties made at Vienna to the acknowledgement of the Ciſalpine miniſter; a circumſtance calculated to bring in queſtion points decided by the treaty of Campo Formio. They were informed that the Auſtrian cabinet (whatever might be the perſonal opinion of the emperor), yielding more than ever to the impulſes of England, gave to the cabinet of Naples a confidence which led it into the moſt extravagant meaſures; directed, in a more ſecret manner, Piedmont, which, a ſhort time before, it had devoted to diſmemberment; and endeavoured to wreſt from its neutrality the Pruſſian government, which it wiſhed to arm againſt France, after having endeavoured to arm France againſt the Pruſſian government.

What motives for abjuring a treaty not acknowledged, violated by Auſtria, and which ceaſed to be binding upon the republic! but the patience and the reſolution of the directory were to ſhow themſelves ſuperior even to a provocation more direct. At the moment in which the factious, who had uſurped the power in the Griſon league, teſtified ſome uneaſineſs at a French army being near, and at the projects which they ſuppoſed to be formed againſt their independence and neutrality, affecting, at the ſame time, a perfect ſecurity with reſpect to Auſtria, from whom they ſaid they had received the moſt encouraging proteſtations, the directory thought proper to make known to the inhabitants, that their territories would be reſpected, as long as they were reſpected by Auſtria. Some months only had elapſed ſince that declaration was made, when a corps of Auſtrian troops invaded and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the country of the Griſons. Nothing that was hoſtile in that invaſion, nothing of ſecret machination that was included in it, eſcaped the executive directory. It was evident that Auſtria was thus preparing the means of diſturbing Helvetia, of making an irruption into the Ciſalpine, and of giving at the deciſive moment her aid to the king of Sardinia, in order to attempt, in concert with him, to cut off all retreat to the French, who were to be attacked by 100,000 Neapolitans, and whom they dared to ſuppoſe conquered.

The directory were not blind to all theſe perfidious combinations, but

but they avoided ſeeing in them a formal aggreſſion; and it was not till the moment in which the premature attack of the king of the two Sicilies opened a new war, that the directory, having the full proof of the king of Sardinia being an accomplice, and wiſhing to turn aſide the effect of it, ſeized his ſtrong places, thus getting the ſtart by ſome days of the Auſtrians, who were to have occupied them themſelves; the anterior invaſion of the Griſon territories being but the prelude to ſuch a ſtep.

But at the ſame time that the republican armies repelled the aggreſſion in Italy, and prevented the perfidy, the directory, though they had intelligence of the treaty between Vienna and Naples, though they ſaw an Auſtrian general at the head of the Neapolitan army, though they knew the movement of troops, which had taken place in the Tyrol and the north of Italy, perſiſted ſtill in profeſſing a deſire to remain at peace with the emperor; and the ſincerity of their wiſhes was ſufficiently apparent by their conduct to Tuſcany; for a long time had elapſed ſince they had found it impoſſible to make a diſtinction between the court of Florence and the court of Vienna.

The directory had known that the journey of M. Manfredine to Vienna related to the ſame object that had brought the prince of Montechiaro from Naples; and had uſefully prepared the ſucceſs of his miſſion, by contributing to give the emperor the deſire of increaſing his influence in Italy, of ſeeking a new aggrandiſement, under the pretence of indemnity, of checking the eſtabliſhment of the Ciſalpine republic, and of oppoſing, above all, the exiſtence of the Roman republic.—The directory knew alſo, that at the epoch in which the king of Naples was making diſpoſitions to march his army to Rome, the grand duke was himſelf employed in preparations for war; accelerating and extending, in a manner very unuſual to the country, and ordering, in addition to the complete armament of the troops, voluntary enrolments in every town and village; eſtabliſhing a forced loan, demanding from the churches, monks, and nobles, their plate; and taking, in ſhort, all the meaſures that denoted a ſecret participation in the greateſt enterpriſes: yet, notwithſtanding the art with which theſe traces of hoſtility were ſought to be concealed, the directory obtained proofs that the grand duke relied ſo much on the defeat of the French, that he ſhut up all the paſſes by which they might have retreated through his ſtates, and fortified them with a numerous artillery, which was to have completed the deſtruction of the remnant of the French army, whilſt on another ſide a troop of Neapolitans, and ſome Engliſh ſhips, took poſſeſſion of Leghorn; an event that would never have taken place, if that prince had only declared that he would not conſent to it.

Thus the firſt movement of the French army ought to have been to march to Leghorn and Florence; and if the directory (who only knew ſince with certainty to what an extent the grand duke, who is ſtill arming ſecretly, had carried his culpability) ſuſpended the effect of their reſolution, it was becauſe, looking upon the court of Tuſcany as leſs immediately connected with the intereſts and enterpriſes of the court of Naples than with thoſe of the court

court of Vienna, they ſtill heſitated in believing that the latter wiſhed to revive the war. Soon, however, a fact more deciſive than all the former ones, left no doubt of the diſpoſition of Auſtria, and conſequently afforded a full inſight into that of the grand duke. Twenty-five thouſand Ruſſians advanced towards Germany; they were to be followed by ſeveral corps equally numerous.

The Ruſſian monarch had proclaimed throughout Europe his hoſtile deſigns againſt the republic; and whilſt his fleets, obtaining leave to paſs the ſtraits, intereſt the Mediteranean ſtates to attack the poſſeſſions of France, his troops fought a paſſage on the continent to attack the troops of the republic: it was at the moment in which the emperor was ſtill in a ſtate of peace, in which the empire, neutralized by a ſpecial armiſtice, was near the period of pacification, that a prince committing an aggreſſion, that an ally of London and Conſtantinople, wiſhing to unite his efforts to theirs, appeared upon the limits of the Auſtrian territory; his army was received without any obſtacle: it is evident that it was expected.

The emperor quits his capital, goes himſelf to meet the Ruſſians, accepts their congratulations, and aſſociates himſelf to their projects, by heaping upon them preſents and attention. Struck with the ſcandal of ſuch a conduct, inſtructed that the Ruſſians were to paſs from the Auſtrian territory to the territory of the empire, the directory, ſtill repreſſing the firſt impulſe of the national pride, contented themſelves with demanding explanations from the emperor and empire. The emperor was ſilent: his plenipotentiary wiſhed to deny that he had received the note of the French miniſters. The deputation of the empire referred to the diet, and the diet to the empire. The march of the Ruſſians continued: they traverſed Moravia and Auſtria: they approach Bavaria: and the amicable repreſentations of the republic have not been liſtened to more than the intereſt of Germany, which is againſt this foreign invaſion. The moment was then arrived, in which the directory could no longer temporiſe, and hold a language which might compromiſe the national dignity and the ſafety of the ſtate. The republic had given peace as ſoon as it was aſked: ſhe had exhauſted herſelf in efforts to maintain what ſhe had granted: but it was neceſſary, at length, that ſhe ſhould know her enemies, and that thoſe who wiſhed for war ſhould be forced to explain themſelves. Such were the ſpirit and object of the two notes tranſmitted, on the 12th of laſt Nivoſe, to the Auſtrian miniſter at Raſtadt, and to the deputation. A delay was fixed for his imperial majeſty to give a categorical and ſatisfactory reply, in failure of which, his ſilence or his refuſal would be regarded as a hoſtile act. That delay expired on the 27th Pluvioſe, and no reply is yet arrived.

Such, citizens repreſentatives, has been the conduct of the court of Vienna. It is by ſuch a ſucceſſion of facts, that the treaty of Campo Formio, not acknowledged from the commencement, unexecuted on the part of Auſtria in ſeveral of its principal parts, compromiſed and invalidated daily by hoſtile preparations or actions, is at length ſacrificed to the rapacity of the Ruſſian monarch, and the perfidious combinations of England. It is thus

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that the emperor, carried perhaps beyond his own reſolutions, compromiſes at the ſame time the fate of the empire, deprives himſelf of the benefits of a peace begun, and gives up Germany anew to all the chances of a war, in which the emperor and the empire are no more than the auxiliaries of Ruſſia. It is thus that, the determinations of the court of Vienna carrying with them thoſe of the court of Tuſcany, it is not permitted to the directory to ſeparate one from the other. Forced then, in the terms of the declaration made at Raſtadt, to conſider the ſilence of the emperor as a hoſtile meaſure; inſtructed beſides that the Auſtrian troops have already made aggreſſive movements in Bavaria towards Suabia, the directory, renouncing with regret the hope of maintaining peace in Germany, but ſtill diſpoſed to liſten to ſuitable propoſitions for a new and complete reconciliation, inform you, citizens repreſentatives, that they have already taken ſuch meaſures as they have thought neceſſary for the defence of the ſtate; and propoſe to you to declare war againſt the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and againſt the grand duke of Tuſcany.

(Signed) Barras, preſident.
Lagarde, ſec. general.

Decree of the Executive Directory explaining that of the 14th of January, relative to neutral Veſſels.

CONSIDERING that the article 4th of the decree, which concerns the roles d'equipage of neutral ſhips, has given riſe to abuſive interpretations relative to the roles d'equipage of the American veſſels; and as it is important to put an end to the impediments which have reſulted therefrom to the American commerce; after having heard the foreign miniſter and the miniſter of juſtice, they declare, that by article 4th of the above decree it was not intended that the navigation of American ſhips, relative to the form of their roles d'equipage, ſhould be ſubject to other conditions than thoſe impoſed on all neutral bottoms, by the 12th article of the regulation of 1744, and by article 9th of that of the 26th July, 1788. And this is ordered to be inſerted in the bulletin of the laws.

Meſſage from the French Directory to the Councils of Elders and Five Hundred; October 25th 1799.

Citizens repreſentatives,

THE executive directory haſten to announce to you, that the projects of the Anglo-Ruſſians, landed on the territory of the Dutch republic, have failed, and that a capitulation demanded by them was ſigned at Alkmaar, on the 26th of laſt Vendemaire (October 18).

By the conditions impoſed upon them, they are to re-embark as ſoon as poſſible, and to evacuate entirely, by the 9th Frimaire next (December 1), the Dutch territory, the coaſts, iſles, and internal navigation depending on them: the reinforcements which may arrive are not to be landed, and are to return immediately.

The batteries of the Helder are to be reſtored, and the damages repaired, and the parts which have been improved are to remain as they are; all the pieces of artillery which

which were there are to be given up; there is to be no injury, either by making inundations, cutting the dikes, or obſtructing the navigation.

Finally, 8000 priſoners of war, French and Dutch, taken anterior to the expedition, and detained in England, are to be given up, independently of the cartel of exchange, which ſhall continue to be executed.

Such are to England the reſults of this grand expedition, which was in a ſhort time to invade the Batavian republic, and menace even the territory of the French republic.

(Signed) Gohier, preſident.
La Garde, ſec.-gen.

Proclamation of General Buonaparte.

Nov. 10, *eleven o'clock at night.*

ON my return to Paris, I found a diviſion reigning amongſt all the conſtituted authorities. There was no agreement but on this ſingle point—that the conſtitution was half deſtroyed, and could by no means effect the ſalvation of our liberties. All the parties came to me, confided to me their deſigns, unveiled their ſecrets, and demanded my ſupport. I refuſed to be a man of any party. The council of elders invited me, and I anſwered to their call. A plan of general reſtoration had been concerted by men, in whom the nation is accuſtomed to ſee the defenders of its freedom and equality, and of property. This plan demanded a calm and liberal examination, free from every influence and every fear. The council of elders reſolved, in conſequence, that the ſittings of the legiſlative body ſhould be removed to St. Cloud, and charged me with the diſpoſition of the force neceſſary to ſecure its independence. I owed it, my fellow-citizens, to the ſoldiers who are periſhing in our armies, and to the national glory, acquired at the price of their blood, to accept of this command. The councils being aſſembled at St. Cloud, the republican troops guaranteed their ſafety from without; but within, aſſaſſins had eſtabliſhed the reign of terror. Several members of the council of five hundred, armed with poniards and fire-arms, circulated around them nothing but menaces of death. The plans which were about to be develloped were laid aſide, the majority was diſorganized, the moſt intrepid orators were diſconcerted, and the inutility of every wiſe propoſition was made evident. I bore my indignation and my grief to the council of elders, I demanded of them to enſure the execution of their generous deſigns. I repreſented to them the maladies of their country, from which thoſe deſigns originated. They joined themſelves with me, by giving new teſtimonies of their uniform wiſhes. I then repaired to the council of five hundred without arms, and my head uncovered, ſuch as I had been received and applauded by the elders. I wiſhed to recall to the majority their wiſhes, and to aſſure them of their power. The poniards, which threatened the deputies, were inſtantly raiſed againſt their deliverer. Twenty aſſaſſins threw themſelves upon me, and fought my breaſt. The grenadiers of the legiſlative body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, came up and placed themſelves between me and my aſſaſſins. One of theſe brave grenadiers, named Thome, had his clothes ſtruck through with a dag-

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ger. They ſucceeded in bearing me away. At this time the cry of "Outlaw!" was raiſed againſt the defender of the law. It was the ferocious cry of aſſaſſins againſt the force which was deſtined to reſtrain them. They preſſed around the preſident, threatened him to his face, and, with arms in their hands, ordered him to decree me out of the protection of the law. Being informed of this circumſtance, I gave orders to reſcue him from their power, and ſix grenadiers of the legiſlative body brought him out of the hall. Immediately after the grenadiers of the legiſlative body entered at the *pas de charge* into the hall, and cauſed it to be evacuated. The factious were intimidated, and diſperſed themſelves. The majority, releaſed from their blows, entered freely and peaceably into the hall of ſitting, heard the propoſitions which were made to them for the public ſafety deliberated, and prepared the ſalutary reſolution which is to become the new and proviſional law of the republic. Frenchmen! you will recognize, without doubt, in this conduct, the zeal of a ſoldier of liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the republic. The ideas of preſervation, protection, and freedom, immediately reſumed their places on the diſperſion of the faction who wiſhed to oppreſs the councils, and who, in making themſelves the moſt odious of men, never ceaſe to be the moſt contemptible.

(Signed) Buonaparte.
(Counterſigned) Berthier.

Letter from the Miniſter for foreign Affairs, to the foreign Agents of the Republic.

Paris, November 12.

IN tranſmitting to you, citizens, the law enacted by the legiſlative body in its late ſitting of the 10th of November, I announced to you, that the conſuls of the French republic immediately took into their hands the reins of government.

The conſtitution of the 3d year, the produce of very imperfect experience, and of the influence of ſome tranſient circumſtances, was on the point of periſhing under its internal defects, and the paſſions of men. Too often violated by the higheſt authorities, ſolicited by every paſſion in its turn, and inceſſantly infringed by them all, it had ceaſed to command the reſpect of Frenchmen, and to prove ſalutary for the republic. It therefore became neceſſary to ſave the principles on which it reſted, from periſhing along with it.

A grand impulſe on every mind could alone rally round the ſame object, the wiſhes and the hopes of citizens, harmonize all the powers, revive all the ſources of the public ſtrength, and excite an energy unanimous, vigorous, and truly republican, for its direction. That impulſe has been given; and all the authorities, now of a proper temper, powerful from their concert, and the confidence repoſed in them by the nation, are going to labour efficatiouſly in the execution of the grand work which the deſtinies of the republic impoſe upon them, to organize order in all the parts of the adminiſtration, reſtore internal tranquillity, and procure a ſolid and beneficial peace.

The oath, citizens, preſcribed for you to take, is a proof that the baſes on which the hopes of Frenchmen, and the happineſs of future generations

tions repoſe, remain untouched. The men placed at the head of the government have given ſufficient pledges to liberty; their names command reſpect and confidence enough to convince France and Europe, that theſe baſes will be guaranteed, both againſt the attempts of external enemies, and the ſhocks of faction.

The conſuls of the republic, in authorizing you to continue the functions which you now fill, have charged me to inform you, that I have notified their inſtallation to the foreign agents reſident at Paris. You will find ſubjoined a copy of my circular note. They have alſo charged me to deſire you to addreſs to the government at which you reſide, a notification of the powers with which they are inveſted, and of the hopes of wiſdom and concord with which they are animated. You will take care to add, that, to procure for Europe a ſolid and honourable peace, it is neceſſary that the declaration with which I conclude my circular note to the foreign agents ſhould be ſtrongly felt, and that the faith in the loyalty, power, and juſtice of the government of the republic, ſhould be every where equal to the ſincerity of the wiſhes which it will not ceaſe to entertain for peace, and to the fidelity with which it is unalterably determined to maintain its engagements.

I tranſmit to you the formula of an oath to be taken by all the agents, political and conſular, of the republic, and alſo by the French citizens reſident in foreign ſtates, or temporarily abſent from their country. I invite you to communicate to the agents in concert with whom you act, the letter which I write to you. They will adminiſter the oath to ſuch of their fellow-citizens as ſhall be found within their juriſdiction, and will diſpatch an anſwer to you, which you will tranſmit to me by expreſs with your own.

Health and fraternity.

(Signed) Reinhard.

Proclamation of the Conſuls to the French.

Paris, 21ſt Brumaire (12th Nov.)

THE conſtitution of the third year has periſhed. It knew not how to protect your rights, or to ſupport itſelf. Multiplied attacks deprived it for ever of the reſpect of the people. Heinous and ambitious factions divided the republic between them. France at length approached to the laſt term of a general diſorganization.

The patriots have made themſelves heard. Every thing that could injure you has been removed. Every thing that could ſerve you, every thing that remained pure in the national repreſentation, is united under the banners of liberty.

Frenchmen! the republic, thus re-eſtabliſhed and replaced in Europe in the rank which ſhe never ſhould have loſt, will proceed to realize all the hopes of citizens, and will accompany its glorious deſtinies.

Take with us the oath which we have made, "to be faithful to the republic, one and indiviſible, founded on equality, liberty, and the reſpreſentative ſyſtem."

By the conſuls of the republic,

Roger Ducos,

Buonaparte,

Sieyes.

(True copy)

Hugues Bernard Maret, ſec.-gen.

Notice

Notice of the Conſulate relative to the Priſoners of War in England and France.

14th Frimaire (December 5.)

THE conſuls have notified to the Engliſh government, that from the 1ſt of Nivoſe (December 22), all the expenſes neceſſary for the maintenance of the French priſoners in England ſhall be at the charge of the Britiſh government.

(Signed) Buonaparte.
Sieyes.
Roger Ducos.
H. B. Maret, ſec.-gen.

Official Documents which preceded the Convention ſtipulating the Evacuation of Egypt by the French, but which Convention was never carried into Effect.

The firſt Note received by Sir Sidney Smith, from the Plenipotentiaries of General Kleber.

AS it appears that the conqueſt of Egypt has been one of the principal cauſes for rekindling the flames of war throughout Europe, the general-in-chief Kleber is of opinion, that the evacuation of that province will be a great ſtep towards effecting a general peace, ſo anxiouſly deſired by all nations. Notwithſtanding his advantageous poſitions in Egypt, he has been the more ready in taking the firſt ſtep for that purpoſe, as he entertains not the leaſt doubt but that it has always been the intention of the French government to reſtore Egypt to the Sublime Porte. General Kleber has obſerved with pleaſure, that commodore Smith poſſeſſes the confidence of all parties. For negociating on this important buſineſs: his great penetration will enable himſelf duly to value the reſpective relations.

Should the preſent war be carried on much longer, it cannot but prove diſadvantageous to the political intereſts and the general ſyſtem of the belligerent powers, which party ſoever may be ſucceſsful. Conſidered in this point of view, England runs the ſame riſk as the French republic. If Egypt is evacuated now, rather than two years hence, the intereſt of the Ottoman Porte will be entirely ſatisfied: the evacuation of this country will, beſides, furniſh to England a great advantage, by removing every apprehenſion with reſpect to the Eaſt Indies. Laſtly, this evacuation will do away every idea, that France had fixed on a new political ſyſtem, dangerous in itſelf, and of which the conſequences would have effected the ruin of the Ottoman empire; effecting, at the ſame time, the loſs of the colonies of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies, and their trade with the Ottoman empire and Ruſſia. But by offering the evacuation of Egypt at the preſent period, and this merely on account of its being more convenient than it would be hereafter, and of its appearing better that it may promote peace, than become the price of a protracted and bloody war, the French army, ſtrong from its ſituation and victories, has a right to demand an honourable and proportionate indemnification for the advantages which it renounces. The underſigned plenipotentiaries therefore propoſe to evacuate Egypt on the following conditions:

1ſt. That the Porte reſtore to France all poſſeſſions which ſhe may have

have taken from her during the war. 2d. That the relations between the Ottoman empire and the French republic be re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as before the war. 3d. That the French army evacuate Egypt, with arms and baggage, whenever the neceſſary means for ſuch evacuation ſhall have been procured, and to withdraw from the ports which ſhall be agreed upon.

On board the Tigre, 8th Nivoſe, year 8, (29th December, 1799.)

(Signed) Pouſſielgue and Deſaix.
Sidney Smith.

(For a true copy.)

To the preceding Note Sir Sidney Smith returned the following Anſwer.

The under-ſigned has reflected on the note which he yeſterday received from the French commiſſioners; and conſidering that the propoſals made in it extend much farther than what had been agreed upon between his excellency the grand vizier and himſelf, he reſerves his definitive anſwer till ſuch time as he ſhall have had a conference with his excellency, after his arrival in the imperial camp, at Gaza, whither he will proceed immediately. Meanwhile, he thinks he cannot anſwer in a better manner the frankneſs which the commiſſioners have evinced, than by communicating to them the purport of the anſwer which he intends to lay before the grand vizier, for his conſideration, previous to its being laid before them (the commiſſioners) in due form. It is alſo done with an intention of enabling them to make ſuch modifications, or alterations, as may be deemed neceſſary by them, the under-ſigned being inclined to lend a favourable ear to ſuch propoſals, for making definitive arrangements, in ſo far as they ſhall not be contrary to the engagements entered into between Great Britain and the Porte, on the 5th of February, 1799. The general-in-chief Kleber juſtly inſiſts, that nothing be propoſed to the French army which might be prejudicial to its honour, or to that of the French nation: the underſigned acknowledges that principle, and has a right to expect it likewiſe. But, as nothing can be more contrary to the principles of honour than the non-fulfilment of conditions entered upon by ſolemn obligation, he thinks it his duty to enable the French commiſſioners, by communicating the articles of a treaty contained in the ſubjoined plan of an anſwer, duly to conſider the whole extent of its obligations.

On board the Tigre, off Cape Carmel, the 30th of December, 1799.

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

Note delivered to the French Commiſſioners, in Anſwer to their Note of the 29th December, approved by the Grand Vizier.

The Porte not having been the aggreſſive party in this war, and it having neither entertained views of aggrandiſement, or of continuing the war, whenever ſhe ſhould have ſufficient ſecurity for her exiſtence, independence, and tranquillity, agreeably to the 8th article of the treaty with Great Britain, ſigned on the 5th of February, 1799; ſhe has no objection to reſtoring things upon the ſame footing on which they

they were previouſly to the firſt attack by the French.

The French commiſſioners, ſent by general Kleber, not having full powers from the French government to conclude a peace, they can, of courſe, neither ſtipulate any thing in her name, nor conclude a definitive treaty of peace. But to anſwer, meanwhile, to the firſt propoſals made by the French army, the Porte heſitates not, reſpecting her former connections with France, to expreſs her concern at her having been forced, by being attacked, to arm in her own defence. As the conqueſt of Egypt has hitherto been an obſtacle to a general peace, the evacuation of that country muſt neceſſarily lead towards its being effected. The ſublime Porte, on her part, will endeavour, by every means in her power, to contribute to a general peace, by ſending a miniſter plenipotentiary to any congreſs that may be held on that ſubject. On that account, the whole world will be indebted to the moderation of general Kleber, and the army under his command.

Britain's guarantee of the Ottoman dominions, ſeems not to require a formal renewal, the treaty, of the 5th of February, being merely expreſſive of a former reciprocity of intereſt, which had regulated the behaviour of both powers towards each other for many years, which continues to exiſt, and which naturally tends to conſolidate their mutual relations and ſecurity.

Though meaſures have been taken for ſurrounding the French army on all ſides, yet its bravery, courage, and fame, remaining ſtill unconquered, give them full right to believe, that they may yet be able to reſiſt for ſome time. They are therefore by no means in a ſituation that ſhould oblige them to capitulate; they are fully entitled to retain their arms and baggage. The means to enable them to evacuate Egypt ſhall be procured to them. The ports of their deſtination cannot be any other but French, and ſuch ſhall only be choſen as are ſubject to quarantine, which the ſecurity of France and of all Europe requires.

On board the Tigre, off Cape Carmel, the 30th of December, 1799.

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

Imperial Aulic Decree to the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the 12th of July.

THE preliminaries of peace between the Auſtrian and French plenipotentiaries were ſigned at Leoben, on the 13th of April, 1797; and, at the earneſt ſolicitation of his imperial majeſty, it was reſolved, on that remarkable day, that all hoſtilities ſhould be ſuſpended between the emperor and the French republic, that a peace might be ſecurely negociated. But this deſirable work accompliſhed ſo ineffectually the paternal views of his majeſty the emperor, that, on the part of the French, (notwithſtanding the empire's conſtant deſire of peace), almoſt every day was marked with acts which removed to a greater diſtance the object ſo anxiouſly wiſhed for. In contempt of the juſt remonſtrances of the ſtates of the empire, and of the deputation, they not only made the ſevereſt military exactions, and ſeized the fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein, (contrary to a former convention), but incorporated

with the new Helvetic republic which they created, thoſe territories and fiefs of the empire ſituated in Switzerland, and, overturning it by the vileſt machinations, they carried throughout Helvetia the deſtructive torch of their revolution to the frontiers of Germany. The French government, always true to the ſpirit of the revolution, was conſtantly occupied with plans to deſtroy the political relation of the empire with Italy. Amidſt the negociations for peace, it ſtrove to ſtrengthen its formidable power by new abettors and alliances, and by a levy of 200,000 men. In ſhort, the French government, in all its political relations with the empire, without examining the evils it hath cauſed, and in defiance of the truce and negociations for peace, only ſought to render its condition the worſt poſſible, by the numerous evils it committed.

Even this ſtate, however quiet, could only be conſidered as a ſtate of war; yet, from a humane diſpoſition for peace, repreſentations were the only arms oppoſed to the domineering arrogance of the French directory, which had, however, no other effect (as their raſh plans had hitherto ſucceeded) than the perpetration of freſh acts of injuſtice and violence. No other arguments are wanting to confirm theſe facts than the facts themſelves, viz. the orders given to repair the fortifications of Ehrenbreitſtein; the ſupplying that place with proviſions, by extorting them from the neighbouring ſubjects of the empire; and the avowed will of the French government, ſeriouſly declared, to keep poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, againſt the law of nations, and in contempt of ſolemn conventions:—the occupation of Manheim, and the diſarming of the garriſon; the prevention of the exerciſe of their official functions, which was only proviſorily granted to the magiſtrates of that city, by way of a revolutionary prelude to the bold menaces made by the French plenipotentiaries, in an official note of the 3d October, laſt year, to introduce the deſtructive principles of France into Germany:—the memorable, but not diſſembling letter, of the French executive directory, addreſſed in the ſame revolutionary ſpirit to the French commander-in-chief, Jourdan, on the 15th of March, 1799; the rapid advancing of the French troops, by ſeveral directions, into the very heart of Germany, even without giving due notice of the truce with the empire being broken off, and with a viſible violation of the laws of armiſtice:—the ſummons ſent, in the moſt ſingular expreſſions, on the 1ſt of March, to the imperial fortreſs of Philipſburgh, to ſurrender, and with violent and ſhocking threats againſt its commandant, for him to give up the fortreſs from terror:—the immoral written invitation to treaſon againſt the emperor and the empire, addreſſed to the civil magiſtrates, on the 14th of March:—the batteries raiſed cloſe to the fortreſs, and the unjuſt attempt made to ſeize the fortreſs by offers of ſubordination:—the exciting of all Germans to rebellion againſt their lawful chief, contained in the horrid proclamation of Bernadotte, together with ſeveral other occurrences of the ſame pernicious tendency, remarked in the imperial decree of commiſſion, of the 4th of April, of the preſent year:—all theſe are deeds of ſuch a nature, as to combine all the attributes of an actual

actual ſtate of warfare; and which can never be reconciled by ſmooth profeſſions of pacific intentions, and by unnatural and contradictory diſcriminations of ideas.

The war therefore actually exiſts againſt Germany by facts—war! the ſole terrible work of the ambitious, revolutionary, and all-confounding politics of the French government. And the late political relations of the German empire with Italy and Switzerland, would be irretrievably loſt; the ſtandard of revolution would already be hoiſted in a great part of the German empire, as it has been in other ſubjugated ſtates and provinces, and the brighter proſperity of Germanic freedom be perſecuted by the ungrateful French ſyſtem of liberty and equality, had not the prudence and heroiſm of the imperial generals, and the victorious armies, put a ſtop to the incurſions of the daring enemy. Thus, while hoſtilities have been renewed, and the proſpect of a ſucceſsful negociation of peace, ſo much deſired by the empire, is vaniſhed, the former ſtate of warfare between the Germanic empire and France actually exiſts; and, according to the public declarations, forced from the empire by this ſtate of war, it muſt ſtill combat, at the higheſt price, for the inviolability of the deareſt treaties, for religion, property, the maintenance of ſocial order and conſtitution, the honour, dignity, liberty, exiſtence, and preſervation of the Germanic empire; and muſt ſtill combat for an acceptable, juſt, becoming, and laſting peace, agreeably to the ſpirit of the former reſolutions of the Germanic diet.

His imperial majeſty, therefore, places his confidence, as chief, in the electors, princes, and ſtates, and deems himſelf entitled to expect from them, in the ſacred name of their common country and conſtitution, and by virtue of the manifold aſſurances given, that no ſtate of the empire will recede from the moſt conſcientious execution of the duties which are impoſed againſt the common enemy, by the very nature of the ancient Germanic confederation, the ancient poſitive ſtatutes, and the concluſums of the empire, promulgated ſince the preſent war has been declared; eſpecially that concluſum of the empire which relates to the augmentation of the armament to a quintuple; and, in conformity to which, his majeſty the king of Sweden has lately declared himſelf, in his quality as a ſtate of the empire, to the diet, with as much cordiality as generoſity, to revive German patriotiſm in general. It is equally urgent and proper, and the particular wiſh of his imperial majeſty, that the diet do direct its deliberations towards granting a ſufficient number of Roman months to defray the expenſe of the war, and that it do accelerate, as much as poſſible, its approbation, to be tranſmitted to the chief of the empire.

Treaty of Alliance concluded between the Emperor and the King of the Two Sicilies.

THE emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the king of the two Sicilies, having taken into conſideration the rapidity with which events have ſucceeded to each other for ſome time, the urgent neceſſity of providing againſt the baneful conſequences of new troubles which

might agitate Europe and Italy in particular, their imperial and Sicilian majeſties, united beſides by the ſtricteſt ties of conſanguinity, have thought fit to concert with each other in this ſituation, meaſures relative to the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the common ſafety of their people and ſtates. For this purpoſe their majeſties have named as plenipotentiaries, that is to ſay, his majeſty the emperor, baron Thugut, grand croſs of the royal order of St. Stephen, miniſter of conferences of his imperial and royal apoſtolic majeſty, his commiſſary-general and miniſter plenipotentiary in Italy, Dalmatia, &c.; and his Sicilian majeſty, D. Ottavio Mormile, duke of Campochiara and of Caſtelpagano, marquis of Repalimoſano and d'Albidona, lord of Feudi Valleroberto, Coppone and Santangeloradaginoſa, knight of Malta, noble Neapolitan, actual gentleman of the chamber and an officer in the ſervice of his majeſty the king of the two Sicilies: who, after having conferred with each other, have agreed to the following articles:

I. There ſhall be between the two ſovereigns a cloſe and indiſſoluble alliance, which ſhall have for its object the common defence of their people and their ſtates, againſt all hoſtile aggreſſion.

II. In conſequence of this alliance, and to prevent being ſurpriſed by unforeſeen events, the two high allies ſhall keep on foot, each on his part, until a continental peace, and the complete re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity, a determinate number of troops, conſtantly provided with every thing neceſſary for entering upon a campaign, and always ready to march, at a moment's notice.

III. Conformable to the preceding article, the emperor promiſes to keep on foot, until a continental peace, and until the period when tranquillity ſhall be ſolidly re-eſtabliſhed in Italy, a corps of at leaſt 60,000 effective men, always diſpoſable, in his new poſſeſſions in Italy and the Tyrol. The king of the two Sicilies, on his part, ſhall maintain until the ſame period on the frontiers of his kingdom next to the Auſtrian poſſeſſions in Italy, a corps of at leaſt 30,000 effective men, always prepared to act, at the firſt order for that purpoſe.

IV. In conſideration of the great difference between the land-forces, which the two powers bind themſelves to employ, as neceſſity ſhall require, for the ſupport of the common cauſe, his Sicilian majeſty farther undertakes, until ſuch time as the affairs of Italy ſhall have aſſumed a ſtable and tranquil ſtate, to keep three or four frigates cruiſing in the Adriatic ſea, for the purpoſe of clearing it of Barbary cruiſers and other pirates, or to ſerve in any other operation intereſting to the common advantage, and particularly for convoying and facilitating the paſſage of proviſions and other articles, which his imperial majeſty, in caſe of a new rupture, may draw by ſea from his other ſtates, for the ſupply of his army in Italy.

V. The moment that the one or the other of the two high contracting parties ſhall be attacked in his preſent poſſeſſions, upon the firſt advice which it ſhall give to its ally of the commencement of hoſtilities, the latter ſhall, without the leaſt delay, cauſe its troops to advance, for the purpoſe of acting againſt the power which, by unjuſtly

juſtly attacking one of the two contracting parties, ſhould be conſidered as having become the enemy of the other.

VI. It is by active and vigorous diverſions, that the two allies ſhall principally apply themſelves to the reciprocal ſupport which is the object of this defenſive alliance. Should the events and the danger in which one of the two high contracting parties ſhould find itſelf involved, require it, the other party ſhall not confine itſelf to the number of troops ſtipulated in the third article, but ſhall augment them; and in this caſe the emperor ſhall increaſe his corps to 80,000, and the king of the Two Sicilies to 40,000 effective men.

VII. The generals of the two armies ſhall correſpond with each other, for the purpoſe of combining the reſpective operations in the manner moſt ſuited to the common good, and to the ſucceſs of the armies of both allies.

VIII. As the two corps of the contracting parties ought mutually to aid each other, principally by the means of diverſions, calculated to divide the forces of the enemy, each of the two high allies ſhall provide for the maintenance and ſupport of his own troops; and ſhould unforeſeen circumſtances oblige the reſpective troops to join, for certain operations, the two generals commanding ſhall amicably concert the mode of ſecuring, for theſe troops, the means of ſubſiſtence.

IX. The two allies finding themſelves at war with a power, in conſequence of a hoſtile aggreſſion, on its part, againſt one and the other of the two contracting parties, they ſhall not be at liberty to lay down their arms, except with common conſent; and neither of them ſhall enter into a negociation, for a particular or ſeparate peace, without having obtained the conſent of its ally, expreſs and in writing, and eſpecially without having ſtipulated in favour of its ally, for the entire reſtitution of every part of its territory which the enemy may have ſeized during the war.

X. The preſent defenſive convention ſhall be ratified by the two courts, within the term of ſix weeks, or ſooner, if it can be done. The exchange of the ratifications ſhall be made at Vienna in the uſual form. In faith of which, we, the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majeſty, and his Sicilian majeſty, have ſigned the preſent act, and thereunto put our ſeals with our arms.

Done at Vienna, 19th May, 1799.

(L. S.) Baron Thugut.
(L. S.) The duke of Campochiaro.

Concluſum adopted by the Diet at Ratiſbon, 7th of September, 1799, containing a Declaration of War againſt France.

THE three colleges of the empire, after having deliberated on the gracious decree of the imperial commiſſee, of the 13th June, have determined and decreed, That there ſhall be addreſſed to his imperial majeſty, in the name of the empire, lively and ſincere thanks for the paternal and conſtant ſolicitude, with which the committee has been occupied, for the welfare and preſervation of Germany, and for the new proofs of

energetic protection which it has afforded the empire. It has been reſolved, beſides, in conformity with the conſiderations ſtated in the decree of the committee, to make the following declaration:

The empire, in the full conviction that it is placed anew in a ſtate of war, in conſequence of the hoſtilities exerciſed by France againſt Germany, during and ſince the negociations of Raſtadt, and which are every day puſhed farther; that conſequently all the reſolutions taken by the diet, ſince the war has broken out anew, reſume at this day all their force; and theſe deciſions impoſe on each ſtate of the empire the ſtrict obligation of contributing with the greateſt zeal to the defence of the country ſurrounded with dangers, of making the moſt vigorous efforts, of laying aſide all private conſiderations, and ſparing no ſacrifice; that in execution of meaſures preſcribed by theſe deciſions of the diet, every member of the empire ſhall haſten with patriotic zeal to raiſe to a quintuple the contingent which it ought to furniſh, to the end that, by an energetic cooperation, all the enterpriſes and efforts of the enemy may be arreſted, and that the exertions of the empire, combined with thoſe of its ſupreme chief, may lead to a peace, juſt, honourable, and laſting, which they have not yet been able to obtain, notwithſtanding the ardour with which it has been ſought on the part of the empire. For the attainment of this great end, the empire grants 100 Roman months for the expenſes of the war, to be paid at three equal terms of ſix weeks each, from the date of the day when his imperial majeſty's ratification ſhall be publiſhed.

Note from the French Miniſters at Raſtadt to the Deputation of the Empire.

THE underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic do make this formal declaration to the deputation of the empire, that if the diet of Ratiſbon ſhould conſent to the entry of the Ruſſian troops on the territory of the empire, or if even it does not effectually oppoſe it, the march of the Ruſſian army through the German territory will be regarded as a violation of neutrality on the part of the empire; that the negociation at Raſtadt will be broken off; and that the republic and the empire will then be in the ſame relative ſituation in which theſe two powers were, previouſly to the ſigning of the preliminaries at Leoben, and the concluſion of the armiſtice.

To this declaration, dictated by the importance of the circumſtances, the underſigned add with pleaſure the expreſs aſſurance of their government, for the tranquillity and ſatisfaction of the empire, both of the ſincere deſire it has that an incident ſo unforeſeen as that which is the object of this note, and which might become ſo deſtructive of the tranquillity of the interior of Germany, may not take place to deſtroy the hopes, almoſt realized, of a perfect reconciliation, and of a perpetual peace between the two nations.

No one can be deceived as to the motives and the aim of the cabinet of Peterſburgh: the deputation of the empire particularly is too well acquainted with the affairs of Europe, not to perceive clearly that Ruſſia, after having promoted the war ſix years, without taking

a part

a part in it, now takes ſuch open meaſures of aggreſſion againſt France, for the purpoſe of interrupting the pacification of the continent, and with a view, not leſs evident, of covering the grand uſurpation ſhe has ſo long meditated.

The underſigned, therefore, do not doubt that the deputation will ſee, in this proceeding, on the part of the French government, a farther proof of its pacific ſentiments, and an opportunity for the empire, in avoiding a perſonal danger, to acquire additional claims to the friendſhip of the republic.

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Raſtadt, 13 Nivoſe (2d Jan. 1799), of the French republic.

Subſtance of the Emperor's Anſwer, relative to the March of the Ruſſian Troops.

1. HIS imperial majeſty is ſurpriſed that the French miniſters ſhould have addreſſed themſelves to the deputation for the pacification of the empire upon a ſubject with which it has no concern.

2. His imperial majeſty teſtifies his ſatisfaction that the deputation has unanimouſly referred this affair, upon which it was not competent to decide, to thoſe whom it concerns, and who ought to be acquainted with it.

3. His imperial majeſty will, however, wait for the report which ſhall be made to him on this ſubject by the diet of Ratiſbon.

Note of the French Miniſters to the Deputation of the Empire.

THE underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, for the negociations for peace with the German empire, declare to the deputation that they have orders not to receive nor to tranſmit any note, upon any of the points of the negociation, until a categorical and ſatisfactory reply has been given to the note ſent on the 13th Nivoſe laſt (2d January).

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Raſtadt, 31ſt January.

Note of the French Miniſters to the Miniſter of the King of Hungary and Bohemia.

THE underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic expreſs to the count de Lehrbach, miniſter plenipotentiary of his majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, miniſter of Auſtria, their aſtoniſhment at not having received a reply reſpecting the march of the Ruſſians; a circumſtance which announces loudly that it is againſt the French republic they are directed.

The French government can no longer bear an uncertainty, which compromiſes the dignity and intereſts of the republic. The underſigned have been ordered to demand from his majeſty the emperor, through the medium of the count de Lehrbach, his miniſter plenipotentiary, a poſitive aſſurance that the Ruſſian troops are evacuating the territory of his majeſty the emperor and king, and that orders

have been given in conſequence. They deſire, that in the ſpace of fifteen days, reckoning from this day, the 12th Pluvioſe (31ſt of January), this aſſurance be given them; declaring that the farther progreſs of the Ruſſians will be conſidered by the French government as aggreſſive; and that ſilence, or the want of the aſſurance demanded by the preſent note, being a manifeſt proof that the emperor has acceded to the enterpriſes of Ruſſia, will be of neceſſity conſidered by the French government as an act of hoſtility.

The executive directory would receive, with the greateſt pleaſure, both from the empire and the emperor, ſuch a proof of the evacuation of the Auſtrian territory by the Ruſſians, which could alone announce a frank and firm diſpoſition both to obſerve treaties concluded, and to haſten in common the concluſion of that which is negociating at Raſtadt.

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Raſtadt, 12th Pluvioſe
(January 31.)

Note of the French Miniſters, declaring their Determination to leave Raſtadt.

THE underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, for negociating a peace with the German empire, having been officially informed, by the baron d'Albini, the directorial miniſter, of the reſult of the ſitting held the day before yeſterday by the deputation of the empire, of which a certified copy has been tranſmitted to them, cannot but ſee with great regret, that arbitrary acts, equally contrary to the right of nations, and the expreſs declaration of the letter of his majeſty the emperor, of the date of the 13th of Brumaire, 6th year, together with the mournful proſpect of the continuance of theſe vexatious proceedings, have compelled the deputation to ſuſpend for the preſent the negociations for peace.

The underſigned could the leſs expect ſuch a conduct, as a totally different example had been given by the general of the French army, who, paſſing the Rhine on the 11th of Ventoſe, to reſume his former poſition, in conformity to the orders of the French government, paid the moſt inviolable reſpect to the place where the congreſs was held, the freedom of its deliberation, the ſafety and inviolability of its members, and deprived calumny of every pretext.

The underſigned have ſeen with the greateſt aſtoniſhment the deputation reduced to leſs than two-thirds of its members, by ſeveral of the ſtates having recalled their envoys, ſo that it was impoſſible it ſhould come to any reſolutions agreeable to the terms of its inſtructions. They had ſuppoſed, that though the ſtates of the empire had the undoubted right of changing their ſub-delegates at the congreſs, it only appertained to the diet, conſidered as a body, to withdraw the powers of the ſtates themſelves.

In this ſituation of things and perſons, the underſigned, to whom the executive directory, ever diſpoſed to peace, has recommended not to leave the place of congreſs till the laſt extremity, eager to ſeize the hope offered them by the deputation of reſuming the courſe of the negociations, ſince they are only momentarily

mentarily ſuſpended; perſuaded that the exceſſes which have impeded them, will ſerve to convince the ſtates of the empire of the lively intereſt they have taken to remove the ſcourge of war, and in general, all the obſtacles which violence or ill faith may oppoſe to the peace; conſidering beſides,

1. That the deputation has formally declared in its concluſum, and made it the principal motive of its reſolution to quit Raſtadt, that there was no longer either tranquillity or ſafety for the congreſs, whence it reſults that it was in an actual ſtate of oppreſſion:

2. That the exiſtence of a congreſs between two free ſtates ought to depend upon the will of the contracting parties, and can never be ſubordinate to the intervention of any foreign force:

They therefore remit to the deputation of the empire the following proteſtation and declaration:

The underſigned proteſt, 1ſt, Againſt the violation of the rights of nations committed, with reſpect to them, by the Auſtrian troops, and of which the object is poſitively announced in their note of the 30th Germinal.

2dly, Againſt the anſwer which the commander of the Auſtrian troops ſtationed at Gernſbach has returned to the directorial letter of the 1ſt of Floreal; an anſwer which the deputation, by making it the ground of its deliberation the day before yeſterday, has conſidered as the expreſſion of the general orders of the Auſtrian army, and which is conceived in theſe terms:

"To his excellency the baron d'Albini, intimate counſellor of his imperial majeſty, and electoral miniſter of Mentz, Raſtadt.

"I regret much to be under the neceſſity, in conformity to my duty, of ſtating, in anſwer to your letter remitted to me by counſellor baron Munich, that, in the preſent circumſtances of the war, in which the ſafety as well of the military as of the country requires that patroles ſhould be placed at Raſtadt and in the environs, it is impoſſible to make any ſatisfactory declaration relative to the maintenance of the diplomatic body now there: ſince the recall of his excellency the imperial plenipotentiary, we can no longer, on our part, conſider Raſtadt as a place which the preſence of a congreſs protects againſt hoſtile events; and that city, after this, muſt feel the neceſſity of conforming to the laws of war like any other place.

"I entreat your excellency, however, to be aſſured, that except in the caſe of neceſſity impoſed by the events of war, our military will conſider perſonal inviolability as ſacred; and that, on my part, I will continually, to my utmoſt, teſtify to you the profound reſpect with which I am your excellency's moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) Barbacſy, colonel."

They call, in the name of the French republic, inſulted in its rights, the ſerious attention of the diet to an act, equally contrary to its own independence, and ſubverſive of all the principles hitherto practiſed among civilized nations. They expect a juſt and full redreſs.

In fine, in conſequence of what has been ſtated, the under-ſigned inform the deputation of the empire that in three days they will quit Raſtadt; but, wiſhing to give to Germany a laſt and ſignal proof of the forbearance of the French government, and its wiſh for peace, they

they declare that they will repair to Straſburgh, where they will wait the recommencement of the negociations, and attend to ſuch propoſitions of peace as ſhall be made.

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Raſtadt, 6th of Floreal (April 25), 7th year of the French republic.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic, to all People and all Governments.

THE news of an exceſſive outrage has already reſounded in Europe; and the circumſtances of a crime the moſt unheard-of, with which the pages of the hiſtory of civilized nations have been ſtained, are now collecting with horror from all parts. It was at the gates of Raſtadt, on the territory of an independent and neutral prince, and in the ſight of all the members of the congreſs, violently detained in that town, and forced to be no leſs impotent than indignant ſpectators of a crime which affected them in the deepeſt manner, and threatened them all, that in contempt of a ſacred character, in contempt of aſſurances given, in contempt of every thing which conſtitutes humanity, juſtice, and honour, the plenipotentiaries of the republic, victims ever to be regretted of the miſſion of peace with which they were intruſted, and of the unlimited devotion with which they fulfilled the inſtructions of government, and maintained the national dignity, were maſſacred in cold blood by a detachment of Auſtrian troops. But how much more deteſtable do all the circumſtances of this aſſaſſination render it!

Already, in the firſt days of the month Floreal, the communication of the French legation with the republic had been intercepted; one of its couriers had been carried off, and the ſpirited remonſtrances of the congreſs had only produced an inſolent declaration, which made its ſeparation neceſſary.

On the 9th Floreal (23th of April), at ſeven o'clock in the evening, the colonel of the regiment of Szeklers cauſed a declaration to be made by a captain to baron Albini, the directorial miniſter, that the French legation might leave Raſtadt in ſecurity. The ſame captain proceeded afterwards to the French miniſters, and ſignified to them an order to depart from Raſtadt in twenty-four hours. At eight o'clock they got into their carriages, and were ſtopped at the gates of the town. So ſudden a departure no doubt had not been expected, and the aſſaſſination was not completely organized. Another hour was ſtill wanting. At nine o'clock the prohibition againſt paſſing the gates was taken off with reſpect to the French legation only. The French miniſters demanded an eſcort, but the Auſtrian commander refuſed to grant it, and anſwered in the following terms:—"You will be as ſecure on your journey, as in your apartments." But the legation had ſcarcely advanced fifty paces, when it was ſurrounded by a numerous detachment of the ſame corps, whoſe commander had juſt before promiſed every kind of ſecurity. The carriages are ſtopped; citizen Jean Debry, who was in the firſt, is forced to alight, and he is aſked, "Are you not Jean Debry?"—"Yes,"

"Yes," he anſwers, "I am Jean Debry, miniſter of France." He inſtantly falls to the ground pierced with wounds. The citizens Bonnier and Roberjot are ſtopped in the ſame manner, and interrogated.—They tell their names, and are killed. Roberjot is maſſacred in the arms of his wife. The crime being perpetrated, the papers of the legation are carried off, and conveyed to the Auſtrian commander. In conſidering theſe faithful details, who is there that cannot perceive the premeditation of this aſſaſſination, and its firſt author?

Such a ſacrilege will doubtleſs only tend to the accumulation of infamy and execration, and ſhould any other puniſhment be wanting, hiſtory reſerves one for thoſe who have been guilty of the crime. It would be in vain for the court of Vienna to attempt to ſhake off the dreadful reſponſibility that attaches to this accuſation. All its previous conduct now comes forward in evidence againſt it. It will be recollected, that it commenced hoſtilities by an outrage of a ſimilar nature, in cauſing two French ambaſſadors to be arreſted on the territory of the confederacy, who were afterwards thrown into the dungeons of Mantua. It will be remembered that the priſons of Olmutz alſo received, and confined for three years, repreſentatives of the people, and a miniſter who was delivered up by treachery. It will be remembered, that Auſtria was not acquainted with the aſſaſſinations committed at Rome on the French, and that it received and protected the authors of them. It will, finally, be recollected, that the firſt ambaſſador of the republic at Vienna experienced only outrages and affronts there. Theſe ſtatements are ſufficient to impreſs conviction that the aſſaſſination, recently perpetrated at Raſtadt, is but the conſequence and the horrid completion of the ſeries of atrocities with which Auſtria has aſtoniſhed Europe, ſince Charles the Fifth firſt furniſhed the example of ſtepping beyond all ſocial laws, by cauſing the ambaſſadors, whom Francis the Firſt ſent to Venice and to Conſtantinople, to be maſſacred.

The proofs exiſting in hiſtory, of the indignation which was manifeſted at that period by all the European powers, convince us that a crime ſtill more execrable will alſo excite more horror and deteſtation.

And when the conſtant moderation and boundleſs generoſity of the French republic ſhall be compared to the crimes of Auſtria; when it ſhall be conſidered, that even in the midſt of the moſt violent ſtorms of the revolution, the law of nations has not received the ſlighteſt injury in France; that the envoy of the Britannic government entered twice into the territory of France, and departed from it free and reſpected, although juſtly ſuſpected to have come rather to excite troubles, than to negociate peace; that the miniſter of Naples obtained permiſſion to return to his maſter, and to continue his journey in a ſecure and uninterrupted manner, at the very moment when the French general had repulſed the Neapolitan troops, and when he was informed, that the ambaſſador of the republic had been refuſed paſſports to retire by land, and had been compelled to embark at Naples, with a certainty that ſuch a meaſure was but to deliver him into the hands of the African ſtates; that the cruel treatment to which the French have fallen

victims

victims in the dominions of the grand ſeignior, however great and juſt the national reſentment on that account may have been, has not given riſe to any repriſals; when the congreſs at Raſtadt, peaceable and reſpected as long as the French armies were near it, ſhall be compared with the congreſs thrown into confuſion, and diſſolved on the approach of the Auſtrians; when the voluntary departure of M. M. de Lehrbach and de Metternich, protected by French paſſports, ſhall be compared with the premeditated maſſacre of the miniſters of the republic: theſe different contraſts, already ſo odious, will become ſtill more diſhonourable for Auſtria, by the compariſon which muſt be made between its ſatellites, whoſe cowardly ferocity is a ſubject of aſtoniſhment even to the people of the north, who have been called upon to co-operate with them, and the agents of the government of England, who, though it is the moſt eſſential enemy of the French government, and the moſt determined to injure it, have recently given proofs, at Conſtantinople, that they underſtand the law of nations, and ſet a value on preventing the violation of it. Is it poſſible then, that any people, that any government who may not have abjured every principle of civilization and of honour, can heſitate for a moment to declare itſelf in favour of good faith againſt perfidy; in favour of continued moderation againſt unmaſked ambition; in favour of abuſed confidence againſt atrocious and premeditated crimes?

It is therefore with the juſt hope of being attended to with effect, and of obtaining, for the illuſtrious victims who have been immolated at Raſtadt, a deep regret; for the French republic an honourable approbation, and an union of execration againſt Auſtria; that the executive directory now addreſſes this ſolemn appeal to the conſcience and honour of every people and of every government, accepting, thus early, as a pledge of the generous determination which will be formed by them, the particular indignation which has been expreſſed with ſo much energy at Raſtadt by all the members of the congreſs, and at Paris by the ambaſſadors and miniſters of friendly or neutral powers.

The executive directory decrees, that the preceding manifeſto ſhall be tranſmitted to all governments, by the miniſter of the foreign department; that it ſhall be printed in the bulletin of the laws, and ſolemnly read, publiſhed, and affixed in all the communes of the republic, and be inſerted in the orders of all the armies.

(Signed) Barras, preſident.
La Garde, ſec.-gen.

May 7.

Imperial Aulic Decree to the German Diet, reſpecting the late Cataſtrophe near Raſtadt.

HIS imperial majeſty received, on the 3d ult. the melancholy intelligence, in a report ſigned by the margrave of Baden himſelf, that the French miniſters plenipotentiary, ſent to the congreſs of peace with the empire, were ſtopped late in evening of the 28th of April, on their departure in the night from Raſtadt (againſt which they had been adviſed by ſeveral different perſons), at a ſmall diſtance from the ſaid city, by a troop of people dreſſed

dreſſed in the imperial military uniform; and that the miniſters Bonnier and Roberjot, were murdered, by many cuts of ſabres, but that the miniſter Jean Debry, who eſcaped from death only by a happy accident, had been much wounded, and all of whom were robbed of a great part of their effects.

His majeſty is ſcarcely able to expreſs, by word, the great ſhock his ſentiments of juſtice and morality have received, and the whole force of impreſſion of abhorrence, which has been excited in him, on the firſt account of this act of barbarity committed on the territory of the German empire, upon perſons whoſe inviolability was under the ſpecial guarantee of the right of nations; nor can his majeſty expreſs the indelible impreſſion which this diſaſterous cataſtrophe has left in his revolted mind, which always entertains the moſt inviolable reſpect for the dignity of man, for morality, and the ſacred principles of the law of nations.

It is not by illiberal ſuſpicions and raſh conjectures, not by calumnious imputations and partial reports of audacious fictions, nor by the paſſionate ſallies of a depraved heart, and the licentious fabrications of foreign and domeſtic editors of public journals—it is not by inimical repreſentations, calculated for an increaſe of power, for exactions of money, or for other ſecret deſigns, nor by the furious ſpeeches in conventions, and vindictive proclamations to the French nation and all other ſtates—but only by a conſcientious, fair, and impartial inquiry, inſtituted according to the preſcription of the laws, and conducted with every juridical rigour, that the horrid act may be traced in all its circumſtances, its authors and accomplices be truly diſcovered, and the imputation of the offence be properly fixed, both in a ſubjective and objective view.

To this end the moſt eligible directions and orders have accordingly been given; and his imperial majeſty doth at the ſame time moſt ſolemnly declare before the general diet of the empire, of the whole public of Germany and all Europe together, that nothing ſhort of the moſt perfect ſatisfaction, regardleſs of all other conſiderations, ſhall gratify the juſt feelings of the chief of the empire, reſpecting him whom the impartial ſentence of avenging juſtice may pronounce guilty.

But it is alſo the will of his majeſty the emperor, that the manner in which this melancholy event happened, an event which his majeſty conſiders in various reſpects as a national concern of Germany, be not only examined with the moſt conſcientious impartiality, and that the moſt perfect ſatisfaction be given; but his imperial majeſty farther cheriſhes the moſt lively wiſh, and feels himſelf partly and moſt urgently induced to it by the domeſtic and foreign opinions encroaching upon the legal inquiry whoſe deciſion is thereby prejudged; that even the poſſibility of a ſuſpicion of any connivance be removed, ſo that in this reſpect no ſort of blame, owing to a want of the moſt deliberate attention, ſhall be attributed either to the chief of the empire himſelf, or to the empire collectively taken.

In order to accompliſh this deſign moſt effectually, the general diet is hereby charged, upon mature deliberation, to appoint deputies of their own, who are to be preſent at the inquiry which has been opened,

and

and to adviſe every thing with a patriotic and noble frankneſs as to the ſteps, which are to be taken as ſoon as poſſible, with regard to whatever the the importance of ſo unheard-of and deteſtable an event may, in its wiſdom and prudence, ſeem to require: and thus farther to convince the whole impartial world, by giving its conjoint advice, that both the emperor and the empire are animated with the ſame uniform ſentiments for the execution of the moſt rigorous juſtice, and the granting of the moſt perfect ſatisfaction, and by an equal and juſt abhorrence of ſo ruthleſs and infamous an act, as well as by an equal and dutiful reſpect to morality and the ſacred principles of the law of nations.

His Roman and imperial majeſty expects, therefore, the advice of the empire with all poſſible ſpeed; and with all the fervency of his wiſhes, as chief of the empire, his majeſty remains in other reſpects, &c.

(Signed) Francis, mod.

Done at Vienna, June 6, 1799.

Conditions of the Treaty of Union between the Country of the Griſons and the Helvetic Republic.

Art. I. THE people of Rhetia acknowledge and accept, without reſerve, the Helvetic conſtitution.

II. They ſubmit themſelves to all the laws of the Helvetic republic, as well thoſe now in being as thoſe which ſhall be hereafter enacted.

III. All the debts of the ci-devant Griſon ſtate, contracted legally and according to the ancient conſtitution of the country, are acknowledged debts of the Helvetic republic.

IV. On the contrary, they declare as national goods all the goods belonging to the ci-devant ſtate of the Griſons, and generally all the funds, which, according to the law of the 3d of April, 1799, on the difference between goods of the ſtate and goods of the communes, are in the claſs of national goods.

V. Rhetia ſhall conſtitute a canton of the Helvetic republic, under the denomination of the canton of Rhetia.

VI. From the day that the preſent treaty of union ſhall have received the ſanction of the executive directory and legiſlative councils of the Helvetic republic, the people of Rhetia ſhall enter into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges which the Helvetic conſtitution ſecures to every Helvetic citizen; and they, on their part, bind themſelves, from the ſame day, to the ſame impoſts, and generally to the faithful obſervance of the ſame duties of citizen, without the leaſt exception, in like manner as all Helvetic citizens.

So concluded under the reſerve of the ſanction of the executive directory and legiſlative councils of the Helvetic republic, one and indiviſible.

At Coire, 21ſt April, 1799.

In the name of the executive directory of the Helvetic republic. Commiſſioners of government,

Sghwaller.
Herzog.

Preſident of the proviſional government, Spzegher.

Secretary-general, Otto.

Note

Note tranſmitted by the Sublime Porte to the Ambaſſador from the Republic of Holland.

THE preſent government of France, entirely diſregarding every law of nations, having adopted as a principle to attack all powers without diſtinction, whether friends or enemies, and every where to diſſeminate diſturbance and confuſion, in conſequence of this principle ſecretly prepared the means to ſubjugate Egypt, the moſt valuable province of this ſublime empire, and which is the gate of the two ſacred and revered cities, Mecca and Medina. In vain was it officially declared, that if ſuch a project were engaged in, it muſt inevitably produce a ſanguinary war between every Muſſulman nation and France; the republic ſtill perſiſted in its baſe deſign, ſuddenly attacked, and Egypt was plunged into confuſion and anarchy. The ſublime Porte has, in conſequence, found itſelf under the abſolute neceſſity of repelling force by force, as it had previouſly and ſolemnly declared to the directory all theſe facts; and the meaſures taken by the ſublime Porte to reſiſt theſe unjuſt and ſhameful proceedings are of public notoriety. The republic of Holland is the ancient friend of the ſublime Porte; no cloud until the preſent day had ever overcaſt this friendſhip on either ſide; and it is certain, that the Dutch, who maintain a very lucrative commerce with the Ottoman empire, have always endeavoured, during the time of their independence, to render themſelves agreeable to the ſublime Porte. But, ſince the entrance of the French into Holland, two parties have ariſen, who have ſubmitted to the French—the one voluntarily, and the other by force. The former of theſe, under the phantom of a perfidious alliance, have ſeized on the maritime force, and all the revenues of the country, which they employ to ruin, and plunge it into the moſt diſaſtrous condition. Holland is, therefore, now deprived of its independence, and reduced beneath the yoke of the five French directors, like the provinces of France; its inhabitants are, in fact, become their ſubjects.

The ſublime Porte is, without doubt, animated with the deſire of maintaining its ancient friendſhip with this republic: but it is evident, that the reaſon above alleged renders it improper that the ambaſſador of Holland ſhould continue to reſide near it. He is, therefore, hereby enjoined to quit this reſidence within a week, and informed, that the ancient amity and moſt perfect good underſtanding will be re-eſtabliſhed between the ſublime Porte and the republic of Holland, as ſoon as the latter ſhall be ſeparated from the French, a ſeparation which will promote its true intereſts, and reſtore it to its former dignity.

January 16, 1799.

The Miniſtry of the Sublime Porte to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French Army in Egypt.

THE French directory, forgetful of the rights of nations, has deceived you, ſurpriſed your good faith, and in contempt of the laws of war, ſent you to Egypt, a country ſubject to the dominion of the ſublime Porte, by perſuading you that the ſublime Porte itſelf had conſented

ſented to the invaſion of its own territory.

Can you entertain any doubts but that the only object of the directory in ſending you to a remote country was to baniſh you from France, and to plunge you into an abyſs of dangers? If, completely ignorant of the truth, you have invaded the territory of Egypt, and are made the inſtruments to violate treaties of the moſt ſolemn kind, muſt you not attribute this to the perfidy of your directors? Egypt muſt however be freed from ſo iniquitous an invaſion, and vaſt armies are now in march, and the ſea is covered with formidable ſquadrons, for the attainment of that object.

Thoſe among you, of whatever rank they may be, who wiſh to extricate themſelves from the imminent peril to which they are expoſed, are called upon to ſignify their intentions, without delay, to the commanders of the land and ſea forces of the allied powers. They may be confident of a ſafe conduct to whatever place they may be deſirous to proceed, and they ſhall receive paſſports to protect them on their voyage from the ſquadrons and cruiſers of the allied powers. Let them then haſten to take advantage of the benignant diſpoſition of the ſublime Porte, and let them conſider it as a propitious occaſion for extricating themſelves from the horrible gulf into which they have been precipitated!

Done at Conſtantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, in the year of the Hegira, 1213, the 5th (16th) Feb. 1799.

From the royal printing-office, at Haſkeng, in the environs of Conſtantinople.

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Note ſent to the Spaniſh Chargé d'Affaires, Don Joſeph de Boligni, on the 1ſt of October, 1799, ordering him to leave Conſtantinople.

THOUGH it is the maxim of every ſtate not to ſuffer its enemies to remain within its territories, yet I (the grand ſeignior) confided in the treaties of amity which your ſovereign had promiſed not to interrupt by any public action, I have, therefore, not only ſuffered you to remain within my dominions, but even to reſide in the heart of my metropolis, in the capacity of a public repreſentative: but you could not keep within bounds; you have not merely obeyed the commands of your king, but you have gone beyond them, by manifeſting too much in favour of the enemies of my ſtates and of good order. Though I was acquainted with your behaviour and your ſentiments, yet I thought my moderation would ſerve you as an example; but, on the contrary, you have only been a ſpy of the French, and found fault with every thing that was done on our part againſt the general diſturbers of public tranquillity. This was not all; you have not only given inſtructions to your agents to act as ſpies, but alſo to ſupply the enemy of the whole world with proviſions from our dominions. I cannot, therefore, ſuffer you to remain any longer in my capital and in my dominions, for which reaſon I have ordered my Sublime Porte to acquaint you, by this preſent decree, to quit my capital within a fortnight, and to communicate it to your ſovereign, that he may become acquainted with your behaviour.

Proteſt

Proteſt of the King of Sardinia againſt the Conduct of the French in driving him from his Dominions, dated from the Road of Cagliari, 3d of March.

HIS majeſty declares that the honour of his perſon, the intereſt of his family and of his ſucceſſors, his connections with friendly powers, impoſe it on him as a duty to proteſt loudly, and in the face of Europe, againſt the proceeding by which he has been compelled to quit his territories on the continent, and to abandon for a time the exerciſe of his power. He declares, upon the faith and word of a king, that not only he never infringed, even in the ſlighteſt degree, the treaties made with the French republic, but, on the contrary, that he obſerved them with ſuch ſcrupulous exactneſs, with ſuch demonſtrations of amity and condeſcenſion, that he far exceeded the obligations contracted with the republic. It is notorious that all the care and ſolicitude of his majeſty were continually directed to ſecure reſpect to every French citizen, particularly the troops ſtationed in his territory and paſſing through it, to repreſs and puniſh thoſe who inſulted them, to obviate even the well-grounded reſentment of thoſe who, outraged by military licentiouſneſs, might have been led to violence. He proteſts likewiſe upon the faith and word of a king againſt any writing wherever publiſhed, inſinuating that his majeſty carried on any ſecret intelligence with the powers hoſtile to France. In proof of this he refers not only to the accounts tranſmitted to the French government, and to what has been advanced by its generals, but the impartial evidence which the miniſters and public repreſentatives who were at Turin have given to their reſpective courts. It is eaſy for any one to decide, from the facts before the public, that the adherence of his majeſty to whatever was impoſed upon him, by the ſuperior forces of the French republic, was only temporary, and could have no object but to ſave his ſubjects in Piedmont the evils which a juſt reſiſtance would have occaſioned, his majeſty being ſupriſed by an unexpected attack, which he could never have ſuſpected from a power, his ally, and at a moment when, in conſequence of an application from the agents of the republic, his forces were put upon the footing of the moſt profound peace. Impelled by all theſe motives, his majeſty reſolved, whenever it was in his power, to make known to all the powers of Europe the injuſtice of the proceedings of the French generals and agents, and the nullity of the reaſons urged in their manifeſtoes, and at the ſame time to reclaim his reinſtatement in the dominions of his anceſtors.

Acknowledgement of the new Pope by Louis XVIII.

Letter from Louis XVIII. by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c.—To our dear and well-beloved Couſins, the Cardinals, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deans, &c. of the Holy Roman Church, greeting.

Dear and well-beloved couſins,

WE knew and lamented already the death of Pius VI. before we received your letter from Venice.

nice, of the 8th of October laſt. None more than ourſelves could deplore the ill treatment which this aged and venerable pontiff has endured from the French rulers; and we have found ſome conſolation from the ſenſible but ſilent intereſt which the French people have manifeſted at his fate, by going in crowds to receive his benediction with the greateſt reſpect, and by having endeavoured to conſole him, in the captivity he endured, from his cruel oppreſſors. That conduct of our ſubjects gives us a freſh proof, that the many crimes committed in our kingdom are not the work of our people, but of a ſmall number of criminals. It is moreover a proof that the divine Providence has preſerved in the hearts of the French, the reſpect and love for their religion, in ſpite of all the efforts of impiety to deſtroy it; and this grace of Providence is a ſecurity to us and to our people for the approaching return of God's former bounty, who will doubtleſs direct your proceedings, in reſtoring a head to the church; for we hope the beſt choice from an aſſembly ſo diſtinguiſhed for piety, wiſdom, and pure doctrines. It is in this firm confidence that we acknowledge the holy father of your choice; and we hope from him, by whom all kings reign on earth, to be replaced on the throne of our anceſtors. We ſhall cauſe his legitimate rights to be reſpected throughout our dominions, and ſhall thereby juſtify our title of Moſt Chriſtian King, and the eldeſt ſon of the Chriſtian church.

Meanwhile, dear and beloved couſins, we ardently pray to God to take you under his divine protection.

Given at the palace of Mittau, under our hand and ſeal, the 24th of November, 1799, and the 5th of our reign.

Your good couſin,
Louis,
Count of St. Prieſt.

Edict of the Emperor of Ruſſia, reſpecting Hamburgh.

WHEREAS we have remarked, for ſome time paſt, in the government of Hamburgh, a diſpoſition for the principles of anarchy, and an attachment to the forms of the French government, which are deſtructive of all legitimate power: we order, that an embargo ſhall be laid upon all Hamburgh veſſels in our ports, and which belong to Hamburgh ſubjects; and we alſo order, that a return ſhall be made to us of the number of the ſaid veſſels which are in each of our ports.

Paul.

Given at St. Peterſburgh,
March 21, 1799.

Proclamation of General Suwarroff to the Inhabitants of Lucerne and St. Martin, in the Weſt of Piedmont.

PEOPLE, what part have you taken? Seduced peaſants, you ſupport the French, the diſturbers and enemies of the public tranquillity, while tranquillity can alone ſecure your exiſtence and happineſs. The French have declared themſelves the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt; and the ancient attachment of your fathers to the precepts of Chriſtianity has procured you the protection

of England. The French are now the enemies of that power, your benefactreſs, our ally at this very moment. Supported by our forces, and animated by our victories, as well as by the aſſiſtance which the God of the Chriſtians deigns to grant his warriors, we are arrived at the foot of your mountains, and on the point of entering them, if you continue to perſiſt in your blindneſs. Inhabitants of the vallies of Lucerne and St. Martin, the time of repentance is not yet paſt: haſten to join our banners; for they are bleſt by heaven, and victorious on earth. The fruits of the plain are at your diſpoſal, if you become our friends; and the mighty protection of England ſhall be continued to you; the more ſo, as your conſcience will never permit you to expoſe yourſelves to the galling reproach of having been the ſatellites of your tyrants and ſeducers; in uniting with us you will become the defenders of true liberty and tranquillity.

(Signed) Suwarroff Rimniſkoy.

Manifeſto addreſſed to the Roman Nation, on the Approach of the combined Armies.

WORTHY deſcendents of Romulus, the dawn of peace at length opens upon your horizon. The happy days of Numa Pompilius, of Auguſtus, and of Trajan, are about to return. Impiety and fanaticiſm give place to true religion and honour. The maſk of wantonneſs and libertiniſm is about to fall. The tree of diſcord is rooted out of your ſoil; the tri-coloured ſtandard will no longer diſhonour the capitol. Remember that you are Romans, and your breaſts will glow with indignation againſt a race which has conſtantly been your enemy, which perſecuted Rome, both in its infancy and in its ſtate of maturity, and which at all times was averſe to its proſperity; which at this juncture has robbed it of its treaſures, its monuments, its many rarities, and violated its religion; which has overthrown its good order, and deprived it of that dignity and conſequence which all nations of the univerſe were wont to aſcribe to it. Romans! where are the ſtatues collected with ſo much labour and fatigue, from the moſt diſtant regions? Where are your famous pictures, and thoſe celebrated manuſcripts which you have preſerved with ſo much care from the ravages of time? Where are your veſſels of gold and ſilver, your precious jewels, and rich ornaments? All are become the prey of that French nation, which had promiſed and undertaken to guarantee your property. Where are the decorations and magnificent attributes of your churches? Where is the ſupreme pontiff, the ſacred pledge, whoſe honourable cuſtody was committed to your charge for the general intereſt of the Catholic church? All have been barbarouſly torn from you by thoſe French commiſſioners and generals, who had ſolemnly contracted with you for the protection of your public worſhip.

Where is your liberty? that liberty which was deceitfully held out to you as the baſis of your revolution, and the deareſt wiſh of your hearts. The moſt oppreſſive tyranny, the moſt humiliating deſpotiſm, has fettered you, and ſtill afflicts you. Some vile French-

men, without honeſty, without birth, without education, have annihilated the Roman name, and with their impure and deceitful breath have profaned the laſting fame of your noble anceſtors, Curtius, Horatius, Fabius, Brutus, and Caſſius; they have plundered you of your inheritance, your authority, and your tranquillity. But, people of Rome! you ſhall be avenged; the imperial eagle has again directed its flight towards the Italian ſhores; it is guided by the valiant Suwarroff, the hero of Ruſſia, the hero of Italy, the hero, whoſe name reſounds from the Euxine to the Viſtula and the Volga, on the banks of the Po, the Adige, and the Trebbia, and who is immortalized by the victories he has gained. The united forces of the two empires, and the greateſt powers in Europe, are conducted by the greateſt commander, the terror of whoſe name alarms the enemy. Victory accompanies his ſtandard, and overthrows every bulwark; the humble Frenchman flies at his approach, and ſeeks to ſave himſelf in the Alps; but there is no retreat nor ſafety for him; purſued, beaten, diſcomfited, he abandons Italy, and is deteſted and abhorred by all its inhabitants, who ſound the alarm to deſtroy and annihilate him.

People of Rome! you likewiſe ought to follow this laudable example; you have your vengeance to claim, and ſhould participate in the common glory. In the name of general Suwarroff, I invite you to do it; he is perſuaded that you will not heſitate to unite yourſelves with the victorious armies of the two empires, and doubts not but, with that force and energy which has always diſtinguiſhed your illuſtrious nation, you will yourſelves expel from your city, and the Roman ſtate, the ſmall remainder of Frenchmen who ſtill keep you under ſubjection, and oppreſs you; and that you will liberate your families from ſuch unwelcome and dangerous gueſts.

Let no apprehenſions deter you from this reſolve. A total oblivion of what is paſt, and an abſolute pardon for all who may return to their duty, are promiſed you by the allied princes, and guaranteed by the general. He cannot ſuppoſe you blind enough to be attached to your enemies, and the enemies of heaven—the foes of all the human race; or that you would wiſh to retard the general peace of Italy, by abuſing the bounty of ſo many ſovereigns. He loves you, and dreads the thought of being obliged, if you continue refractory, to conſider you as the enemies of religion and the allied powers; in which caſe, he would be under the painful neceſſity of fighting and exterminating you with the common enemy. May God avert ſuch a calamity from you, and inſpire you, for the public good, to act in ſuch a way as to merit his grace, the praiſes of Suwarroff, and the commendation of Europe.

George, count of Zouccato,
Lieutenant-colonel in his imperial Ruſſian majeſty's ſervice, volunteer in the army of Italy, knight of the orders of St. George, St. Valodemir, and the Pruſſian order of merit.

Note ſent to all the foreign Miniſters reſident at Peterſburgh, February.

HIS majeſty, the emperor, having deigned to comply with the

the wiſhes expreſſed by the bailiffs, grand croſſes, and commanders of the grand priory of Ruſſia, by accepting the title of Grand Maſter of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, which was ſolemnly agreed to by their act of the 13th of October, 1798, and the plurality of tongues having recogniſed his imperial majeſty in that eminent quality, his miniſter has received orders to notify it to M. ——, for the information of his court; and at the ſame time to make known, that St. Peterſburgh ſhall be the ſeat and chief reſidence of the ſovereign order of St. John of Jeruſalem.

Orders have been alſo iſſued to the miniſters of Ruſſia, not to receive any letters addreſſed to his imperial majeſty, in which the title of Grand Maſter of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jeruſalem ſhall be omitted.

Extract of an Order from St. Peterſburgh, to Major-general and Port-captain Burmaneligen, dated Auguſt, 1799.

WHEREAS, in the city of Copenhagen, and throughout the whole kingdom of Denmark, clubs and ſocieties have been formed, upon principles ſimilar to thoſe which have brought about the revolution in France, and overturned the lawful monarchical power of that country; and whereas theſe have been permitted by the Daniſh government: it is ordered by us, that all Daniſh ſhips of war, as well as merchantmen, and alſo all ſubjects of that kingdom, ſhall be ſtrictly forbidden to enter into any of the ports of our dominions.

Ukaſe of the Emperor Paul, communicated to the Senate of Hamburgh, November 14.

THE city of Hamburgh having ſatisfied our wiſhes, by delivering up to the Britiſh miniſter, reſident at that place, the Iriſh rebel Napper Tandy and his companions, and by ſending away thoſe Frenchmen of ſuſpicious character who were in that city, has conſequently merited the return of our good will. We therefore forget the paſt, and direct, that every communication with the town of Hamburgh be re-eſtabliſhed on the former footing.

(Signed) Paul.

Treaty of defenſive Alliance between the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, and her Moſt Faithful Majeſty, ſigned at Saint Peterſburgh, the 28th (17th) of September, 1799.

DON Juan, by the grace of God prince of Portugal, and Algarves, &c. &c. be it known to all thoſe who ſhall ſee the preſent act of confirmation, approbation, and ratification, that on the 28th (17th) of the month of September paſt, there has been concluded and ſigned, at St. Peterſburgh, a treaty of defenſive alliance between me and the moſt puiſſant ſeignior Paul the Firſt, emperor and autocrat of all the Ruſſias, my brother and moſt dear friend: the following perſons being furniſhed with full powers for that purpoſe; on my part, Joſeph de Horta, and on the part of his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, the chevalier de Kotſchubey, vice-chancellor, and the count de Roſtopſchin, privy counſellor, grand chamberlain and

grand croſs of the order of Saint John of Jeruſalem: the tenour is as follows:

"In the name of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity:—

"Her moſt faithful majeſty, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, wiſhing to draw cloſer the bonds of friendſhip and good underſtanding, which already ſubſiſt between them, have judged that nothing would contribute more efficaciouſly to this ſalutary end, than the concluſion of a treaty of defenſive alliance.

"In conſequence of which their ſaid majeſties have choſen and nominated as above; who, after the mutual communication of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

"I. There ſhall be a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip between her majeſty the queen of Portugal, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, their heirs and ſucceſſors; and, in conſequence of this intimate union, the high contracting powers ſhall have nothing more zealouſly at heart, than to advance, by all poſſible means, their mutual intereſts, to ward off from each other every thing that might cauſe to either any wrong, damage, or prejudice, and to maintain each other reciprocally in the quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates, rights, commerce, and prerogatives whatever, guaranteeing to themſelves, for this purpoſe, reciprocally, all their countries, eſtates, and poſſeſſions, ſuch as they at preſent poſſeſs them, as well as thoſe which they may acquire by treaties.

"II. If, notwithſtanding the efforts which they ſhould employ with one common accord to attain this end, it ſhould happen that one of them ſhould be attacked by ſea or by land, the other ſhall lend to it at once, and as ſoon as demand ſhall be made, the ſuccours ſtipulated by the ſubſequent articles of this treaty.

"III. Her moſt faithful majeſty, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, declare, once for all, that, in contracting the preſent alliance, they by no means wiſh to offend thereby, nor to do any wrong to any perſon whatever, but that their ſole and only intention is to provide, by theſe engagements, for their mutual advantage and ſecurity, as alſo for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe.

"IV. As the two high contracting parties profeſs the ſame deſire to render their mutual ſuccours as advantageous as poſſible, it is agreed, that her moſt faithful majeſty, ſhould ſhe be attacked or diſturbed by any other power, and in any manner whatſoever, in the poſſeſſion of her eſtates and provinces, ſo that ſhe may judge it neceſſary to call for the aſſiſtance of her ally, his imperial majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias ſhall ſend her, in the firſt inſtance, 6000 infantry; if, on the other hand, his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhould find himſelf attacked or diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of his eſtates and provinces by any other power and in any manner whatſoever, ſo that he may judge it neceſſary to require the aſſiſtance of his ally, her moſt faithful majeſty ſhall ſend him, in the firſt inſtance, a ſquadron of ſix ſhips of war; viz. five ſhips of from 64 to 74 guns, and a frigate of from 32 to 40 guns. This ſquadron ſhall be duly equipped and armed for war, having on board a number of officers, ſailors, ſoldiers, and gunners, fixed by the regulations

regulations of her moſt faithful majeſty; which ſuccours ſhall be reſpectively ſent to the places which ſhall be appointed by the party requiring them, and ſhall remain at the free diſpoſal of the ſaid party during the continuance of hoſtilities.

V. But ſhould the nature of the attack be ſuch that the party attacked ſhould not find it its intereſt to demand the effective ſuccours as ſtipulated in the preceding article, then the two high contracting parties have agreed to convert the ſaid ſuccours into a ſubſidy in money; that is to ſay, ſhould her moſt faithful majeſty come to be attacked, and prefer aſſiſtance in money, his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, upon demand previouſly made, ſhall pay her a ſum of 250,000 roubles a year, during the whole term of hoſtilities, to aſſiſt her to ſupport the expenſes of war; and ſhould his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias come to be attacked, and prefer ſuccours in money, her moſt faithful majeſty ſhall furniſh him with a like ſum every year, as long as hoſtilities ſhall continue.

VI. Should the party called upon, after having lent the ſuccours ſtipulated by the fourth article of this treaty, be itſelf attacked, ſo as to be reduced to the neceſſity of recalling its troops for its own ſecurity, it ſhall be at liberty to do ſo, after having given two months previous notice to the party requiring aid. In like manner, ſhould the party called upon be itſelf at war at the time of the requiſition, ſo as to be obliged to retain near it, for its own defence and ſafety, the forces which it ſhould ſend to its ally by virtue of this treaty; in ſuch caſe, the party called upon ſhall be diſpenſed from furniſhing ſuch ſuccours during the whole time ſuch neceſſity ſhall continue.

VII. The auxiliary troops of Ruſſia ſhall be provided with field-artillery, military ſtores, and every thing neceſſary, in proportion to their number. They ſhall be recruited and paid annually by the court called upon. With reſpect to the rations and other ordinary proportions in proviſions and forage, and alſo with reſpect to quarters, they ſhall be ſupplied by the court requiring aid, and all on the ſame footing on which it keeps and ſhall keep its own proper troops in the field and at quarters.

VIII. In caſe of the ſaid Ruſſian auxiliary troops ſhould repair to the ſuccour of her moſt faithful majeſty, the court of Liſbon ſhall undertake to procure tranſports to carry them, or means to furniſh the expenſes of their conveyance; the ſame is to be underſtood of all recruits which his imperial majeſty ſhall be obliged to ſend to theſe troops, as well as of the return of the ſame into Ruſſia, when they ſhall be either ſent back by her moſt faithful majeſty, or recalled by his imperial majeſty for his own defence, according to the ſixth article of this treaty.—It is farther ſtipulated, that in caſe of the recall or ſending back of the ſaid troops, the two high contracting parties ſhall communicate with their friend and ally, the king of Great Britain, for the purpoſe that the troops ſhould have alſo, on his part, a ſufficient convoy of ſhips of war for their protection.

IX. The officers commanding, whether the ſquadron which her moſt faithful majeſty ſhould ſend to Ruſſia, or the auxiliary troops of his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, ſhall retain the command which ſhall

have been confided to them; but the general command ſhall belong to him whom the party requiring aid ſhall have appointed for that purpoſe, under the reſtriction however, that nothing of importance ſhall be undertaken which ſhall not have been previouſly regulated and determined in a council of war, in preſence of the general and commanding officers of the party called upon for aid.

X. And to prevent all diſputes about rank, the party calling for aid ſhall make known in time the chief to whom it ſhall give the general command, whether of the fleet or the land troops, in order that the party called upon may be able to regulate, in conſequence, the rank of the officer it ſhall appoint to command the ſhips of war or the auxiliary troops.

XI. Farther, thoſe auxiliary forces ſhall be allowed their own chaplains and the entire free exerciſe of their religion, and ſhall not be tried in any thing reſpecting military ſervice, except by the laws and articles of war of their reſpective ſovereigns. The general and alſo all the reſt of the auxiliary forces ſhall be permitted to maintain a free correſpondence with their country, either by letters or expreſſes.

XII. The auxiliary forces, on the one part and the other, ſhall continue together as much as poſſible, and, to avoid their being ſubjected to more fatigue than the others, and in order that there may be in all the expeditions and operations a perfect equality, the general-in-chief ſhall be bound to obſerve, upon all occaſions, a juſt proportion according to the force of the fleet or army.

XIII. The ſquadron which her moſt faithful majeſty is to furniſh, in virtue of this alliance, ſhall be received into all the ports of his imperial majeſty, where it ſhall receive the moſt friendly treatment, and ſhall be provided with every thing of which it ſhall ſtand in need, on paying for it at the ſame price charged to the ſhips of his imperial majeſty; and the ſaid ſquadron ſhall be permitted to return, every year, to the ports of Portugal, as ſoon as the ſeaſon ſhall not ſuffer it to continue at ſea. But it is formally, and from the preſent moment, ſtipulated, that this ſquadron ſhall return every year to its deſtination, towards the beginning of the month of May, and not leave it again until the month of October, and this as often as the ſtipulation of the treaty ſhall require it. The auxiliary ſquadron of Portugal ſhall always be employed conjointly with the ſquadrons of his imperial majeſty, or with thoſe of their friend and ally, the king of Great Britain.

XIV. The party calling for aſſiſtance, or demanding the ſuccours ſtipulated by this treaty, ſhall point out, at the ſame time, to the party applied to, the places to which it ſhall wiſh them to repair in the firſt inſtance; and the party requiring aid, ſhall be at liberty to avail itſelf of the ſuccours during the whole time they ſhall remain with it, in ſuch manner and places as it ſhall judge moſt proper for its ſervice againſt the aggreſſor.

XV. The caſe of this treaty of alliance ſhall not be applicable to wars which may ariſe between his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and the powers and nations of Aſia, with reſpect to which, her moſt faithful majeſty ſhall be diſpenſed from lending the ſuccours ſtipulated by the preſent treaty, except the

caſe

caſe of an attack made by any European power whatever againſt the rights and poſſeſſions of his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias; as alſo, on the other ſide, his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhall not be bound to furniſh the ſuccours ſtipulated by this ſame treaty in any caſe whatever, except that of an attack made by ſome European power againſt the rights and poſſeſſions of her moſt faithful majeſty.

XVI. It has been alſo agreed, that in regard of the great diſtance of places, the 6000 infantry whom his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias ſhall furniſh, by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of her moſt faithful majeſty, ſhall not be ſent out of Europe.

XVII. If the ſuccours ſtipulated in the fourth article of this treaty ſhould not be ſufficient, then the contracting parties reſerve to themſelves an opening for agreeing upon ſuch farther ſuccours as they ought to afford.

XVIII. The party requeſting aid ſhall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without compriſing in it the party called upon, in order that the latter may not ſuffer any injury or hatred on account of the ſuccours which it ſhall have lent to its ally.

XIX. The preſent defenſive alliance ſhall not in any wiſe injure the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers, as far as the ſaid treaties ſhall not be contrary to this, or to the friendſhip and good underſtanding which they are reſolved to preſerve between them.

XX. If any other power ſhould be willing to accede to the preſent alliance, their ſaid majeſties have agreed to concert between themſelves, on the admiſſion of ſuch power.

XXI. The preſent treaty of defenſive alliance ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, at St. Peterſburgh, within the ſpace of five months, reckoning from the day of the date of ſignature, or ſooner, if it can be done.—In faith of which the aforeſaid miniſters plenipotentiary of both parties have ſigned the preſent treaty, and thereunto put their ſeals and coats of arms.

Done at St. Peterſburgh, the 28th (17th) Sept. 1799.

(L.S.) Francis-Joſeph de Horta Machado.
(L.S.) Le comte de Kotſchubey.
(L.S.) Le comte de Roſtopſchin.

And the aforeſaid treaty having been preſented to me, and having ſeen, weighed, and examined all the points and articles therein contained, I approve it, ratify it, and confirm it, in all and every of its clauſes and ſtipulations, promiſing, on my faith and royal word, to obſerve and keep it, without ever infringing or permitting that it ſhould be infringed in any manner. In teſtimony and aſſurance of which, I have cauſed the preſent act, ſigned with my hand, and the impreſſion of the ſeal of my arms, to be diſpatched and ſent back by my miniſter, counſellor, and ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs and of war, who has counterſigned it.

Done at the palace of Quelus, the 31ſt of December, from the birth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 1799.

The Prince.

Underneath,

Luiz Pinto de Souza.

Treaty

Treaty of Friendſhip and Amity between his Majeſty and the Crown of Sweden, on one Side, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias and the Ruſſian Empire, on the other; negociated and concluded at Gatſchina, the 18th (29th), of October, 1799, and ratified at the Palace of Stockholm, on the 30th of November, and at Gatſchina, on the 14th (25th), of December, in the ſame Year.

In the name of the moſt holy and indiviſible trinity.

THE treaty of Drotningholm being expired, and the treaty of peace of Werele having thus become the only public act ſubſiſting between the two countries, his majeſty the king of Sweden, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, animated by a ſimilar deſire to conſolidate their union, have reſolved to give a freſh ſanction to the treaty of peace above-mentioned, by the preſent treaty of alliance. They have, for that purpoſe, choſen and appointed their plenipotentiaries, viz. his majeſty the king of Sweden, the baron Curt de Steding, his ambaſſador extraordinary to the emperor of all the Ruſſias, lieutenant-general of his armies, chamberlain of the queen-dowager, colonel of a regiment of infantry, knight and commander of his orders, grand croſs of the order of the ſword, knight of the French order of military merit, and M. John Chriſtopher de Toll, lieutenant-general of his armies, adjutant-general, colonel of a regiment of cavalry, and commander and grand croſs of the order of the ſword; and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, the count Theodore Roſtopſchin, privy counſellor, firſt miniſter of the department for foreign affairs, director-general of the poſts of the empire, grand-chancellor and grand-croſs of the ſovereign order of Saint John, of Jeruſalem, knight of the orders of Saint Andrew, Saint Alexander Nefsky, and Saint Ann, of the firſt claſs, and the count Nikita Panin, privy-counſellor, vice-chancellor *ad interim*, chamberlain, and knight of the orders of Saint Alexander Nefsky, Saint Ann, of the firſt claſs, and of the Pruſſian red eagle—who, after exchanging their reſpective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. The principal object of his majeſty the king of Sweden, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, in forming this alliance, being mutually to ſecure to each other a quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſtates, they guarantee to each other, in the moſt ſolemn and binding manner it can be done, all their territories, ſtates, and provinces in Europe, as they are at preſent in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty the king of Sweden, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias.

II. Farther to extend the confidence which at preſent ſubſiſts between his majeſty the king of Sweden and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, they will carry on the moſt intimate correſpondence, to inform each other, ſpeedily and faithfully, of all damage, diſadvantage, danger, or external troubles, which might threaten the ſtates of either of the contracting powers, timely to employ the moſt vigorous meaſures for preventing the conſequences, or for repairing them.

III. If, contrary to all expectations, and notwithſtanding the amicable ſentiments of the two contracting

tracting powers, one of them ſhould be attacked in his dominions, ſtates, and provinces, in Europe, the other, as ſoon as it ſhall be required of him, will employ his good offices to terminate hoſtilities, and to procure proper ſatisfaction for his ally. Should theſe remonſtrances prove fruitleſs, he will furniſh to the party requiring it, at the time ſtated, and without the leaſt difficulty, the troops ſtipulated hereafter. Theſe troops ſhall aſſemble in ſuch harbour or frontier town of the party of whom they are required, as ſhall be moſt contiguous to the theatre of war; their farther tranſport ſhall be at the expenſe of the party requiring them. To obviate any miſunderſtanding, with reſpect to the period in which ſuch ſuccour is to be furniſhed, their majeſties are reciprocally of opinion, that the ſaid ſuccour ſhould be left at the diſpoſal of the requiring party, two, three, or at fartheſt four months after ſuch requiſition ſhall have been made. In this, the time will be faithfully and conſcientiouſly regulated, which, from the diſtance of places, ſhall be neceſſary, and according as the ſeaſon, ſhall be more or leſs favourable for the marching of troops, or the fitting out of ſhips of the line, or other auxiliary veſſels.

IV. The ſuccour ſtipulated in the preceding article, if that caſe of the treaty ſhould happen, ſhall conſiſt, on the part of his Swediſh majeſty, in 8000 men, infantry; 2000 cavalry, or dragoons, as it ſhall beſt ſuit the party of whom they are required, and in ſix ſail of the line, from 60 to 70 guns, and two frigates, of 30 guns each; on the part of his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, in 12,000 men, infantry, and 4,000 cavalry, or dragoons, as it ſhall beſt ſuit the party of whom they are required, and in nine ſail of the line, from 60 to 70 guns, and three frigates, of 30 guns each. The auxiliary troops ſhall be provided with ammunition, and with the neceſſary field-artillery; and the ſhips of the line, frigates, and other veſſels, fitted out, armed, clothed, and proviſioned, as is uſual in time of war, and in the ſame ſtate as the party of whom they are required would have put them for combating an attacking enemy. If that caſe of the treaty ſhould happen, and either the party requiring them, or of whom they are required, ſhould wiſh to have, or to furniſh infantry inſtead of cavalry, and if that ſhould be agreed upon, two men infantry ſhall be furniſhed for one man cavalry. If one or other of the high contracting parties mentioned ſhould not deem ſuch change ſuitable, it ſhall not take place, and the formation of the auxiliary corps ſhall remain as ſtipulated in the preſent article.

V. The auxiliary troops ſhall be paid by the party of whom they are required; but they are to be provided by the requiring party with the uſual rations, and the neceſſary forage and quarters, on the ſame footing as their own maſter furniſhes and provides them when in the field.

VI. The ſhips of the line, or armed veſſels, ſent by one of the high contracting parties to the aſſiſtance of the other, ſhall be fitted out, armed, and proviſioned, for four months, which term ſhall commence from the moment of the ſailing of the ſhips of the line, frigates, or auxiliary veſſels, from the harbours and roads of the reſpective dominions of the two contracting

tracting powers. Should the result of the operations, or other circumstances, render it necessary for the requiring party to employ them after that period, he shall be at liberty to do so; but in that case he will be obliged to maintain them at his own expense, and to supply the men with the same quantity of provisions as they receive from their own sovereign when in the field; the party of whom they are required will then merely be obliged to pay the officers and men of the ships of the line, frigates or other vessels. Should the high contracting parties deem it more suitable to their interest and to the result of the operations, instead of the ships of the line, frigates, or other vessels, to use the vessels of the fleet of the Shears, the same number of men shall be furnished in such vessels, as would otherwise have been furnished in ships of the line, or frigates.

VII. Though every officer will retain the command of the auxiliary troops under him, yet the chief command shall unquestionably be in the hands of the officer intrusted with it by the party requiring those troops in the field, and during the combined operations by land or sea. Not any important expedition shall, however, be undertaken, nor any plan of consequence carried into execution, unless the commander of the auxiliary troops has previously been consulted upon, and given his consent to it.

VIII. To obviate every error or misunderstanding respecting the rank of officers, who have the respective commands, the sovereign requiring the succour will give timely notice of the officer whom he intends to intrust with it, to enable the other party to fix the rank of the officer who is to command the auxiliary troops or vessels.

IX. The auxiliary troops shall have their own priests, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion. They shall be tried by their own officers, according to the laws and articles of war which are in force with them. Should any differences arise between the officers and troops of the party requiring succour, and the auxiliary troops, an equal number of commissioners shall be appointed by both parties, to investigate the case, and to pronounce judgement; and those who, by a majority of votes, are found guilty, shall be punished according to the articles of war of their own sovereign. If there should be an equal number of votes, the sentence of that party shall be valid, which declares for the mildest punishment The correspondence, which the generals or officers of the auxiliary troops may wish to carry on with their own country, by the post or by expresses, shall not be impeded.

X. The auxiliary troops, ships of the line, or other ships of war, shall not be exposed by too great a distance, on their marches, in detachment, and actions, or in quarters. Care shall be taken, on the contrary, as much as possible, to unite them in a centre of sufficient force. And to prevent in all cases, that the auxiliary troops, ships of the line, or other ships of war, are not fatigued or exposed more than those of the party requiring succour, the commander-in-chief shall be obliged, on all occasions, to make a just and equitable distribution of the combined forces.

XI. Should the auxiliary troops have suffered considerable diminution,

tion, of 1000 men at leaſt, excluſive of the ſick and wounded, during the campaign, the party which furniſhed them will complete them by recruiting, at its own expenſe; theſe recruits ſhall be ſent to the harbour or the frontiers of the requiring party, which is neareſt to the theatre of war (within two months from the day on which the party of which ſuccours have been required ſhall have been informed of ſuch diminution), from whence they are afterwards to be tranſported to the army, at the expenſe of the party requiring them. A ſhip of the line, frigate, or other veſſel, of the auxiliary fleet, which ſhall have been loſt, is to be replaced by the party furniſhing the ſuccour by another ſhip of equal force, within two months, or ſooner, if poſſible, from the day abovementioned, provided ſuch ſhip of the line, frigate, or veſſel, can join the fleet of the party requiring it, without being evidently expoſed to danger; it is to be well underſtood, however, that ſuch recruiting and replacing of troops ſhall not take place, unleſs the troops or ſhips are able to join their reſpective corps previous to the end of the campaign.

For every freſh campaign, the recruits, the ſhips of the line, frigates, or other veſſels, ſhall be furniſhed complete, regardleſs of the amount of their diminution. It is likewiſe agreed upon, that if, during the march, or when the auxiliary troops are returning from the dominions of the party by which they had been required, any of the officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, ſhould be obliged to remain behind, on account of ſickneſs or wounds, that party binds himſelf to provide for them, and on their recovery to march them to the frontiers of the dominions of the party that furniſhed them, at his own expenſe.

XII. In caſe the ſuccours ſtipulated in the 4th article, for the defence of the high contracting party which ſhall have been attacked, ſhould be inſufficient, the other, after a conſultation, in which the mutual ſituation of the two high contracting powers ſhall be inveſtigated, is to furniſh more troops and ſhips of war, provided his own ſituation allows it. Theſe additional troops, or ſhips, are to be furniſhed on the ſame conditions as above-mentioned.

XIII. Both parties ſhall be at liberty, while one of them is engaged in a war, to draw from the ſtates of the other the neceſſary materials and articles for carrying on war, at the current price at the place where they are bought.

XIV. At the end of the war, the auxiliary troops ſhall be farther maintained, by the party that required them, upon the ſame footing as ſtipulated in article V. till they ſhall have returned to the ſtates of their ſovereign. Their return ſhall be effected at the expenſes of the party that required them.

XV. Should the party, of which the ſuccour has been required, be attacked on account of having furniſhed it, and the two high contracting powers thus be engaged in a common war, they ſhall not enter ſingly into negociations for peace or for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, much leſs conclude a peace or an armiſtice, without the conſent and full participation of both parties, or before the aggreſſed party ſhall have been properly indemniſied for the damages ſuffered. It is alſo well underſtood,

underſtood, that the requiring party cannot conclude an armiſtice or a peace, without conſcientiouſly obſerving the intereſt of the other party.

XVI. To enable their ſubjects to enjoy thoſe advantages which a well-eſtabliſhed commerce offers to both nations, from the proximity of their ſtates, the two high contracting parties have agreed to make this the baſis of a particularly ſolid and permanent treaty, which ſhall be drawn up immediately. Till ſuch treaty can be concluded, the two high contracting parties agree that their reſpective ſubjects ſhall enjoy all the advantages in their reſpective ſtates which are enjoyed in them by the moſt favoured nations. The better to ſecure the liberty of commerce, the two high contracting parties will give orders to the commanders of their ſhips, whatever ſea they may be in, to protect and aſſiſt every Swediſh and Ruſſian ſhip that may ſtand in need of it.

XVII. The two high contracting parties having alſo obſerved the neceſſity to regulate the frontiers of Finland, for the better ſecurity of tranquillity and good neighbourhood, they engage, as ſoon as poſſible, to occupy themſelves with that important ſubject, and to commence negociations reſpecting it at St. Peterſburgh, through the miniſters of the two courts. Till that ſhall be effected, the two high contracting parties have agreed to let things remain, in that reſpect, as they were at the concluſion of the peace of Werele.

XVIII. To render ſtill ſtronger the harmony, and to ſuppreſs the diſorders which might reſult from impunity, a cartel ſhall be concluded between both ſtates. Until this ſhall be effected, the two high contracting parties agree not to grant any protection to criminals and deſerters who ſhall ſeek an aſylum in their ſtates, but to arreſt and deliver up on the frontiers, to the officers appointed for that purpoſe, all ſuch runaways, as ſoon as intelligence ſhall have been received. It is alſo agreed on, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty, and previouſly to the cartel being eſtabliſhed, to exchange all the deſerters in both countries. From this regulation ſhall only be excepted priſoners of war, naturalized in either of the two countries, and the deſerters who ſhall have married or ſettled, out of their country, previous to the ratification of the preſent treaty.

XIX. This alliance ſhall be in force during eight years, and the two high contracting powers reſerve to themſelves to declare, and to agree upon the prolongation of it, at leaſt ſix months before the expiration of that term.

XX. The ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged within ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible, at St. Peterſburgh. In the faith of this, we, the underſigned, in virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent treaty of alliance, and ſealed it with our arms.

Done at Gatſchina, the 18th (29th) of October, 1799.

(Signed) Curt Steding.
J. C. Toll.
Count Roſtopſchin.
Count Panin.

Separate Article.

His Swediſh majeſty ſhall be at liberty, annually, to buy 50,000 chetwerts of corn in the harbours of the Gulf of Finland, and of the Baltic,

Baltic, belonging to his Ruſſian majeſty; but it muſt be proved that it is for account of Swediſh ſubjects particularly, by his majeſty for that purpoſe; which corn may be exported to Sweden duty free.

Barren years ſhall, however, be excluded from this regulation. If this caſe ſhould happen, his majeſty of Sweden ſhall be at liberty, as ſoon as the exportation is again allowed, to export, beſides the annual quantity ſtipulated above, the quantity which ſhould have been exported during the prohibition.

This ſeparate article ſhall have the ſame force and validity as if it were inſerted word for word in the treaty of alliance ſigned this day, and ſhall be ratified at the ſame time.

In faith of which we, the underſigned, by virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate article, and thereunto put our ſeal with our arms.

Done at Gatſchina, the 18th (29th) October, 1799.

(L. S.) Curt Steding.
(L. S.) Count Roſtopſchin.
(L. S.) J. C. Toll.
(L. S.) Count Panin.

Declaration made by the Emperor of Ruſſia, to the Members of the German Empire.

HIS imperial majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſians, ever animated with zeal for the cauſe of ſovereigns, and wiſhing to put a ſtop to the ravages and diſorders which have been ſpread by the impious government under which France groans, to the remoteſt countries; being fully determined to diſpatch his ſea and land forces for the ſupport of the ſufferers, and to reſtore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-eſtabliſh the ancient forms of government in the united Netherlands and in the Swiſs Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire, and to look for his reward in the happineſs and tranquillity of Europe: Providence has bleſſed his arms, and hitherto the Ruſſian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and ſocial order.

His majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addreſſes this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to deſtroy their common enemy as ſpeedily as poſſible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themſelves and their poſterity.

Should his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſians perceive that they ſupport his views, and rally around him, he will, inſtead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not ſheath his ſword before he has ſeen the downfal of the monſter which threatens to cruſh all legal authorities. But ſhould he be left to himſelf, he will be forced to recall his forces to his ſtates, and to give up a cauſe ſo badly ſupported by thoſe who ought to have the greateſt ſhare in its triumph.

Gatſchina, Sept. 15, (Old Style), 1799.

Declaration of War of the Emperor of all the Ruſſias againſt Spain.

WE, by the grace of God, Paul I. &c. &c. do hereby make known to all our faithful ſubject,

jects, that we, and our allies, having reſolved to overthrow the lawleſs government now ruling France, and we have, therefore, riſen againſt it with all our forces. The Almighty has bleſſed our arms to this very day, and crowned all our enterpriſes with victory and ſucceſs. Among the ſmall number of European powers, apparently attached to the French government, but, in fact, powers that are only afraid of the vengeance of this government, the outcaſt of God, ſtruggling with the laſt agonies of diſſolution, Spain has, more than all the reſt, ſhown her fear of, or attachment to France, not by giving her actual ſuccours, but by armaments. In vain have we made uſe of all our reſources to open to that power the real path to honour and glory, by combining with us; ſhe has perſiſted obdurately in meaſures and wanderings deſtructive of herſelf; and thus have we at laſt found ourſelves under the neceſſity of ſending back her chargé d'affaires at our court, Odie. But having ſince that received information, that our own chargé d'affaires, too, counſellor Butzow, has been compelled to quit the king of Spain's dominions within a term unto him limited, we deem this an inſult committed upon our imperial dignity, and do hereby declare war; giving orders at the ſame time to impoſe ſequeſtration on all Spaniſh ſhips in our harbours, and to confiſcate the ſame, and to ſend orders to the commanders of all our land and ſea forces, to act with hoſtility every where againſt all the ſubjects of the king of Spain.

Done at Peterhof, July 26, 1799.

(Signed) Paul.

Anſwer of the King of Spain to the Manifeſto of the Emperor of Ruſſia.

Madrid, Sept. 11.

THE religious exactneſs with which I have endeavoured, and ſhall endeavour, to maintain the alliance which I have entered into with the French republic, and the bonds of friendſhip and of good intelligence which ſubſiſt between the two countries, and which are cemented by the evident analogy of their common political intereſts, have excited the jealouſy of ſome powers, particularly ſince the formation of the new coalition, of which the object, inſtead of the chimerical and oſtenſible deſire of re-eſtabliſhing order, is only to diſturb it by deſpotizing over thoſe nations who will not ſubmit to their ambitious views. Among them, Ruſſia has thought proper to appear very prominent with reſpect to me. The emperor, not content with arrogating to himſelf titles which cannot in any ſenſe belong to him, and with thus manifeſting his views, has juſt publiſhed a decree declaratory of war againſt me, in conſequence, as he ſays, of not having experienced from me the condeſcenſion which he expected. The publication of this decree may alone ſuffice to prove his want of juſtice. The tranſlation of it is literally as follows: [Here the manifeſto of the emperor is recited.]

I have ſeen, without ſurpriſe, this declaration of war, becauſe the conduct obſerved towards my chargé d'affaires, and other proceedings not leſs extraordinary on the part of this ſovereign, ſome time ſince, informed me what I was to expect. In diſmiſſing, therefore, from my court and dominions, the Ruſſian chargé d'affaires,

d'affaires, M. le conſeiller Butzow, I have not been ſo much governed by motives of reſentment as by the imperious conſiderations of my dignity.

In conſequence of theſe principles, I am far from intending to examine at length the inconſiſtent and offenſive contents of the Ruſſian manifeſto—offenſive not only to me, but to other European powers; and well knowing the nature of the influence of England upon the reigning czar, I conſider it below me to anſwer this manifeſto, being accountable for my political connections to none but the Almighty, by whoſe aid I ſhall be able to repel every unjuſt aggreſſion, which the preſumption of a ſyſtem of falſe combinations may direct againſt me and my ſubjects, for the protection and ſecurity of whom I have taken and am taking the moſt efficacious precautions; and in making known to them this declaration of war, I authorize them to act hoſtilely againſt Ruſſia, its poſſeſſions, and its inhabitants.

The Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, 21ſt July, 5th Year of Batavian Liberty (3d Thermidor).

Citizen miniſter,

I HAVE received orders from my government to ſubmit the following reflections to the French directory. The new efforts of deſpotiſm againſt the repreſentative government, the ſentiment of duty, and even of neceſſity, which reſults from thence for the allied republics, to ſtrengthen the bands which ought to unite them for the ſafety of the common cauſe, have dictated this frank and amicable communication, this explanation of the ſalutary and protecting principles which ſhould actuate all republicans, inflamed with the love of their country, and only directed by that ſentiment they owe a people who have intruſted their deareſt intereſts to them. Since the formation of the Batavian conſtitution, the legiſlative body, the directory, the tribunals, the departmental adminiſtrations, in ſhort, every authority generally compoſed of men moſt remarkable for their patriotiſm and underſtanding, have ſtrove to aſſure the ſtability of that conſtitution, and to procure their fellow-citizens all the happineſs that had been promiſed to them. The immenſe majority of the Batavians, attached by ſentiment to the laws which have been given them, impreſſed with a generous eſteem for the magiſtrates honoured by their choice, will ſecond by every means in their power, with the whole ſtrength of their ability, the painful labours of their delegates. This union between the nation and its magiſtrates preſents to the philoſopher and the friends of humanity the conſoling hope of being ſoon able to prove, by an eloquent example, the excellence of a well-tempered democracy, and of eſtabliſhing by facts, that the practical execution of this ſyſtem is as eaſy and as ſimple, as the conception of its theory is grand and ſublime. But this example of a happy republic, without patricians, without privileges, exerciſing the rights of its ſovereignty with dignity, muſt be too flattering to the people, too alarming to kings. England, dreading its power, has hitherto directed its artificial and

criminal policy, in endeavouring to weaken and deſtroy it. The cabinet of Saint James's has ſeen with affright the fall of the ſtadtholder. Thus this cabinet has calculated the fatal conſequences to its commerce, which muſt be produced by the alliance between the Batavian and the French republics. Its menaces, its arms, not having been able to prevent that alliance, it endeavours to defeat the benefits reſulting from it. Force having become uſeleſs in the accompliſhment of its plans, it has eſtabliſhed itſelf as the banker of intrigue, and by dark manœuvres and machiavelian combinations has attempted to ſow jealouſies between the two nations, to deſtroy thoſe ſentiments of mutual benevolence which ſubſiſted between them, to divide and to exaſperate them againſt each other. It is thus, on the one hand, to alienate the Batavians, that the diſguiſed emiſſaries of that cabinet report, with as much affectation as inſolence, that the French government will have only tributary republics near it; ſlaves rather than allies; people vainly decorated with the title of ſovereigns, geographically independent, but politically enchained; and that at a peace, Holland, parcelled out and abandoned to a foreign yoke, will leave to Europe only the remembrance of its name and its virtues. It is thus that in France the diſguiſed apoſtles of tyranny eſſayed to ſurpriſe the confidence of the directory; to inſpire it with fears as to the fidelity of the Batavians; to raiſe doubts as to their patriotiſm; to call in queſtion their known attachment to the republican ſyſtem, by deſcribing as ſuppliers of England, as engrollers on the account of England, as partiſans of England, thoſe who are the implacable enemies of the Britannic government, and the eternal rivals of that haughty ruler of the main. Alas! who are the organs of theſe horrible blaſphemies? Men rendered infamous by the moſt culpable exceſſes; men who, having ſhaken off the reſtraint of the laws, and renounced all morality, all idea of ſocial organization, ſet up as the only patriots and privileged defenders of liberty, and, under pompous titles, endeavour to ſubmit all to their fury and deſpotiſm. They are men, who, eſtabliſhing themſelves as the diſpoſers of character, deſcribe as a ſtadtholderian the citizen who obeys the laws; as a tyrant, the functionary faithful to his duties; and as an egotiſt and friend to England, the merchant, who by his indefatigable induſtry is able to pay the enormous contributions which circumſtances have rendered neceſſary, and which have hitherto ſaved the republic. It is by fomenting hatred, and exaſperating republicans, that theſe promoters of civil diſcord daily bring down new misfortunes on their country, and inſenſibly prepare the ruin and overthrow of the ſtate. Indifferent as to the means, they indiſcriminately embrace all thoſe they think likely to favour their deſigns; ſometimes humble, ſometimes inſolent, but always perfidious, they flatter or deſtroy; informers by profeſſion, infamous in character, they calumniate thoſe they cannot corrupt; and, after having myſteriouſly fabricated pretended plots, and feigned treaſons, they loudly invoke the vigilance of the French agents, in order to avert evils which never had any exiſtence, except in their diſordered imagination, and their fantaſtic projects. By what fatality is

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if they have preſerved the appearance of good faith, when they have been ſpreading their ſnares? How have they been able ſo eaſily to affright us with vain fears? How have they been able to circulate ſuch unfounded reports, ſuch ſiniſter predictions, ſuch denunciations, as ridiculous as impudent, and render themſelves the echoes of them to the French government? How is it we have not foreſeen the diſaſtrous effects which muſt neceſſarily be produced by the ſuſpicions with which they have ſurrounded a riſing adminiſtration? How is it that it has not been felt that the inſinuations of a violent and unruly patriotiſm may deſtroy the confidence and eſteem which the chief magiſtrates of two friendly and independent nations ought reciprocally to poſſeſs? How is it they have not felt, that to annihilate the credit of the Batavians, already ſo much impaired by the ſhocks inſeparable from a great revolution, was ſerving the moſt ardent wiſhes of the Britiſh miniſter; and that, from the day on which its credit, the very principle of its exiſtence, ſtrength, and power, ſhould be deſtroyed, the republic would preſent nothing to its allies but fœtid marſhes, and to Europe the dreadful ſpectacle of a nation cruelly diſappointed in its hopes, and writhing in the convulſions of a horrible agony? Yes, it is to the infernal ſyſtem of informers—to the odious proſcription of whatever is good, honeſt, and upright, to that perfidious art of altering and corrupting every thing, that crafty England owes its ſucceſſes, republics their loſſes, republicans their misfortunes, and Batavians that want of regard and deference, that offenſive behaviour, which has ſo often occaſioned their deep regret, and been the ſubject of their complaints. The Batavian government is ſo intimately perſuaded of having pointed out the ſource of all its evils, that it is convinced of the neceſſity of a prompt and efficacious remedy. It is time to prove to England and to Europe that the French republic is too generous, too magnanimous, to adopt a ſyſtem of making republics tributary; on the contrary, it acknowledges that it wiſhes, in its full extent, the equality of the people; and, rich in its own reſources, it only deſires friends, powerful and faithful friends. The Batavian government, confiding in the purity of its intentions, neither has nor can have any ſecrets which it wiſhes to conceal from the French directory. It knows that by fate the two nations are inevitably united with each other; that they muſt triumph or periſh together; deſtroy the ſame enemies, or be deſtroyed by them; that they muſt inſpire reſpect for republics by a manly energy, and the example of their internal happineſs; that they muſt ſuppreſs factions; and that in the bloody conteſt of republicaniſm againſt royalty, it is neceſſary that republicans ſhould unite to prudence and prodigies of valour the courage to make every ſacrifice. The Batavian nation will not be behind in this perilous ſtruggle. During the ſtorms which have preceded the eſtabliſhment of its conſtitution, it has learnt to diſtinguiſh its real friends from its vile ſeducers. It will honour the one, and puniſh the diſturbers of its repoſe, whatever diſguiſe they may aſſume. Fatigued with the long commotions which have ſhaken its credit and annihilated its commerce, it feels that it

is only by internal peace that it can repair its loſſes; that new revolutionary tempeſts will wreck the veſſel of the ſtate; and that the general ſafety demands general order, calmneſs, and wiſdom. For theſe conſiderations the Batavian directory, jealous of diſſipating the clouds by which the enemies of the two nations have endeavoured to obſcure the firſt days of a ſworn alliance, calculated for the proſperity of the two republics; jealous alſo of deſtroying every pretence of calumny, of obviating all ſuſpicion, of eſtabliſhing thoſe legitimate relations which ought to ſubſiſt between the two governments, is eager to make a profeſſion of its faith, and to explain publicly the whole of its policy and ſyſtem. This ſyſtem, which will ever actuate the Batavian government, is the reſult of its inviolable attachment to the democratic conſtitution and republican principles; to the faithful accompliſhment of the engagements of the Batavian republic towards the French republic; to the firm reſolution of rigorouſly repreſſing Orangiſm and public diſturbers; of reſtraining and chaſtiſing the factious; to its deep-rooted hatred againſt the government of England; to the direction of its reſources, in order to ſecond the meaſures which the French government may adopt againſt the enemy; to place upon the moſt reſpectable footing, and to the full extent of its means, the forces of the Batavian republic by ſea and land; to offer its forces in aid of the common cauſe; to concert with the French republicans as to their deſtination and employment; and to leave to France, in the combination of its military plans, that aſcendency which it naturally derives from its ſituation.

Doubtleſs, the directory, convinced of the ſincerity of the Batavian government, by the rigorous execution of its ſolemn promiſes, will haſten to ſecond its intentions. Doubtleſs it will ſhew, that the independence of its ally is dear and ſacred to it; that it will make it reſpected by reſpecting it itſelf; that it will inſtruct its agents in Holland, that there can be no durable influence but that which is founded on eſteem and public opinion; that it is upon theſe principles they ſhould regulate their conduct in their relations with different authorities; and that it is the more neceſſary to conform to theſe principles, inaſmuch as the Batavian nation, long characteriſed by its noble frankneſs, by its hatred of pride and haughtineſs, by its extreme ſenſibility to the ſlighteſt marks of benevolence, only diſtinguiſhes and appreciates men according to their virtues, their talents, the amenity of their deportment; their modeſty with regard to ſocial relations, and their inflexible ſeverity againſt the enemies of public order. It will, doubtleſs, inſtruct them, that Batavia is not a conqueſt; that its ancient hiſtory atteſts the undaunted firmneſs it has ever oppoſed to tyranny; that its inhabitants, long previous to the arrival of the French, combated againſt the ſtadtholder; and that the reception they gave them has proved, to the whole world, they were received rather as brethren than conquerors, rather as friends than oppreſſors . . . . . ; but what chiefly cannot eſcape the ſagacity of the directory is, the neceſſity of reſtoring and protecting the commerce of the Batavians in its ancient ſplendour. The directory will then convince its agents, what they

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have not ſufficiently been impreſſed with, that commerce is to Holland what agriculture is with reſpect to France; and that, as without agriculture, the coloſſal ſize of the republic would ſoon be a ſkeleton, without vigour and without life; ſo alſo the Batavian republic, without commerce, would diſappear: that England alone deſires to behold ſuch a cataſtrophe; that its policy and its jealouſy, its luxury and its taxes, its avarice and its prodigality, its ambition and its pride, its factitious exiſtence and its vanity, its expenſes and its paper credit; that all theſe circumſtances impoſe upon it the execrable duty of aſpiring to an excluſive commerce, an excluſive navigation, a monopoly of the univerſe; that it is this monopoly which includes the ſecret of the reſources, and the means of England; that to the dominion it exerciſes over the ſeas, the misfortunes which, in the courſe of the preſent war, have been heaped upon all neutral nations, are to be attributed; that it is to the violation of this neutrality it is indebted for the gold with which it pays its taxes; and that, proud of ſuch advantages, it will conſtantly oppoſe the efforts of an active and induſtrious republic, which, independent of its influence, too well underſtands its own intereſts, ever to become the inſtrument of its domination and caprice.

Such is the fertile ſyſtem from which glory and happineſs muſt reſult. Such is the ſyſtem which becomes two generous nations, which alone is worthy their honour and their loyalty. England wiſhes to diſunite, in order to ſubject them. England can only be conquered by their union. May the moſt perfect confidence exceed the efforts of malevolence; may they rival each other only in good offices, and in mutual ſacrifices for their common good; may our energy redouble with our dangers; may the French and Batavians compoſe but one family under different titles; and may they ſoon appreciate according to its juſt value the friendſhip of a nation, as jealous of its rights as its independence, and as reſpectable by its manners and its induſtry, as diſtinguiſhed by its courage!

Inviting you, citizen miniſter, immediately to lay this note before the directory, permit me to applaud myſelf for being, upon this occaſion, the ſolemn interpreter of a government which manifeſts the pureſt intentions and moſt liberal ideas. You know with what conſtancy, I may ſay with what tenacity, ſince my arrival in this capital, I have diſcuſſed with you plans equally ſalutary to both nations, and calculated more cloſely to cement that union which ought to exiſt between them.

May the fraternal conduct which I have this day adopted in its name, unite every mind and every heart! May the deſtinies of our two republics diſſipate every ſtorm! May a glorious and ſpeedy peace, haſtened by a redoubled increaſe of our efforts and energy, procure to the French and to the Batavians all that proſperity which they have a right to hope for from an alliance founded upon ſentiment and reaſon!

Receive, citizen miniſter, the homage of my high conſideration.

(Signed) R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

As an atteſted copy,

(Signed) J. M. Smits.
C. G. Hultman.

A Proclamation by the Prince of Orange.

WE, William, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Naſſau, hereditary ſtadtholder, &c. &c. To all thoſe to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting;

Dear countrymen,

The long-wiſhed for moment when you are at laſt to be delivered from ſo many calamities, under which you have ſuffered for more than four years paſt, is, we hope, arrived, and we now enjoy the ſatisfaction again to addreſs you under that pleaſing proſpect. It would be ſuperfluous to enumerate the different hardſhips under which you have groaned, ever ſince the violence you have ſuffered in conſequence of the French invaſion, and the events which have followed it. If cruel experience has made you feel them but too ſeverely, and if our ardent wiſhes could be ſooner fulfilled, you would have been relieved, long ago, from that intolerable burden. We have been but too long obliged to confine ourſelves to the deploring your fate in ſilence, without having it in our power to alter it. At laſt that time is come. His majeſty the king of Great Britain, moved by his affection and friendſhip towards the republic of the united provinces, and pitying your misfortunes, has taken the generous reſolution, as ſoon as the general circumſtances of Europe have allowed it, to employ, in concert with his allies, vigorous meaſures for your deliverance. The military force which is now ſent for that purpoſe is to be followed by ſtill more numerous troops.

The object of this expedition is made known to you in the name of his Britannic majeſty, by the commander-in-chief of the firſt body of troops which is to open this glorious career. Thoſe troops do not come to you as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, in order to reſcue you from the odious oppreſſion under which you are held by the French government, and by the French troops, and to reſtore you to the enjoyment of your religion and liberty, thoſe invaluable bleſſings for which, with the Divine aſſiſtance, your and our own anceſtors ſought and conquered. Heſitate not, therefore, brave inhabitants of the United Provinces, to meet and to aſſiſt your deliverers. Receive them among you as friends and protectors of the happineſs and welfare of your country. Let every difference of political ſentiments and opinions vaniſh before this great object. Do not ſuffer the ſpirit of party, nor even the ſenſe of the wrongs you have ſuffered, to induce you to commit any acts of revenge or perſecution. Let your hands and your hearts be united in order to repel the common enemy, and to re-eſtabliſh the liberty and independence of our common country. Let your deliverance be as much as poſſible your own work. You ſee already, and you will experience it ſtill more in future, that you may depend upon being vigorouſly and powerfully aſſiſted. As ſoon as the firſt efforts which are making towards your delivery ſhall have acquired ſome conſiſtency, our dearly beloved ſon, the hereditary prince of Orange, who is in poſſeſſion of our entire confidence, and is deſerving of yours, and who is perfectly well acquainted with our intentions, will join you, put himſelf at your head, and,

and, following the ſteps of our illuſtrious anceſtors, ſpare neither his property nor his life, in order to aſſiſt with you, and for your ſake, in bringing this great undertaking to a ſucceſsful iſſue. We ourſelves alſo will then, as ſoon as circumſtances ſhall allow it, proceed to join you. And as we have always conſidered our own happineſs and welfare as inſeparably connected with that of our dear country, we will then, after having ſeen your laws and privileges reſtored, and yourſelves re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of thoſe benefits which belong to a free people under a lawful government, make our greateſt and moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction conſiſt (under the divine bleſſing) in the advancement of the public good, and of that proſperity and welfare which formerly made our once happy country an object of admiration to the ſurrounding nations.

Done in the palace of Hampton-Court, the 28th of July, 1799.

(Signed) W. Prince of Orange.

Proclamation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, to the Dutch.

LIEUTENANT-general Abercrombie, to whom his majeſty the king of Great Britain, the ancient ally of the United Provinces, has intruſted the command of a body of troops, deſtined to recover the freedom of the ſaid United Provinces, has, by his majeſty's orders, iſſued the following proclamation, containing the intentions of his Britannic majeſty, and of the kings and ſovereign princes, his allies, in this great undertaking.

It is not as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, that the Engliſh troops enter the territory of the United Provinces. This undertaking has no other object in view, but to deliver the inhabitants of this country, heretofore free and happy, from the oppreſſion under which they groan, to protect their religious worſhip againſt the perſecuting intolerence of incredulity and atheiſm, to reſcue their adminiſtration from the violence which they experience from anarchy and rapaciouſneſs, and to re-eſtabliſh them in the poſſeſſion of their ancient liberty and independence, ſo cloſely connected with the privileges of that conſtitution, by means of which, their anceſtors fought and conquered, under the ſtandard of the princes of Orange; privileges, whoſe influence has proved to the United Provinces a perennial ſource of proſperity, under the auſpices of the amity and the alliance of Great Britain.

His majeſty entertains no doubt, but that, eager to re-aſſert thoſe privileges, the inhabitants of the United Provinces will re-kindle in their boſoms, and, with equal ſucceſs, the courage and the ſelf-devotion of their anceſtors. The hand of Providence has already appeared in the deliverance of a large portion of Europe from thoſe miſeries into which it hath permitted that they ſhould for a time be involved, by the arms and principles of the French republic.

The military forces which his Britannic majeſty has aſſembled, under the command of lieutenant-general Abercrombie, joined to thoſe which his high allies have deſtined for the ſame object, are ſufficient fully to protect thoſe who

ſhall ſtand forward in the cauſe of their country.

The allied ſovereigns are deſirous that the deliverance of the Batavian republic ſhould be principally brought about by its own citizens, in all the deliberations and in all the exertions that ſhall be connected with this intereſting object. His majeſty recommends to them, in the moſt preſſing manner, to act together with concert and unanimity, to forget and to forgive the paſt, and to form an unſhaken determination, to protect and defend, againſt all exceſſes of revenge, the lives and property of their fellow-citizens, even of thoſe whoſe errors and whoſe faults have perhaps contributed to aggravate the ſufferings of their country; but who now, reclaimed by the irreſiſtible conviction of experience, are ready to make common cauſe with us in this arduous taſk.

It is conſiſtently with theſe principles, and agreeable to this ſpirit, that the Britiſh army ſhall conduct themſelves in the midſt of a people whom the Engliſh nation has been ſo long accuſtomed to regard as friends and allies. But if, hereafter, and from the preſent moment, there ſhould be found Batavians, who, at the approach of the deliverance of their country, ſhould ſtill remain devoted to its oppreſſors, and ſhew themſelves unworthy of the invaluable enjoyment of the tranquillity and ſecurity of a legitimate government, as well as of religious and civil liberty, ſuch only ſhall be looked upon, and treated by his Britannic majeſty, as the obſtinate and irreconcilable enemies, not only of his ſaid Britannic majeſty and his high allies, but alſo of the happineſs of their country, as well as the general intereſts and ſecurity of Europe.

R. Abercrombie, lieut.-gen.
Fred. Maitland, ſec. of the commander-in-chief.

Meſſage of the Preſident of the United States.

Gentlemen of the ſenate,

I TRANSMIT you a document, which ſeems to be intended to be a compliance with the condition mentioned at the concluſion of my meſſage to congreſs, of the 21ſt of June laſt.

Always diſpoſed and ready to embrace every plauſible appearance of probability of preſerving or reſtoring tranquillity, I nominate William Vans Murray, our miniſter, reſident at the Hague, to be miniſter-plenipotentiary to the French republic.

If the ſenate ſhall adviſe and conſent to his appointment, effectual care ſhall be taken in his inſtructions, that he ſhall not go to France without direct and unequivocal aſſurances from the French government, ſignified by their miniſter of exterior relations, that he ſhall be received in character; ſhall enjoy the privileges attached to that character by the law of nations; and that a miniſter of equal rank, title, and powers, ſhall be appointed to treat with him, to diſcuſs and conclude all controverſies between the two republics, by a new treaty.

John Adams.

United States, Feb. 18, 1799.

(Copy.)

(Copy.)

Liberty. (L. S.) Equality.—Exterior Relations, 3d Diviſion.

Paris, 7th Vendemaire, 7th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

The Miniſter of Exterior Relations to Citizen Pichon, Secretary of Legation of the French Republic to the Batavian Republic.

I have received ſucceſſively, citizen, your letters of the 22d and 27th Fructidor; they afford me more and more reaſon to be pleaſed with the manner you have adopted, to detail to me your converſations with Mr. Murray. Thoſe converſations, at firſt merely friendly, have acquired conſiſtency by the ſanction I have given to them by my letter of the 11th Fructidor. I do not regret, that you have truſted to Mr. Murray's honour a copy of my letter. It was intended for you only; and contained nothing but what is conformable to the intentions of government. I am thoroughly convinced, that, ſhould explanations take place with confidence, between the two adminiſtrations, irritations would ceaſe, a cloud of miſrepreſentations would diſappear, and the ties of friendſhip would be more ſtrongly united, as each party would diſcover the hand that ſought to diſunite them.

But I will not conceal from you, that your letters of the 2d and 3d Vendemaire, juſt received, ſurpriſe me much. What Mr. Murray is ſtill dubious of, has been explicitly declared, even before the preſident's meſſage to congreſs, of the 3d Meſſidor laſt, was known in France. I had written it to Mr. Gerry, namely, on the 24th Meſſidor and 4th Thermidor. I did not repeat it to him before he ſet out. A whole paragraph of my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, of which Mr. Murray has a copy, is devoted to develope ſtill more the fixed determination of the French government, according to theſe baſes. You were right to aſſert, that whatever plenipotentiary the government of the United States ſhould ſend to France, to put an end to exiſting differences between the two countries, would be undoubtedly received with the reſpect due to the repreſentative of a free, powerful, and independent nation.

I cannot, citizen, conceive that the American government need any farther declaration from us to induce them, in order to renew the negociations, to adopt ſuch meaſures as would be ſuggeſted to them by their deſire to bring the differences to a peaceable end.

If miſunderſtandings on both ſides have prevented former explanations from reaching that end, it is preſumable, that thoſe miſunderſtandings being done away, nothing henceforth will bring obſtacles to the reciprocal diſpoſitions. The preſident's inſtructions to his envoys at Paris, which I have only known by the copy given you by Mr. Murray, and received by me the 21ſt Meſſidor, announcing (if they contain the whole of the American government's inſtructions) diſpoſitions which could only be added to thoſe which the directory has always entertained; and notwithſtanding the irritating and hoſtile meaſures they have adopted, the

directory

directory has manifeſted its perſeverance in the ſentiments which are ſet forth both in my correſpondence with Mr. Gerry, and in my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, and which I have herein before repeated in the moſt explicit manner. Carry, therefore, citizen, to Mr. Murray thoſe poſitive expreſſions, in order to convince him of our ſincerity, and prevail on him to tranſmit them to his government.

I preſume, citizen, that this letter will find you at the Hague; if not, I aſk, that it may be ſent back to you at Paris.

Health and fraternity.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

Gentlemen of the ſenate,

The propoſition of a freſh negociation with France, in conſequence of advances made by the French government, having excited ſo general an attention, and ſo much converſation, as to have given occaſion to many manifeſtations of the public opinion, by which it appears to me, that a new modification of the embaſſy will give more general ſatisfaction to the nation, and perhaps better anſwer the purpoſes we have in view.

It is upon this ſuppoſition, and with this expectation, I now nominate Oliver Elſworth, eſq. chief-juſtice of the United States, Patrick Henry, eſq. late governor of Virginia, and William Vans Murray, our miniſter reſident at the Hague, to be envoys extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary to the French republic, with full powers to diſcuſs and ſettle, by a treaty, all controverſies between the United States and France.

It is not intended, that the two former of theſe gentlemen ſhall embark for Europe until they ſhall have received from the executive directory direct and unequivocal aſſurances, ſignified by their ſecretary of foreign relations, that they ſhall enjoy all the prorogatives attached to that character by the law of nations, and that a miniſter or miniſters of equal power ſhall be appointed and commiſſioned to treat with them.

John Adams.

February 25, 1799.

Speech of the Preſident of the United States of America to both Houſes, aſſembled in the Repreſentatives' Chamber, at Philadelphia, on the 3d of December, 1799.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

IT is with peculiar ſatisfaction that I meet the ſixth congreſs of the United States of America: coming from all parts of the union at this critical and intereſting period, the members muſt be fully poſſeſſed of the ſentiments and wiſhes of our conſtituents.

The flattering proſpects of abundance from the labours of the people, by land and by ſea; the proſperity of our extended commerce, notwithſtanding interruptions occaſioned by the belligerent ſtate of a great part of the world; the return of health, induſtry, and trade, to thoſe cities which have lately been afflicted with diſeaſe; and the various and ineſtimable advantages, civil and religious, which, ſecured under our happy frame of goverment, are continued to us unimpaired, demand of the whole American people ſincere thanks to the benevolent Deity for the

the merciful diſpenſations of his providence.

But while theſe numerous bleſſings are recollected, it is a painful duty to advert to the ungrateful return which has been made for them by ſome of the people in certain counties of Pennſylvania, where, ſeduced by the arts and miſrepreſentations of deſigning men, they have openly reſiſted the law directing the valuation of houſes and lands. Such defiance was given to the civil authority as rendered hopeleſs all farther attempts, by judicial proceſs, to enforce the execution of the law, and it became neceſſary to direct a military force to be employed, conſiſting of ſome companies of regular troops, volunteers, and militia, by whoſe zeal and activity, in co-operation with the judicial power, order, and ſubmiſſion were reſtored, and many of the offenders arreſted. Of theſe, ſome have been convicted of miſdemeanours, and others charged with various crimes remain to be tried.

To give due effect to the civil adminiſtration of government, and to enſure a juſt execution of the laws, a reviſion and amendment of the judiciary ſyſtem is indiſpenſably neceſſary. In this extenſive country it cannot but happen, that numerous queſtions reſpecting the interpretation of the laws, and the rights and duties of officers and citizens, muſt ariſe. On the one hand, the laws ſhould be executed; on the other, individuals ſhould be guarded from oppreſſion: neither of theſe objects is ſufficiently aſſured under the preſent organization of the judical department; I therefore earneſtly recommend the ſubject to your ſerious conſideration.

Perſevering in the pacific and humane policy which had been invariably profeſſed and ſincerely purſued by the executive authority of the United States, when indications were made on the part of the French republic, of a diſpoſition to accommodate the exiſting differences between the two countries, I felt it to be my duty to prepare for meeting their advances by a nomination of miniſters, upon certain conditions, which the honour of our country dictated, and which its moderation had given it a right to preſcribe. The aſſurances which were required of the French government previous to the departure of our envoys, have been given through their miniſter of foreign relations, and I have directed them to proceed on their miſſion to Paris: they have full power to conclude a treaty, ſubject to the conſtitutional advice and conſent of the ſenate. The characters of theſe gentlemen are ſure pledges to their country, that nothing imcompatible with its honour or intereſt, nothing inconſiſtent with our obligations of good faith or friendſhip to any other nation, will be ſtipulated.

It appearing probable, from the information I received, that our commercial intercourſe with ſome ports in the iſland of St. Domingo might ſafely be renewed, I took ſuch ſteps as ſeemed to me expedient to aſcertain that point. The reſult being ſatisfactory, I then, in conformity with the act of Congreſs on the ſubject, directed the reſtraints and prohibitions of that intercourſe to be diſcontinued on terms which were made known by proclamation. Since the renewal of this intercourſe, our citizens trading to thoſe ports, with their property, have been duly reſpected, and privateering from thoſe ports has ceaſed.

In examining the claims of Britiſh ſubjects by the commiſſioners at Philadelphia,

ladelphia, under the ſixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain, a difference of opinion on points deemed eſſential in the interpretation of that article, has ariſen between the commiſſioners appointed by the United States and the other members of that board, from which the former have thought it their duty to withdraw. It is ſincerely to be regretted, that the execution of an article produced by a mutual ſpirit of amity and juſtice, ſhould have been thus unavoidably interrupted: it is, however, confidently expected that the ſame ſpirit of amity and the ſame ſenſe of juſtice in which it originated, will lead to ſatisfactory explanations. In conſequence of the obſtacles to the progreſs of the commiſſion in Philadelphia, his Britannic majeſty has directed the commiſſioners appointed by him under the ſeventh article of the treaty relating to Britiſh captures of American veſſels, to withdraw from the board ſitting in London, but with the expreſs declaration of his determination to fulfil with punctuality and good faith the engagement which his majeſty has contracted by his treaty with the United States, and that they will be inſtructed to reſume their functions whenever the obſtacles which impede the progreſs of the commiſſion at Philadelphia ſhall be removed. It being in like manner my ſincere determination, ſo far as the ſame depends on me, that with equal punctuality and good faith, the engagements contracted by the United States in their treaties with his Britannic majeſty ſhall be fulfilled I ſhall immediately inſtruct our miniſter at London to endeavour to obtain the explanations neceſſary to a juſt performance of thoſe engagements on the part of the United States. With ſuch diſpoſitions on both ſides, I cannot entertain a doubt that all difficulties will ſoon be removed, and that the two boards will then proceed, and bring the buſineſs committed to them, reſpectively, to a ſatisfactory concluſion.

The act of congreſs, relative to the ſeat of government of the United States, requiring, that on the firſt Monday of December next, it ſhould be transferred from Philadelphia to the diſtrict choſen for its permanent ſeat, it is proper for me to inform you, that the commiſſioners appointed to provide ſuitable buildings for the accommodation of congreſs and the preſident, and for the public offices of the government, have made a report of the ſtate of the buildings deſigned for theſe purpoſes in the city of Waſhington; from which they conclude, that the removal of the ſeat of government to that place, at the time required, will be practicable, and the accommodations ſatisfactory: their report will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

I ſhall direct the eſtimates of the appropriations neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing year, together with an account of the revenue and expenditure, to be laid before you. During a period in which a great portion of the civilized world has been involved in a war unuſually calamitous and deſtructive, it was not to be expected that the United States could be exempted from extraordinary burdens. Although the period is not arrived, when the meaſures adopted to ſecure our country againſt foreign attack can be renounced, yet it is alike neceſſary to the honour of the government, and the ſatisfaction of the community, that

that an exact economy ſhould be maintained.

I invite you, gentlemen, to inveſtigate the different branches of the public expenditure. The examination will lead to beneficial retrenchments, or produce a conviction of the wiſdom of the meaſure to which the expenditure relates.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

At a period like the preſent, when momentous changes are occurring, and every hour is preparing new and great events in the political world; when a ſpirit of war is prevalent in almoſt every nation with whoſe affairs the intereſts of the United States have any connection, unſafe and precarious would be our ſituation, were we to neglect the means of maintaining our juſt rights. The reſult of the miſſion to France is uncertain; but however it may terminate, a ſteady perſeverance in a ſyſtem of national defence, commenſurate with our reſources and the ſituation of our country, is an obvious dictate of wiſdom: for, remotely as we are placed from the belligerent nations, and deſirous as we are, by doing juſtice to all, to avoid offence to any, nothing ſhort of the power of repelling aggreſſions will ſecure to our country a rational proſpect of eſcaping the calamities of war, or national degradation.

As to myſelf, it is my anxious deſire ſo to execute the truſt repoſed in me, as to render the people of the United States proſperous and happy. I rely with entire confidence on your co-operation in objects equally your care, and that our mutual labours will ſerve to increaſe and confirm union among our fellow-citizens, and an unſhaken attachment to our government.

John Adams.

United States, Dec. 3, 1799.

Treaty of Campo Formio.

Secret Articles and additional Convention of the Treaty of Campo Formio, of the 20th of Vendemaire, 6th Year (October 17, 1797). Publiſhed at Raſtadt, April 18, 1799.*

Article 1. HIS majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, conſents that the boundaries of the French republic ſhall extend to the undermentioned line; and engages to uſe his influence, that the French republic ſhall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the ſame line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Baſle, to the branches off of the Nette, above Andernach; including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortreſs of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its ſource near Brugh. From thence the line paſſes by Shenſcherade and Borley to Kerpen, and thence to Luderſdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territory of theſe places; along both the banks of the Olff, to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer, including Heimbach, Nideggen, Duren, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as alſo the places on the banks, with their circles, to

* For which, ſee our Regiſter, for 1797, p. 342.

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Linnig included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern and Kylenſdalen, Papelernod, Lutersforſt, Rodenbergh, Haverſloo, Anderſcheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Groſberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithſtanding the mediation of his imperial majeſty, the German empire ſhall refuſe to conſent to the above-mentioned boundary-line of the republic, his imperial majeſty hereby formally engages to furniſh to the empire no more than his contingent, which ſhall not be employed in any fortified place, or it ſhall be conſidered as a rupture of the peace and friendſhip which is reſtored between his majeſty and the republic.

2. His imperial majeſty will employ his good offices in the negociation of the peace of the empire to obtain—1ſt. That the navigation of the Rhine from Huningen to the territory of Holland, ſhall be free both to the French republic and the ſtates of the empire, on the right bank. 2d. That the poſſeſſors of territory near the mouth of the Moſelle ſhall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and paſſage of ſhips and other veſſels from the Moſelle into the Rhine. 3d. The French republic ſhall have the free navigation of the Meuſe, and the tolls and other impoſts from Venloo to Holland ſhall be aboliſhed.

3. His imperial majeſty renounces for himſelf and his ſucceſſors the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of the county of Falkenſtein and its dependencies.

4. The countries which his imperial majeſty takes poſſeſſion of, in conſequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty this day ſigned, ſhall be conſidered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article. This renunciation ſhall only be in force when the troops of his imperial majeſty ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of the countries ceded by the ſaid articles.

5. The French republic will employ its influence that his imperial majeſty ſhall receive the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, the river Inn, Salza and Tyrol, including the town of Waſſerburg on the right bank of the Inn, with an *arrondiſſement* of 3000 toiſes.

6. His imperial majeſty, at the concluſion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the houſe of Auſtria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Baſle, provided his majeſty, at the concluſion of the ſaid peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in conſequence of particular arrangements to be made, ſhall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without farther interference on the part of his imperial majeſty or the empire.

7. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the enſuing peace with the German empire, the French republic ſhall make an acquiſition in Germany, his imperial majeſty ſhall receive an equivalent: and if his imperial majeſty ſhall make ſuch an acquiſition, the French republic ſhall in like manner receive an equivalent.

8. The

8. The prince of Naſſau Dietz, late ſtadtholder of Holland, ſhall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Auſtrian poſſeſſions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

9. The French republic makes no difficulty to reſtore to the king of Pruſſia his poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquiſition ſhall, however, be propoſed for the king of Pruſſia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

10. Should the king of Pruſſia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republic ſome ſmall parts of his territory on the left bank of the Meuſe, as Sevenaer, and other poſſeſſions towards the Yeſſel, his imperial majeſty will uſe his influence that ſuch ceſſions ſhall be accepted and rendered valid by the empire.

11. His imperial majeſty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been diſpoſed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majeſty will uſe his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feodal ſovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Ciſalpine and Ligurian republics; as alſo the imperial fiefs, ſuch as Laniguiana, and thoſe which lie between Tuſcany and the ſtates of Parma, the Ligurian and Luccheſe republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Ciſalpine republic.

12. His imperial majeſty and the French republic will in concert employ their influence, in the courſe of concluding the peace of the empire, that ſuch princes and ſtates of the empire who, in conſequence of the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty of peace, or in conſequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, ſhall ſuffer any loſs in territory or rights, particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologn, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wurtemberg and Teck, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgraves of Heſſe Caſſel and Darmſtadt, the princes of Naſſau-Saarbruck, Salm, Koburg, Lowenſtein, Weſtheim, and Wied-Runckel, and the count de Leyn, ſhall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which ſhall be ſettled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

13. The troops of his imperial majeſty, twenty days after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaties, ſhall evacuate the towns and fortreſſes of Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, Phillipſburg, Manheim Konigſtein, Ulm, and Ingolſtadt, as alſo the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary ſtates.

14. The preſent ſecret articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day ſigned, and ſhall in like manner be ratified at the ſame time by the two contracting powers, which ratifications ſhall be exchanged in due form at Raſtadt.

Done and ſigned at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797; 26th of Vendemaire, in the 6th year of the French republic one and indiviſible.

(Signed) Buonaparte.
Marquis de Gallo,
Louis count Cobenzel.
Count Meerfeldt, maj. gen.
Count Degelmann.

CHAR

CHARACTERS.

Egyptian Mode of taking Repaſts; from Sonnini's Travels in Egypt.

THEY are ſeated, with their legs croſſed, around a table with one foot, in form of a large circular tea-board, on which diſhes are placed, without either table-cloth, plates, knives, or forks. They make with the right hand, the circle of the diſhes, from whence they take ſucceſſively, and according to their taſte, little morſels with their fingers. The left hand, deſtined for ablutions, is unclean, and muſt not touch proviſions. They ſometimes transfer what they have taken from one diſh to another, to form a mixture of it; of this they make a large ball, which they convey to a widely extended mouth. The poultry and the boiled meats are divided into pieces, and torn with the hands and nails. The roaſt meats are ſerved up in little pieces, cut before they are put to the ſpit, and no where can you eat better roaſted meat than in the countries of Turkey. The table does not afford an opportunity for converſation. They only ſeat themſelves to eat very rapidly; they make quick diſpatch, and ſwallow with precipitation. They are not men whom the pleaſure of ſociety aſſembles together; they are brutes whom want and voraciouſneſs collect around their paſture. The greaſe diſtils from each ſide of their mouths. The ſtomach ſends forth frequent fumes, which they lengthen out and render as noiſy as they can. He whoſe hunger is ſooneſt appeaſed riſes from table firſt. It is not regarded as a want of politeneſs to remain alone at the board, if your appetite is not perfectly ſatisfied.

Manners and Addreſs of the Emperor Joſeph II.; from Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dreſden, &c.

IN external addreſs, Joſeph the Second is not deficient. His manners are eaſy, his converſation lively, voluble, and entertaining; running rapidly from one ſubject to another, and diſplaying frequently a vaſt variety of knowledge. Perhaps he manifeſts too great a conſciouſneſs of poſſeſſing extenſive information; and he may be reproached likewiſe with frequently anticipating the anſwers of the perſons with whom he converſes. A mixture of vanity and of impetuoſity conduce to this defect. While he talks, eſpecially if eager, he always plays with the money in his pocket. He writes with eaſe, perſpicuity, and propriety. I have ſeen many of his notes, evidently compoſed without premeditation,

tation, addreſſed to perſons who enjoyed his confidence, both men and women. They demonſtrate feeling, enlargement of mind, and, as I have thought, goodneſs of heart. Yet I know, from indiſputable authority, that he is a profound diſſembler, rarely or never ſpeaking his real ſentiments upon any point of moment. On the other hand, he certainly permits thoſe whom he loves or eſteems, to deal fairly with him, to tell him not only plain but painful truths; and even to reprehend him on occaſion with ſeverity.

Account of the Gaol of Philadelphia and of the Laws of Pennſylvania, with reſpect to the Puniſhment of Crimes; from Weld's Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during 1795, 1796, *and* 1797.

THE gaol is a ſpacious building of common ſtone, one hundred feet in front. It is fitted up with ſolitary cells, on the new plan, and the apartments are all arched, to prevent the communication of fire. Behind the building are extenſive yards, which are ſecured by lofty walls. This gaol is better regulated, perhaps, than any other on the face of the globe. By the new penal laws of Pennſylvania, lately enacted, no crime is puniſhable with death, excepting murder of the firſt degree, by which is meant, murder that is perpetrated by wilful premeditated intention, or in attempts to commit rape, robbery, or the like. Every other offence, according to its enormity, is puniſhed by ſolitary impriſonment of a determined duration. Objections may be made to this mode of puniſhment, as not being ſufficiently ſevere on the individual to atone for an atrocious crime; nor capable, becauſe not inflicted in public, of deterring evil-minded perſons, in the community, from the commiſſion of offences which incur the rigour of the law; but, on a cloſe examination, it will be found to be very ſevere; and, as far as an opinion can be formed from the trial that has been hitherto made by the ſtate of Pennſylvania, it ſeems better calculated to reſtrain the exceſſes of the people than any other. If any public puniſhment could ſtrike terror into the lawleſs part of the multude, it is as likely that the infliction of death would do it as any whatſoever; but death is diveſted of many of his terrors, after being often preſented to our view; ſo that we find in countries, for inſtance in England, where it occurs often as a puniſhment, the ſalutary effects that might be expected from it are, in a great meaſure, loſt. The unfortunate wretch, who is doomed to forfeit his life in expiation of the crimes he has committed in numberleſs inſtances, looks forward with apparent unconcern to the moment in which he is to be launched into eternity; his companions around him only condole him, becauſe his career of iniquity has ſo ſuddenly been impeded by the courſe of juſtice: or, if he is not too much hardened in the paths of vice, but falls a prey to remorſe and ſees all the horrors of his impending fate, they endeavour to rally his broken ſpirits by the conſoling remembrance, that the pangs he has to endure are but the pangs of a moment, which they illuſtrate by

the ſpeedy exit of one whoſe death he was, perhaps, himſelf witneſs to but a few weeks before. A month does not paſs over, in England, without repeated executions; and there is ſcarcely a vagabond to be met with, in the country, who has not ſeen a fellow creature ſuſpended from the gallows. We all know what little good effect ſuch ſpectacles produce. But, immured in darkneſs and ſolitude, the priſoner ſuffers pangs worſe than death a hundred times in a day; he is left to his own bitter reflections; there is no one thing to divert his attention, and he endeavours, in vain, to eſcape from the horrors which continually haunt his imagination. In ſuch a ſituation the moſt hardened offender is ſoon reduced to a ſtate of repentance.

But puniſhment by impriſonment, according to the laws of Pennſylvania, is impoſed, not only as an expiation of paſt offences, and an example to the guilty part of ſociety, but for another purpoſe, regarded by few penal codes in the world, the reform of the criminal. The regulations of the gaol are calculated to promote this effect as ſoon as poſſible, ſo that the building, indeed, deſerves the name of a penetentiary houſe more than that of a gaol. As ſoon as a criminal is committed to the priſon he is made to waſh; his hair is ſhorn, and if not decently clothed, he is furniſhed with clean apparel; then he is thrown into a ſolitary cell, about nine feet long and four wide, where he remains debarred from the ſight of every living being, excepting his gaoler, whoſe duty it is to attend to the bare neceſſities of his nature, but who is forbidden, on any account, to ſpeak to him, without there is abſolute occaſion. If a priſoner is at all refractory, or if the offence for which he is impriſoned is of a very atrocious nature, he is then confined in a cell ſecluded even from the light of heaven. This is the worſt that can be inflicted upon him.

The gaol is inſpected twice every week by twelve perſons appointed for that purpoſe, who are choſen annually from amongſt the citizens of Philadelphia. Nor is it a difficult matter to procure theſe men, who readily and voluntarily take it upon them to go through the troubleſome functions of the office without any fee or emolument whatever. They divide themſelves into committees; each of theſe takes it in turn, for a ſtated period, to viſit every part of the priſon; and a report is made to the inſpectors at large, who meet together at times regularly appointed. From the report of the committee an opinion is formed by the inſpectors, who, with the conſent of the judges, regulate the treatment of each individual priſoner during his confinement. This is varied according to his crime, and according to his ſubſequent repentance. Solitary confinement in a dark cell is looked upon as the ſevereſt uſage; next, ſolitary confinement in a cell with the admiſſion of light; next, confinement in a cell where the priſoner is allowed to do ſome ſort of work; laſtly, labour in company with others. The priſoners are obliged to bathe twice every week, proper conveniences for that purpoſe being provided within the walls of the priſon, and alſo to change their linen, with which they are regularly provided. Thoſe in ſolitary confinement are kept

upon

upon bread and water; but those who labour are allowed broth, porridge, puddings, and the like: meat is dispensed only in small quantities, twice in the week. Their drink is water; on no pretence is any other beverage suffered to be brought into the prison. This diet is found, by experience, to afford the prisoners strength sufficient to perform the labour that is imposed upon them; whereas a more generous one would only serve to render their minds less humble and submissive. Those who labour, are employed in the particular trade to which they have been accustomed, provided it can be carried on in the prison; if not acquainted with any, something is soon found that they can do. One room is set apart for shoemakers, another for tailors, a third for carpenters, and so on; and in the yards are stone-cutters, smiths, nailors, &c.

Excepting the cells, which are at a remote part of the building, the prison has the appearance of a large manufactory. Good order and decency prevail throughout, and the eye of a spectator is never assailed by the sight of such ghastly and squalid figures as are continually to be met with in our prisons; so far, also, is a visitor from being insulted, that he is scarcely noticed as he passes through the different wards. The prisoners are forbidden to speak to each other without there is necessity; they are also forbidden to laugh and to sing, or to make the smallest disturbance. An overseer attends continually to see that every one performs his work diligently; and in case of the smallest resistance to any of the regulations, the offender is immediately cast into a solitary cell, to subsist on bread and water till he returns to a proper sense of his behaviour; but the dread all those have of this treatment, who have once experienced it, is such, that it is seldom found necessary to repeat it. The women are kept totally apart from the men, and are employed in a manner suitable to their sex. The labourers all eat together in one large apartment; and regularly, every Sunday, there is divine service, at which all attend. It is the duty of the chaplain to converse at times with the prisoners, and endeavour to reform their minds and principles. The inspectors, when they visit the prison, also do the same; so that when a prisoner is liberated, he goes out, as it were, a new man; he has been habituated to employment, and has received good instructions. The greatest care is also taken to find him employment the moment he quits the place of his confinement. According to the regulations, no person is allowed to visit the prison without permission of the inspectors. The greatest care is also taken to preserve the health of the prisoners, and for those who are sick, there are proper apartments and good advice provided. The longest period of confinement is for a rape, which is not to be less than ten years, but not to exceed twenty-one. For high treason, the length of confinement is not to be less than six nor more than twelve years. There are prisons in every county throughout Pensylvania, but none as yet are established on the same plan as that which has been described. Criminals are frequently sent from other parts of the state to receive

punishment in the prison of Philadelphia.

So well is this gaol conducted, that instead of being an expense, it now annually produces a considerable revenue to the state.

Character of Jezzâr, the celebrated Pâsha, of Acré; extracted from M. W. G. Brown's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from 1792 to 1798.

THE long reign of Achmet Pasha el Jezzâr, (the butcher), accompanied with immense influence and great wealth, might naturally lead to conceive, that, blending his interests with those of his subjects, he would have exerted his authority in promoting their happiness. On the contrary the large plain near Acré is left almost a marsh, and marks of idle magnificence have been substituted for the useful cares of Agriculture. A striking contrast arises between his conduct and that of the Sheeh Daher, his predecessor, who raised Acré from a village to a large town, and doubled the population of the district.

Jezzâr was the first governor in the empire who laid a tax on articles of consumption, as wine, grain, and the like. Even meat and fish are materials of impost. He has erected granaries, a laudable design, but deficient in the execution; for the grain being ill preserved, and the oldest served out first, it is not only disagreeable as food, but unprolific when distributed for seed to the peasants. These imposts form the peculiar revenue of the Pasha; the other resources arising as usual from the tax on land, which amounts to about a twentieth of the rent, the capitation-tax on Christians, and the customs; which last in this government are arbitrary, and neither regulated by the rules of the Porte, nor the capitulations entered into by Europeans. Nevertheless, the chief source of the riches of Jezzâr is the Pashalik of Damascus, which, by means of the usual largesses at the Porte, he contrived to add to his former government, a precedent very unusual in the Othman empire. His military force was once computed at twelve thousand; but, at the time of my visiting Acré, did not exceed four or five thousand.

Till the year 1791 the French had factories at Acré, Seidé, and Beirût. At that period they were all expelled from the territory of Jezzâr by a sudden mandate, which allowed them only three days to abandon their respective habitations, under pain of death.

Passing over the common, but just rule of supposing, that in a quarrel of this magnitude neither party was perfectly free from error, it may be fit to inquire what motives induced this ignominious expulsion, when a simple dismission, to be signified by various other means, would have answered the same purpose.

To this it can only be answered, that the character of Jezzâr is impetuous, and even capricious, on all occasions. Sometimes a warm friend, and then suddenly a bitter enemy, equally, to all appearance, without any adequate reason. As to the conduct of the French, themselves and the other nations in the Levant accord so ill, that I have never obtained a very accurate

ſtatement of it. It ſeems to have originated in the behaviour of a drogueman of the nation, who having in ſome way offended the Paſha, was, by his order, ſummarily ſtrangled or hanged. The French remonſtrated, and threatened him with an application to the Porte, which he did not greatly fear, and he puniſhed, as he termed it, their inſolence, (in aſſerting their undoubted right, according to the capitulations between them and the Porte), in this conciſe manner. Many complaints were made, ſubſequent to this period, by the miniſters of the republic at the Porte, but to no purpoſe: that court, in fact, was otherwiſe engaged, and it may be doubted whether it could have puniſhed the Paſha. The events that followed ſuſpended the proſecution of thoſe claims, which, as the merchants thus ſuddenly baniſhed had loſt much, it appeared they had a right to prefer: but at length Aubert du Bayet ſent a young officer of the name of Bailli to the Paſha, to demand redreſs in a tone perhaps rather too high.

This gentleman, on arriving at Acré, April, 1797, wrote a letter in French to the Paſha, which he had the bizarre idea of finding ſome Levantine drogueman to tranſlate, verbatim, in the preſence of that perſonage. The terms, it ſeems, in which this letter was conceived were ſo bold, that none could be found to preſent it, and the Paſha, under one pretence or other, refuſed to ſee the agent. On this Bailli retired to Yaffé. The anſwer Jezzâr ſent to the claim of the republic was, that private merchants were at liberty to ſettle under his government on the footing of any other nation, but that he would acknowledge no conſul, nor conſent to offer them any indemnification for the loſſes of the late factory.

The celebrated Aſad Paſha, mentioned by Niebuhr and Volney, left an only daughter, of whom, on her marriage with Mohammed Paſha Adm, ſprang the preſent Paſha Abdallah. Mohammed Paſha Adm was preceded by Oſmân, and ſucceeded by two of his own brothers ſucceſſively, the laſt of whom, named Derwiſh, was expelled by the intrigues of Jezzâr, who gained his office, and married the daughter of Mohammed Paſha Adm. This marriage of ambition, not of affection, terminated in a divorce a year after. Among other inſtances of his bad treatment of this lady, it is recorded, that Jezzâr, meeting her one day in the houſe, where ſhe happened to have cabcab, or Arabian pattens on her feet, pulled a piſtol from his cincture, and fired it at her, ſaying, "Art thou the wife of an Arabian peaſant? doſt thou forget that thou art the wife of a Paſha?"

Jezzâr retained his ill-won paſhalîk of Damaſcus only a few years; his government was a continual ſcene of oppreſſion and cruelty, and he is ſuppoſed to have extorted from the people not leſs than twenty-five thouſand purſes, or about a million and two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and to have put to death near four hundred individuals, moſt of them innocent. His own miſconduct and ſuſpicious deſigns, when leading the caravan to Mecca, conſpired with the machinations of his enemies at the Porte to deprive him of his office: but living monuments of his cruelty remain, in the noſeleſs faces

and earleſs heads of many of the Damaſcenes. Thus driven from Damaſcus, he returned to his former paſhalik of Acré and Seidé, where he remains. This government, which he held along with that of Damaſcus, he has retained upwards of twenty-ſeven years.

Jezzâr was ſucceeded by the preſent Paſha Abdallah, whoſe adminiſtration, though eminent, as before obſerved, for equity, is yet liable to the charge of miſmanagement of the public revenue, and of an indecorous timidity. Under the energetic ſway of Jezzâr, the ſacred caravan had met with no obſtructions on its route; but that of the preſent year, not only found the reſervoirs for water deſtroyed or damaged, ſo that many camels periſhed for want of that indiſpenſable article, but even the pilgrims were inſulted by the Arabs, probably incited by the arts and malicious revenge of Jezzâr. By dint of bribes, however, at the Porte, Abdallah prevented his expected deprivation.

Of the Manners of the Inhabitants of Dar-Fûr. From the ſame.

THE troops of the country are not famed for ſkill, courage, or perſeverance. In their campaigns much reliance is placed on the Arabs who accompany them, and who are properly tributaries rather than ſubjects of the ſultaun. One energy of barbariſm they indeed poſſeſs, in common with other ſavages, that of being able to endure hunger and thirſt; but in this particular they have no advantage over their neighbours. On the journey, a man whom I had obſerved travelling on foot with the caravan, but unconnected with any perſon, aſked me for bread—"How long have you been without it?" ſaid I.—"Two days," was the reply.—"And how long without water?"—"I drank water laſt night."—This was at ſun-ſet, after we had been marching all day in the heat of the ſun, and we had yet ſix hours to reach the well. In their perſons the Fûrians are not remarkable for cleanlineſs. Though obſerving, as Mohammedans, all the ſuperſtitious formalities of prayer, their hair is rarely combed, or their bodies completely waſhed. The hair of the pubes and axillæ it is uſual to exterminate; but they know not the uſe of ſoap; ſo that with them poliſhing the ſkin with unguents holds the place of perfect ablutions and real purity. A kind of farinacious paſte is however prepared, which being applied with butter to the ſkin, and rubbed continually till it become dry, not only improves its appearance, but removes from it accidental ſordes, and ſtill more the effect of continued tranſpiration, which, as there are no baths in the country, is a conſideration of ſome importance. The female ſlaves are dexterous in the application of it, and to undergo this application is one of the refinements of African ſenſuality. Their intervals of labour and reſt are fixed by no eſtabliſhed rule, but governed by inclination or perſonal convenience. Their fatigues are often renewed under the oppreſſive influence of the meridian ſun, and in ſome diſtricts their nightly ſlumbers are interrupted by the dread of robbers, in others by the muſquitoes and other inconveniences of the climate.

The

The diſpoſition of the people of Fûr has appeared to me more cheerful than that of the Egyptians; and that gravity and reſerve which the precepts of Mohammediſm inſpire, and the practice of the greater part of its profeſſors, countenances and even require, ſeem by no means as yet to ſit eaſy on them. A government perfectly deſpotic, and at this time not ill adminiſtered, as far as relates to the manners of the people, yet forms no adequate reſtraint to their violent paſſions.* Prone to inebriation, but unprovided with materials or ingenuity to prepare any other fermented liquor than bûza, with this alone their convivial exceſſes are committed. But though the ſultaun hath juſt publiſhed an ordinance (March, 1795) forbidding the uſe of that liquor under pain of death, the plurality, though leſs publicly than before, ſtill indulge themſelves in it. A company often ſits from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet drinking and converſing, till a ſingle man ſometimes carries off near two gallons of that liquor. The bûza has however a diuretic and diaphoretic tendency, which precludes any danger from theſe exceſſes.

In this country, dancing is practiſed by the men as well as the women, and they often dance promiſcuouſly. Each tribe ſeems to have its appropriate dance: that of Fûr is called Secondari, that of Bukkara Bendala. Some are grave, others laſcivious, but conſiſting rather of violent efforts than of graceful motions. Such is their fondneſs for this amuſement, that the ſlaves dance in fetters to the muſic of a little drum; and, what I have rarely ſeen in Africa or the eaſt, the time is marked by means of a long ſtick held by two, while others beat the cadence with ſhort batons.

They uſe the games of Tab-u-duk and Drîs-wa-talaitê, deſcribed by Niebuhr, which however appear not indigenous, but to have been borrowed of the Arabs.

The vices of thieving, lying, and cheating in bargains, with all others nearly or remotely allied to them, as often happen among a people under the ſame circumſtances, are here almoſt univerſal. No property, whether conſiderable or trifling, is ſafe out of the ſight of the owner, nor indeed ſcarcely in it unleſs he be ſtronger than the thief. In buying and ſelling, the parent glories in deceiving the ſon, and the ſon the parent; and God and the prophet are hourly invocated, to give colour to the moſt palpable frauds and falſehoods.

The privilege of polygamy, which, as is well known, belongs to their religion, the people of Soudân puſh to the extreme. At this circumſtance the Muſſulmans of Egypt, with whom I have converſed on the ſubject, affect to be much ſcandalized: for whereas, by their law they are allowed four free women, and as many ſlaves as they can conveniently maintain, the Fûrians take both free women and ſlaves without any limitation. The ſultan has more than a hundred free women, and many of the meleks have from twenty to thirty. Teraub, a late king, contented

* The inhabitants of a village called Bernoo, having quarrelled with thoſe of another hamlet, and ſome having been killed on both ſides, all the property of both villages was forfeited to the king, the inhabitants being abandoned to poverty.

himself with about five hundred females as a light travelling equipage in his wars in Kordofan, and left as many more in his palace. This may seem ridiculous, but when it is recollected that they had corn to grind, water to fetch, food to dress, and all menial offices to perform for several hundred individuals, and that these females (excepting those who are reputed *Serrari*, concubines of the monarch) travel on foot, and even carry utensils, &c. on their heads, employment for this immense retinue may be imagined, without attributing to the sultan more libidinous propensities than belong to others of the same rank and station.

Some Account of Bondou, and its Inhabitants, the Foulahs. From Park's Travels in the Interior of Africa.

BONDOU is bounded on the east by Bambouk; on the south-east, and south, by Tenda, and the Simbani Wilderness; on the south-west, by Woolli; on the west, by Foota Torra; and on the north, by Kajaaga.

The country, like that of Woolli, is very generally covered with woods, but the land is more elevated, and towards the Falemé river, rises into considerable hills. In native fertility the soil is not surpassed, I believe, by any part of Africa.

From the central situation of Bondou, between the Gambia and Senegal rivers, it is become a place of great resort; both for the Slatees, who generally pass through it, in going from the coast to the interior countries; and for occasional traders, who frequently come hither from the inland countries, to purchase salt.

These different branches of commerce are conducted principally by Mandingoes and Serawollies, who have settled in the country. These merchants likewise carry on a considerable trade with Gedumah, and other Moorish countries, bartering corn and blue cotton clothes for salt; which they again barter in Dentila and other districts for Iron, shea-butter, and small quantities of gold-dust. They likewise sell a variety of sweet smelling gums packed up in small bags, containing each about a pound. These gums, being thrown on hot embers, produce a very pleasant odour, and are used by the Mandingoes for perfuming their huts and clothes.

The customs, or duties on travellers, are very heavy; in almost every town an ass load pays a bar of European merchandise; and at Fatteconda, the residence of the king, one Indian bast, or a musket, and six bottles of gunpowder, are exacted as the common tribute. By means of these duties, the king of Bondou is well supplied with arms and ammunition; a circumstance which makes him formidable to the neighbouring states.

The inhabitants differ in their complexions and national manners from the Mandingoes and Serawoollies, with whom they are frequently at war. Some years ago the king of Bondou crossed the Falemé river with a numerous army, and after a short and bloody campaign totally defeated the forces of Samboo, king of Bambouk, who was obliged to sue for peace, and surrender to him all the towns along the eastern bank of the Falemé.

The

The Foulahs in general are of a tawny complexion, with small features, and soft silky hair; next to the Mandingoes they are undoubtedly the most considerable of all the nations in this part of Africa. Their original country is said to be Fooladoo (which signifies the country of the Foulahs); but they possess at present many other kingdoms at a great distance from each other; their complexion however, is not exactly the same in the different districts; in Bondou, and the other kingdoms which are situated in the vicinity of the Mooriſh territories, they are of a more yellow complexion than in the southern states.

The Foulahs of Bondou are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, but the uncharitable maxims of the Koran have made them less hospitable to strangers, and more reserved in their behaviour than the Mandingoes. They evidently consider all the negro natives as their inferiors; and when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the white people.

Their government differs from that of the Mandingoes chiefly in this, that they are more immediately under the influence of the Mahomedan laws; for all the chief men (the king excepted) and a large majority of the inhabitants of Bondou, are Mussulmen, and the authority and laws of the prophet, are every where looked upon as sacred and decisive. In the exercise of their faith, however, they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is not known among them, nor is it necessary; for the system of Mahomet is made to extend itself by means abundantly more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the Pagan as well as Mahomedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the prophet, the Mahomedan priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterwards remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished they had better instructors, and a purer religion.

With the Mahomedan faith is also introduced the Arabic language, with which most of the Foulahs have a slight acquaintance. Their native tongue abounds very much in liquids, but there is something unpleasant in the manner of pronouncing it. A stranger on hearing the common conversation of two Foulahs, would imagine that they were scolding each other. Their numerals are these:—

One	—	*Go.*
Two	—	*Deeddee.*
Three	—	*Tettee.*
Four	—	*Nee.*
Five	—	*Jouee.*
Six	—	*Jego.*
Seven	—	*Jedeeddee.*
Eight	—	*Je Tettee.*
Nine	—	*Je Nee*
Ten	—	*Sappo.*

The industry of the Foulahs, in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is every where remarkable. Even on the banks of the Gambia, the greater part of the corn is raised by them; and their herds and flocks are more numerous

and

and in better condition than thoſe of the Mandingoes; but in Bondou they are opulent in a high degree, and enjoy all the neceſſaries of life in the greateſt profuſion. They diſplay great ſkill in the management of their cattle, making them extremely gentle by kindneſs and familiarity. On the approach of night, they are collected from the woods, and ſecured in folds, called korrees, which are conſtructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. In the middle of each korree is erected a ſmall hut, wherein one of two of the herdſmen keep watch during the night to prevent the cattle from being ſtolen, and to keep up the fires which are kindled round the korree to frighten away the wild beaſts.

The cattle are milked in the mornings and evenings: the milk is excellent; but the quantity obtained from any one cow is by no means ſo great as in Europe. The Foulahs uſe the milk chiefly as an article of diet, and that, not until it is quite ſour. The cream which it affords is very thick, and is converted into butter by ſtirring it violently in a large calabaſh. This butter, when melted over a gentle fire, and freed from impurities, is preſerved in ſmall earthern pots, and forms a part in moſt of their diſhes; it ſerves likewiſe to anoint their heads, and is beſtowed very liberally on their faces and arms.

But although milk is plentiful, it is ſomewhat remarkable that the Foulahs, and indeed all the inhabitants of this part of Africa, are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheeſe. A firm attachment to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, makes them view with an eye of prejudice every thing that looks like innovation. The heat of the climate, and the great ſcarcity of ſalt, are held forth as unanſwerable objections; and the whole proceſs appears to them too long and troubleſome, to be attended with any ſolid advantage.

Beſides the cattle, which conſtitute the chief wealth of the Foulahs, they poſſeſs ſome excellent horſes, the breed of which ſeems to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African.

Account of the Mainottes, the Deſcendants of the ancient Lacedemonians; from Major Taylor's Travels from England to India.

THE Mainottes poſſeſs a character different from any people in modern Europe. Of the Greek church, they are alike the enemy of the Chriſtians and the Turks. Pirates by ſea, robbers by land; oppoſed to corſairs of all denominations, they ſeem to regard themſelves as privileged plunderers on the deep. Reſtrained by no laws, human or divine, they are neither juſt to themſelves, to their neighbours, or their friends. Cuſtom, which becomes ſecond nature, ſanctions, and even the religion of the Mainottes approves the worſt of crimes. The dexterity of the Spartans is here refined into ſyſtem and maturity. In moſt countries religion is at leaſt a feeble check to irregularities, and has a tendency to guard the property of others: in this the calogers, or monks, from their cells and caves, are the ſpies and ſentinels to give warning of the approach of veſſels. On their appearance they piouſly turn out to encourage the banditti, and to partake of their plunder.—

They

They demand the tenths of the church, and by this means religion becomes a cloak to their infamy and knavery. The vices of the Mainottes are many, their virtues few. Were they deprived of courage, and the independence of their nature, there could no where be met ſo deſpicable a race. Unworthy to aſſociate with any nation, they form no alliances, but depend on themſelves, the ſtrength of their country, and their own inſignificance.

They are dextrous in handling the oar, and in uſing the ſail; their veſſels being alike adapted for both purpoſes. The beſt ſailing Turkiſh or Venetian galleys fall very ſhort, either of the ſkill of their ſeamen, or the ſwiftneſs of their cruizers; and the circumſtance of their drawing little water, and being able, when purſued, to run into ſhallow creeks, gives them a decided advantage.

The Brazzo de Maina, as their country is termed, contains about 40,000 ſouls—the tops of its mountains are frequently covered with ſnow, whilſt the bottom affords good paſture for their numerous herds of cattle and goats—their grapes are delicious, and make wine not inferior to that of Lepanthe, eſteemed the beſt in Greece. Game they have in abundance, particularly quails: theſe, when ſalted, afford them an agreeable and wholeſome food, but the plenty of wild hogs, bears, and deer, is altogether incredible.

The fineſt water in the world is diſtilled from their mountains, and running ſtreams interſect the country more than any other of the ſame extent. What luxury is here for the gratification of ſo abandoned a people! it is ſaid, that the mountain of Tenara yields rock cryſtal, minerals of various kinds, and even ſome precious ſtones. In the midſt of this mountain is an extraordinary crater, very wide, and of an immenſe depth. This opening was by the ancient Greeks conſecrated to Neptune, and is now ſuppoſed by the ignorant Mainottes to be the gateway of the devil, by which he viſits the earth. By the Lacedemonians it was eſteemed one of the gates of hell, in the ſame manner as the lake Peneus was ſuppoſed to be another, and the ſource of the Styx. Hercules was reputed to have entered the Tenarean crater, when he conquered and carried off the triple-headed Cerberus, when defending the infernal manſion of his maſter Pluto.

The Mainottes ſtill remain in a conſiderable degree independent of the Turks, and are divided into two races: the inhabitants of the ſouthern diſtrict are denominated by the Turks Cacovouguis, or "the Raſcals of the Mountain," while thoſe who poſſeſs the low country to the northward, are leſs ſavage and ferocious. They maintain a republican government, at the head of which are their papao or prieſts of the higher order, to whom are joined one or two of their moſt opulent families. There is no doubt but their entire ſubjugation could be eaſily effected, were it ſeriouſly undertaken; but as I have already obſerved, they are too inſignificant; and beſides, they are now bridled with citidals and garriſoned with Janizaries, which makes them cautious of plundering the Turks as they formerly uſed to do.

In former times, and indeed not much above a century ago, the piracies of the Mainottes were ſhocking to humanity. When a Turkiſh

veſſel

veſſel was captured by them, they repaired to Malta and ſold the crew: when a ſimilar misfortune happened to a Chriſtian, the Turks became the purchaſers; and it was no uncommon matter for a Mahometan to bargain with a Mainotte to ſeize and carry into ſlavery ſome particular Chriſtian whoſe fortune or ſituation might excite his envy—ſo little ſcrupulous were they in this reſpect, that the wife or child of their neighbour was equally obnoxious to their arts. So much terror and dread did this unnatural traffic occaſion amongſt themſelves, that when any of their famous corſairs were preparing for ſea, the handſome women and children were carefully ſecured, leſt they ſhould be ſtolen and ſold into other countries. On this ſubject a pleaſant ſtory is related of two famous corſairs of the year 1669: Theodora and Anapliottis, friends and neighbours, connected by ſimilarity of profeſſion and diſpoſion, were married to handſome women. It happened, in the diviſion of a Venetian prize, that a quarrel enſued between theſe venders of their fellow creatures—each in his turn vowed revenge. Theodora ſucceeded in ſeizing on the wife of Anapliottis, and carried her for ſale on board a Malteſe cruiſer, then at anchor in the road of Maina. The commander of the Malteſe refuſed to give the price demanded; urged his having on the ſame day purchaſed a more beautiful woman for a leſs ſum: and, to convince him of the truth, he ordered her to be produced. Theodora was aſtoniſhed to behold his wife, who in like manner had been carried away by the ſtratagem of Anapliottis. The mind of Theodora was enraged, and the idea of extricating his own was, for the moment, loſt in the ſavage gratification and revenge of diſpoſing of the wife of the other, at the inferior price offered by the purchaſer. The bargain being finiſhed, and both wives in the poſſeſſion of the Malteſe, Theodora repaired to the houſe of Anapliottis—the meeting was of a different nature from what might be expected: he found Anapliottis buſily employed in fitting out a veſſel to attack the Malteſe, and regain the fair captive. In place of anger and reproach, they prudently agreed to join their forces, and to recover their wives by any means that might beſt ſuit their purpoſe; but the purchaſer was too judicious to oppoſe, and quietly gave up what with ſafety to himſelf he could not retain. The huſbands returned in triumph to their reſpective houſes; all parties were reconciled; and mutual forgiveneſs cloſed this extraordinary tranſaction.

Memoirs and Anecdotes of eminent Perſons, who have died in the courſe of this Year.

Biographical Anecdotes of the late Tippoo Sultaun; together with an Account of his Revenues, Eſtabliſhment of his Troops, &c. Taken from the Information of one of Tippoo's Officers, written in the Year 1790, and tranſlated from the Perſian, by Captain James Achilles Kirkpatrick. With his Character, by the Editor of the Aſiatic Annual Regiſter, for this Year.

TIPPOO Sultaun is about 43 years of age: his conſtitution is much impaired; he is ſubject to

to two diſorders, the frequent return of which obliges him to take medicine daily.

He is from five feet eight to nine inches high; is now rather inclined to fat, although, a few years ſince, he was very thin: his face is round, with large full eyes; and there is much animation and fire in his countenance: he wears whiſkers, but no beard: he is very active, and ſometimes takes long walks.

He has eleven children, of whom only two are in marriage; the elder, a girl of ſeven years; the younger, a boy of four years.

The eldeſt of his natural children, is a girl of ſeventeen years; the ſecond, a ſon of fifteen years—He is a great favourite, and accompanies his father upon all occaſions—his name is Gullaum Heyder. Another ſon, Abdul Khalick, is ten years old.

His diſpoſition is naturally cruel: his temper is paſſionate and revengeful; and he is prone to be abuſive; and his words are falſe and hypocritical, as ſuit his purpoſes.

His policy, thus far differing widely from his father, has been ruinous to his revenues, as well as hurtful to his government. He profeſſes himſelf Naib to one of the *twelve prophets*, who, the Mahommedans believe, are yet to come; and he perſecutes all other caſts; forcing numbers to become Muſſulmen. He is jealous of, and prejudiced againſt, his father's favourites; moſt of whom he has removed from their offices, giving to ſome leſſer appointments. When compared to his father, his underſtanding and judgement are ſuppoſed to be inferior: he is eſteemed as good a ſoldier, but a leſs ſkilful general; and he is wanting in that great reſource, which his father ſo eminently diſplayed in all caſes of danger. His father diſcriminated merit, rewarded it liberally, and puniſhed guilt with the utmoſt rigour of a deſpot: he gives little encouragement or reward; and he puniſhes more from the influence of paſſion and prejudice than from any attention to juſtice. His father was aſſiduous in gaining the attachment of his army: he is rather negligent of it; and being very parſimonious, he is led to impoſe upon his troops, whenever opportunities offer: he ſometimes retains their pay for ſeveral months, and has his own ſocars to lend his money at an enormous intereſt, which is ſtopped when the pay is iſſued.

On Tippoo's return to Seringapatam, after the concluſion of the war with the Engliſh, he took an inventory of his property of every kind, which, in treaſure and various other articles, on valuation, ſtood at twenty crores of pagodas: in the treaſury, Bahaudry pagodas (four rupees each), five crores: the remaining fifteen crores were in jewels, valuable clothes, &c. &c.; and

Elephants	700
Camels	6,000
Horſes	11,000
Bullocks and cows	400,000
Buffaloes	100,000
Sheep	600,000
Firelocks	300,000
Matchlocks	300,000
Swords and creſſes	200,000
Guns in Seringapatam, of different calibres, a few of which are Malabar	1,000
Guns in other forts	1,000

The treaſure, and other valuable property, is now kept entirely at Seringapatam.

Seringapatam. Formerly ſome part of it was kept in Biddinore, and it is ſaid, that at the time of general Matthew's taking it, there was a treaſure of twenty-five lacks of pagodas, beſides four crores of pagodas value, in gold, ſilver, &c.

The full collections amounted to five crores and ninety-two lacks of Cunterary pagodas (of three rupees each): the expenſe of ſebundy, &c. one and a half crore; deficiences in the collections, from various cauſes, which lay over, ſixty lacks; for building and repairing forts, making docks, and building ſhips, one crore and eighty-two lacks; paid into the treaſury, two crores. Total, five crores and ninety-two lacks.

Since Tippoo aſſumed the government, the revenues have diminiſhed greatly, in conſequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father. He removed from the hamauldaries, all the Brahmans, and others of the Hindû caſt, who were well verſed in country buſineſs, and put Muſſulmen in their places. He forbade the ſale of arrack and gunja throughout his dominions, which had produced a very conſiderable revenue to the circar. He removed, from the Biddinore and Soanda countries, about 70,000 Chriſtian inhabitants, who were the cultivators of the ground, by which the revenues of theſe countries ſuſtained a great loſs. The Biddinore country alone yielded to Hyder a net revenue of eighteen lacks of pagodas: it has ſince fallen to ten lacks. From theſe and other cauſes, ariſing from bad management, Tippoo's revenues have been greatly diminiſhed; inſomuch that his net revenue did not exceed, after the foregoing deductions, the firſt year, one and a half crore, inſtead of two, as in his father's time; and every ſucceeding year only one crore. He has not thrown any money into the ſtanding treaſury ſince his government, and he has drawn from it fifty lacks of pagodas.

Since the concluſion of the late war, he has thrown into Seringapatam, proviſions for 100,000 men, for twelve months; and into his other forts, proviſions in proportion to their ſtrength and importance: and as a precaution to prevent treachery, he has appointed, to ſome of his principal forts, ſix killedars; to others, three; to others, two; ſuch as are not intended for defence have only one. Although all theſe are commonly called killedars, yet, properly ſpeaking, there is but one killedar; the others go under the denomination of munſhoor (or counſellors). The firſt is buckſhy, or commander of the ſepoys; the ſecond, buckſhy of the peons; the third, buckſhy of the commatties and artificers; the fourth darogah, in charge of the works; the fifth, darogah, for ſuperintending the making of bricks and chunam.—When Tippoo writes, he addreſſes the killedar and munſhuraun; when they write to him, it is, in like manner, from the killedar and munſhuraun: they have all their reſpective orders from the circar; and each is at liberty to detect the other, if any thing is done contrary to order.

The Eſtabliſhment of his Forces.

Cavalry.

His own ſtable, horſe for ſervice	7000
Hired horſe	12,000
Total	19,000

Artil-

Artillery.	
Golandauze . .	2000
Laſcars for the guns .	8000
Total	10,000
European Artillery, two companies . .	30
Infantry.	
Aſſadoulla, or Chelys from the Carnatic . .	2,500
Ditto, from Chittledurg	500
Ahmuddy, or Chriſtians from Biddinore . .	1,500
Mahomedy, Chelys, from Coerg . . .	1,500
Diſmounted troopers .	8,000
Sepoys	55,000
Total	69,000
Fighting Peons .	40,000
Rocket-men . .	5,000
Total	45,000
Commatties . .	10,000
Peons for carrying dooleys, &c. and working at the roads with the Commatties	60,000
Total	70,000
Two Riſſallas of Topaſſes, one of them having a company of Europeans attached to it of 100 ſtrong	900
Lally's Party.	
European Cavalry, one troop	50
Ditto Infantry, intermixed with country-born .	180
Topaſſes . . .	150
Sepoys	250
Total	630

With the party, 1 ſix pounder.

Tippoo has made great alterations in the eſtabliſhment of his troops. His father was partial to his cavalry, and kept up a much larger body than he does: he is partial to his infantry, and has made great augmentation to them: 5000 of his own ſtable horſe are formed and trained regularly, and 2000 are as Mogul horſe; and there are not above 3000 of the hired horſe that can be called good cavalry, the reſt are more of the plundering kind. He has adopted Perſian terms for the words of command, which were heretofore given partly in Engliſh and partly in French; he has alſo altered the terms for the formation of the troops. In the cavalry, a troop (95 ſtrong) is called a *yews;* the ſubidar, a *yewſdar;* a jemidar, *ſurkele:* a regiment (four yews) is called a *tub;* the commandant, *tubdar:* a *mowkoub* is compoſed of four tubs; the commander, *mowkoubdar:* the troopers are called *oſſ*[redacted]. In the infantry, a company (125 ſtrong) is called a *jowk;* the ſubidar, *jowkdar;* a jemidar, *ſurkele:* a battalion of four jowks is called a *riſſalla;* the ſepoys are called *jiſh.* A ſentinel is called *ezuddar;* the rounds, *kirwaun;* the parole, *niſhane;* a guard, *munkulla:* each tub has two galloper-guns, three pounders, and each riſſalla has two ſix pounders. A *kouſhoun,* or legion, is compoſed of one tub of cavalry, four riſſallas of infantry, and two eighteen pounders. The gallopers are drawn by mules, and all the draught cattle belong to the circar. Each kouſhoun has an elephant attached to it, which is harneſſed like a horſe, to aſſiſt the guns through difficulties. The cavalry and infantry are clothed alike, in a ſtriped blue and white ſtuff, of country

try manufacture. The artillery have alſo a cotton ſtuff, white ground, with large round blue ſpots.

The Manner of his paſſing his Time in Camp.

He riſes ſometimes at 7 o'clock, but more commonly at eight or nine in the morning; on halting days, waſhes and takes medicines; the barber then begins to ſhave him, during which the head aukbar neoiſe, or news-writer, comes in with the letters that have arrived by the tappauls, and relates the news of the different countries, as he has received it. The officer commanding his guard then comes in, and makes his report; after which the adjutants of corps come, and make a report of their reſpective corps. About twelve o'clock he goes to dinner, which is over in about an hour: he then holds his durbar, and tranſacts all buſineſs, civil and military, until five o'clock: he then gives out the parole, which he takes from the planets, or ſigns of the zodiac, writing it himſelf in a book, which is depoſited with his own guard, where the adjutant-general (for each cutcherry has an adjutant-general) comes and takes it; after which he lays down and ſleeps about an hour, riſes, and makes his ſecond meal: the mounchies, or ſecretaries, are then called in; they read the letters that have been received during the day, and he gives his orders for anſwering them:—all this done, and the letters prepared for diſpatch, about two or three in the morning he goes to reſt. On marching days, where there is no immediate exigency, the army ſeldom moves before eight o'clock, after Tippoo has taken his breakfaſt: he goes in his palankeen, on the march; and if any thing particular occurs, he immediately mounts his horſe. The order of march is varied according to circumſtances; during his late war againſt the Mahrattas, as they were greatly ſuperior to him in cavalry, his infantry marched in four columns,

thus ‖ ‖ with the cavalry and bag-
‖

gage in the centre: he encamps in a ſquare; his infantry and guns occupying the four faces—the cavalry, within the ſquare; each face has an open ſtreet in its centre, with a buzzar. A kouſhoun forms the picquet of the front face, and is advanced from twelve to fifteen hundred paces; a riſſalla is advanced from it, about five hundred paces; and on the march all theſe picquets from the advance and rear guards, and flanking guards to the columns. The infantry are diſencumbered of their baggage on the march, bullocks being allowed by the circar for carrying it.

The army marches, in common, about four coſs Sultany*; in expedition, the whole army marches abount ſix or ſeven coſs Sultany; but a body of horſe only, in order to make a puſh, have gone, in little more than a day and a night, a very conſiderable diſtance. During

* The Sultany coſs has been eſtabliſhed by Tippoo; and the principal roads through his dominions have three trees, of particular kinds, planted on one ſide, to make the coſs. The Carnatic coſs is about 2½ miles; the Cunteary, or old Myſore coſs, is about three miles; the Sultany coſs is about four miles.

the

the late war in the Carnatic, Hyder marched with a body of horſe, from Oombly, near Tritchinopoly, to Chillimbrum, in 27 hours; he moved off at three o'clock in the morning, and at ſeven the next morning, he reached Chillimbrum, a diſtance of about ſeven gow, or twenty-eight coſs, equal to ſeventy miles; the third day his infantry and guns came up. At the commencement of Tippoo's late war againſt the Mahrattas, he lay with his army at Perour, in the Riadurg country: marching at three o'clock in the morning, he arrived, at ſeven o'clock the next morning, at Kirchungood, near to Adoni, and attacked a body of 4000 Mahratta plunderers.

He keeps in his pay 300 hircarrahs, at three pagodas a month each: ſuch as prove themſelves moſt active and clever, are employed for intelligence. Beſides theſe, he ſtations news-writers in ſuch principal places as he thinks neceſſary; and theſe are inſtructed to write in the ſtyle of ſoucars, and the intelligence required is made applicable to the coins, &c. treated of; ſo that if a letter is intercepted, no diſcovery is made: ſhould there be any thing that cannot be ſo introduced, it is given verbally to the bearer of the letter. Tippoo ſeldom rewards with preſents; and when he does, they are very trifling, perhaps not more than five rupees.

Theſe anecdotes place the character of Tippoo Sultaun in its true light. His abilities have undoubtedly been over-rated. He was neither ſo wiſe a ſtateſman, nor ſo able a general, as he has been repreſented. Though he poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of prudence, and was not wanting either in promptitude or judgement, yet was he greatly deficient in that comprehenſion and vigour of mind, which are eſſential ingredients in the compoſition of all true greatneſs. Selfiſh, cunning, and rapacious, in government as well as in war, he acted upon narrow principles.

His Revenue Regulations,* which are certainly framed with great ability, and which ſeem well calculated to enrich both the prince and people, were fruſtrated in their operation by his ſhifting and ſhallow policy. As a warrior, he was brave, cautious, and intrepid: but his courage was tinctured with ferocity; and his firmneſs proceeded from obſtinacy rather than from a juſt confidence in his own powers; and he never diſplayed any depth of foreſight, or ſpirit of enterprize. As a politician, he ſhewed little diſcernment, and leſs ſagacity: though his underſtanding was full of artifice, he ſeldom employed it ſucceſsfully; and the ſchemes which he laid to over-reach his enemies, generally proved abortive. Cruel in his diſpoſition, and impetuous in his temper, he was often guilty of enormous acts of tyranny; though, for the moſt part, his prudence taught him to rule over his own ſubjects with a degree of juſtice, that rendered them leſs oppreſſed than thoſe of any other Mohamedan prince in India. Tippoo was ambitious to ſurpaſs his father in every thing; and he had the vanity to imagine

* See the Myſorean Revenue Regulations, tranſlated by Burriſh Criſp, eſq. from the Perſian original, under the ſeal of Tippoo Sultaun, in the poſſeſſion of col. John Murray.—See alſo, a Diſſertation on the Revenues of Myſore, at once luminous and conciſe, in hiſtorical and political view of the Deccan, by James Grant, eſq. Printed for J. Debrett, 1797.

that he was infinitely ſuperior to that extraordinary man. But, in truth, he ſurpaſſed him in nothing but the low arts of private treachery and public intrigue. Hyder was not only endowed with great genius, but with many exalted virtues: he was a conſummate ſtateſman, an enterprifing warrior, a generous conqueror, a faithful ally, a ſtrict obſerver of the laws of war, a benevolent ſovereign, a Mohamedan free from ſuperſtition, a ſteady friend, and an indulgent parent.—Tippoo's talents were not much above mediocrity; the qualities of his heart were greatly below it: in ſtate affairs, he was narrow-minded and prejudiced: in the conduct of his army, he never ſhewed any maſterly generalſhip; the few victories which he gained, were ſullied with the moſt atrocious cruelties: in his alliances, he was faithful, out of hatred to his enemies, not from any principle of honour or integrity: in war, he diſregarded almoſt all the rules that are obſerved by civilized nations: in the adminiſtration of his government, he was lenient only becauſe it ſuited his own intereſt; in his religion he was a fierce and gloomy bigot; he was unſuſceptible of friendſhip, and deſtitute of parental tenderneſs.—Hyder, without the benefits of education, raiſed himſelf, by the dint of his own abilities, from a private ſtation, to the throne of a powerful kingdom. Tippoo, though inſtructed from his earlieſt youth in the art of politics, and left by his father at the head of the beſt diſciplined army that any Indian prince had ever commanded, loſt that kingdom to his poſterity, and ſacrificed his army, by the groſſeſt miſmanagement. Hyder had the addreſs to render the aſſiſtance of the French ſubſervient to his own purpoſes. Tippoo allowed himſelf to be duped by their intrigues, and to be made the mere inſtrument of their ambitious projects.

Nor did Tippoo differ leſs from his father in private, than in public life. The father poſſeſſed the utmoſt frankneſs of manners, enlivened with humour and cheerfulneſs: the ſon was proud, diſtant, ſullen, and auſtere. The father deſpiſed the pageantry of the eaſtern courts: the ſon maintained the pomp and haughtineſs of the moſt voluptuous deſpotiſm. The father was liberal and ſincere: the ſon was parſimonious and treacherous. In fine, Hyder poſſeſſed all thoſe qualities which ſeem requiſite for the ſplendid actions he performed, and who, if he had been an European inſtead of an Aſiatic prince, would have been conſidered as one of the firſt politicians, as well as one of the greateſt heroes, of any age or nation; whereas Tippoo can only be ranked among the deſpots of India, as a crafty but impolitic prince, whoſe paſſions domineered over his judgment, who was ever ready to gratify his revenge at the expenſe of his intereſt, and who fell a ſacrifice to his own hypocriſy.

Memoirs of the Life of Charles Berns Wadſtrom, by Helen Maria Williams.

I Undertake with pleaſure the taſk you have enjoined me of giving you a ſketch of the life of our friend, Charles Berns Wadſtrom. It is ſomething to recount the virtues of thoſe from whom we are ſeparated by death; while thus employed, imagination, a few ſhort moments, renews for us their exiſtence, and the

the heart cheriſhes an illuſion which it loves.

The tribute of regret for the loſs of this eſtimable citizen, and of reſpect for his memory, ought not to be confined to the boſom of friendſhip. The man who devotes his life to the public ſervice, has a claim to public regret; and perhaps no individual ever made more zealous efforts to promote the happineſs of his fellow creatures, to the entire ſacrifice of all ſelfiſh views; perhaps there never exiſted a truer patriot in the moſt enlarged definition of the term; perhaps no man ever deſerved more of humanity than the perſon whoſe death we lament.

Charles Berns Wadſtrom was born at Stockholm, in the year 1746. Having finiſhed his academical ſtudies, he was employed in the quality of engineer in the ſervice of his Swediſh majeſty. From the knowledge he had acquired in mechanics, and mineralogy, the ſtates of Sweden in 1767, and 1768, conſided to his care the direction of a part of the works which they were then erecting in order to render navigable the famous cataract of Trolhaétta; and in 1769, he was employed by the government in the working of the copper mines at Atvédaberg.—He was afterwards engaged in the direction of various eſtabliſhments, and I have heard him mention his having had frequent perſonal intercourſe with the late king of Sweden on thoſe ſubjects. But theſe were employments inſufficient to ſatisfy a mind glowing, like that of Wadſtrom, for a wider ſphere of uſefulneſs and benevolence. The various ſchemes by which, through a long life devoted to the cauſe of philanthropy, he purpoſed to promote this great aim of his exiſtence, were indeed ſometimes romantic, and perhaps ſometimes deluſive. His heart ſeemed more enlarged than his underſtanding—his feelings were always in the right, but his judgement ſometimes erred; and he had a kind of truſting ſimplicity in his nature, which made him often the dupe of his own credulity. But let us not blame too ſeverely this miſplaced reliance on others; there is no danger of the example becoming contagious: let us rather amidſt that egotiſm to which the preſent modes of ſociety give riſe, that wakeful ſuſpicion which puts every heart in a poſture of defence, that careful vigilance with which the old inculcate, and the young acquire, the leſſons of ſelfiſh prudence, let us turn for relief to *one mind*, whoſe weakneſſes were only modifications of virtue, the failings of unguarded humanity, the exceſſive confidence of too liberal a ſpirit, the uncircumſcribed benevolence of too warm a heart.

No project could be more ſublime than that which occupied the greater part of the life of Wadſtrom; which was the emancipation and civilization of that numerous portion of the human race inhabiting the vaſt continent of Africa. With the view of obtaining authentic information reſpecting the ſituation of the natives of Africa, and of ſtudying their diſpoſitions, characters, and manners, he undertook voyage to that continent, where he remained two years. I have, indeed, ſometimes heard this "circumnavigation of philanthropy" aſcribed to other motives than thoſe of pure benevolence. As Ponce de Leon and his companions roved amidſt the Lucayo iſlands, not merely animated by the general ſpirit of diſcovery, but in the viſionary ſearch of a fountain of ſuch wonder-

ful virtue as to renew the youth, and recall the vigour of every perſon who bathed in its waters; ſo Wadſtrom's view in his expedition to Africa has been repreſented not to have been the emancipation of the ſlaves, but the diſcovery of the New Jeruſalem, which it ſeems, in illuminated charts of Swedenborg, lies ſomewhere concealed, amidſt thoſe hitherto unexplored regions. But it is certain that Wadſtrom, though perhaps courteous to ſome errors of that travelled apoſtle, never carried his complaiſance ſo far as to undertake a voyage to Africa in his ſervice. That voyage was a cruſade of humanity; the liberty of the Africans was the favourite project of Wadſtrom's mind, and he lived to enjoy the moſt noble recompenſe of his labours in their cauſe. Too long condemned to bear the ſcorn of thoſe commercial ſpeculators in blood, who ſmile at the folly of ſympathy, and deride the energies of benevolence, condemned to ſuffer the torment of meditating on calamities which he was unable to relieve, with what exulting triumph did he contemplate the fetters of the ſlave torn off in the French colonies, and the deſtinies of that portion of our ſpecies which ſeemed only born to ſuffer, for ever linked with thoſe of that glorious republic whoſe liberty is durable as its power! —With what tranſport did he of late, behold France, after having broken the fetters of the Africans in diſtant regions, preparing to teach them on their native ſoil, the noble leſſons of enlightened freedom! he knew that the yearly caravan which travels from Egypt to Abyſſinia with ſplendid toys, and bears back in exchange, over the far-ſtretched deſart, its load of ſlaves, had, the paſt autumn, conveyed to theſe diſtant regions a new and aſtoniſhing hiſtory of Europeans; that for the firſt time, that name had been pronounced in Africa without horror, and unconnected with images of deſpair. For the firſt time Europeans had been called not the deſtroyers, but the deliverers of mankind; and tidings had been proclaimed, not of free-men fettered, but of ſlaves made free, of nations emancipated by that hero, whoſe ſublime genius, borrowing no force from age, and no ſuccour from experience, has marked its illuſtrious career by no gradations, but ſoared at once to the pinnacle of glory—that hero who has ever victory in his van, and liberty in his rear! Yes, our philanthropic enthuſiaſt muſt have diſcerned with tranſport, that liberty, irreſiſtible in its progreſs as the majeſtic waters of the Nile, when they overflow their banks and ruſh over the land, and, benevolent in its effects, as that fructifying ſtream which ſpreads only bleſſings in its courſe; liberty would ſoon diffuſe over the African continent the benign influence of civilization; and no one felt more ſtrongly than Wadſtrom what a wide meaning of happineſs that word contains! No one deplored more ſincerely than himſelf, that humanity has been ſo long inſulted by partial civilization; and that even in thoſe parts of the globe where ſlavery does not exiſt, particular portions of ſociety have made a monopoly of knowledge, as if a certain degree of education were not the right of all.

Wadſtrom, in having powerfully contributed to the abolition of the ſlave-trade, may be conſidered not merely as the benefactor of the Africans, but has a claim to the honours of more extenſive benevolence; ſince the ſyſtem of ſlavery is perhaps no

no leſs fatal to the Europeans than to the Africans. Where ſlavery prevails, all the paſſions rage with ungovernable violence; every generous ſentiment is obliterated; corruption degrades, licentiouſneſs debaſes, power hardens the mind, and the dignity of human nature, violated in the perſon of the ſlave, is avenged by the conſequent depravity of the maſter. Even women in thoſe regions, they, who ſhould feel pity an irreſiſtible inſtinct, they who ſeem born to ſooth with ſympathizing tears every miſery, and to plead with mild accents for every ſufferer, even they, where ſlavery prevails, diſplay the monſtrous contraſt of weakneſs and ferocity; of voluptuous indolence, and active cruelty; of a frame enervated by all the refinements of luxury, and a heart ſteeled by familiarity with crimes. And their children, on whoſe ductile minds thoſe leſſons of mercy ſhould be impreſſed, to which the uncorrupted heart beats reſponſive; who ſhould be taught to liſp the glowing tale of the oppreſſor puniſhed, and the good made happy, imbibe, from example, all the caprices of cruelty, and before they can diſcern the diſtinctions of vice and virtue, are curſed with the inheritance of guilt.

If then we are grateful to the memory of Wadſtrom for his efforts to confer happineſs on the Africans, we ought alſo to remember with gratitude that he has reſcued the coloniſts from miſery; for ſurely miſerable amidſt all that fortune can beſtow, is he, who is condemned to look back on the record of life without finding the ſweet memorial of one generous action, one wrong redreſſed, one tear ſhed without witneſs, for the unhappy!

On his return from Africa, Wadſtrom viſited England, where thoſe perſons who were acquainted with his philanthropic principles, ſolicited him ſtrongly to remain ſome time. The great queſtion, of the abolition of the ſlave-trade, was at that period brought forward in the Britiſh parliament, and Wadſtrom obtained permiſſion from the king of Sweden to remain in England during the important diſcuſſion. He was repeatedly examined at the bar of the houſe of commons on this ſubject, and produced the journal he had kept of the tranſactions of every day, during his ſtay in Africa. His evidence was conſidered as highly curious, uſeful, and intereſting, and was often referred to in the debates which took place on that occaſion. The opinions he delivered reſpecting the abolition of the ſlave trade, and the eſtabliſhment of philanthropic colonies, gave riſe to the foundation of Sierra Leona, and Boulama, which may juſtly be conſidered as monuments erected in favour of humanity and liberty, by generous and enlightened friends of mankind.

Wadſtrom publiſhed, ſeven years ſince, in London, an octavo volume, containing much intereſting information reſpecting his African expedition, and many important obſervations on colonization. Buonaparte, when departing for Egypt, wiſhed to obtain a copy of this work, and inquired of Wadſtrom where it could be purchaſed. On account of the difficulty of communication between France and England, Wadſtrom had of late been unable to ſupply himſelf with any copies of this work, and had but one copy left in his poſſeſſion, which he immediately preſented to the general.

But while Wadſtrom, the friend of human kind, continued to exert

all the energies of his mind in the great cauſe of humanity, a mortal malady was undermining his conſtitution, and leading him by gradual ſteps to the grave. The fatigues of body, the anxieties of mind he had ſuffered, together with the great tranſitions of climate, had brought on a pulmonary conſumption, of which, after a long ſtruggle with the natural vigour of his frame: he died on the fifteenth of Germinal, 7th year.

Wadſtrom felt what the Engliſh poet calls

"The ruling paſſion ſtrong in death;"

the triumphs of the French republic were to him a continual ſource of enjoyment, becauſe he believed the liberty, and conſequently the happineſs of the world depended on its ſucceſs. A friend, who viſited him in his laſt hours, endeavoured to cheer his mind with thoſe conſolations which he thought moſt congenial to his religious opinions: Wadſtrom heard him in ſilence; his head ſunk on his breaſt, and his eyes were almoſt cloſed; but when his friend, changing the theme, related to him the triumphs of the French armies on the opening of the campaign, Wadſtrom raiſed himſelf on his bed, his countenance became irradiated, and a gleam of pleaſure lighted up his eyes; he deſired to hear again the tale of Maſſena's victories; and when his friend added that news of farther victories was expected in three days, he exclaimed, with a feeling of regret, "Alas! that I have not three days to live!"

Swift, after having written that celebrated ſatire on human nature, entitled "*Gulliver's Travels*," exclaimed, while meditating on the rare virtues of his friend Arbuthnot, "Oh, were there ten Arbuthnots in the world, I would burn my book!"—It is difficult to contemplate the character of Wadſtrom without a ſimilar ſentiment; without feeling that, were there many Wadſtroms in the world, we ſhould learn to think better of mankind.

Helen Maria Williams.

Paris, 20th Germinal, 7th year.

Life of Sauſſure, the Naturaliſt.

HORACE Benedict de Sauſſure was born at Geneva, in the year 1740. His father, an enlightened agriculturiſt, to whom we are indebted for ſome eſſays on rural economy, reſided at Couches, on the banks of the Arve, about half a league from Geneva.

A country life, joined to an active education, tended no doubt to develope in Sauſſure that phyſical ſtrength which is ſo eſſential to the naturaliſt, who wiſhes to extend his knowledge by travelling. He walked every day to the town in order to go to ſchool; and as he lived at the foot of the Saleve, that mountain which he has ſince rendered ſo famous, climbing the rugged road was nothing but ſport to him. Born, as it were, in the midſt of the phænomena of nature, he had every opportunity for ſtudy, and thus avoided all the inconveniences in the ſituation of thoſe philoſophers who form theories without leaving their cloſets, or thoſe cultivators who, though always familiar with nature, are incapable of admiring her beauties.

Botany was his firſt ſtudy. A diverſified ſoil, fertile in a variety of plants, invites the inhabitant of the banks of the Leman-lake to cultivate that delightful ſcience. This taſte brought about an acquaintance

quaintance between Sauſſure and Haller. He viſited that great naturaliſt in 1764, during his retreat at Bex, and in his travels he expreſſes his admiration of that aſtoniſhing man, who excelled in all the branches of natural ſcience. Sauſſure was farther excited to ſtudy the vegetable kingdom in conſequence of his connection with C. Bonnet, who married his aunt, and who ſoon diſcovered the dawning talents of his nephew. Bonnet was then engaged in examining the leaves of plants; Sauſſure alſo turned his attention to theſe vegetable organs, and publiſhed the reſult of his labours under the title of *Obſervations ſur l'Ecorce des Feuilles*—Obſervations on the ſkin of leaves.

This little book, which appeared about the year 1760, contained a number of new obſervations relative to the epidermis of leaves, and the miliary glands with which it is covered. *

At this time, the profeſſorſhip of philoſophy at Geneva became vacant, and Sauſſure, who was then only twenty-one, obtained the chair. Experience, in this inſtance, proved that if early rewards generally extinguiſh the ardour of men who labour only for themſelves, they ſerve on the contrary to animate the zeal of thoſe who make truth the object of their purſuit. In Geneva the two profeſſors of philoſophy taught alternately phyſics and logic, and Sauſſure acquitted himſelf in this double taſk with equal ſucceſs. He even gave to the teaching of logic, what may be called a practical or experimental turn. His courſe, which commenced with the ſtudy of the ſenſes, in order to arrive at the general laws of the underſtanding, at once announced an able obſerver of nature.

Experimental philoſophy was the branch of which he was fondeſt; it conducted him to the ſtudy of chymiſtry and mineralogy. It was then that he recommenced his journies among the mountains, not in queſt of herbs, but to examine the ſubſtances of which the elevated ridges of our globe are compoſed. Geology, a ſcience which then ſcarcely exiſted, gave a charm to his frequent wanderings among the Alps. There the talents of this great naturaliſt were fully developed. During the fifteen or twenty years of his profeſſorſhip, he was alternately employed in fulfilling the duties which his ſituation impoſed, and in traverſing the different mountains in the neighbourhood of Geneva. He even extended his excurſions on one ſide to the Rhine, and on the other to Piedmont. About this time, too, he travelled to Auvergne, for the purpoſe of examining ſome extinguiſhed volcanos; and ſoon after he undertook a tour to Paris, Holland, and England. Afterwards he went to Italy, and croſſed over to Sicily. Theſe journies were not commenced for the purpoſe of haſtening forward to a particular place: his object was conſtantly the ſtudy of nature. He always carried with him the inſtruments neceſſary for his obſervations, and never ſet out without having formed for himſelf a regular plan of experiments. He often remarks in his works, that this method was highly uſeful to him in the progreſs of his ſtudies.

In 1779, he publiſhed the firſt volume of his "Travels in the Alps." It contains a detailed deſcription of the environs of Geneva,

* He had reſumed the ſtudy of this ſubject about eighteen months before his death.

and an account of an excurſion as far as Chamouni, a village at the foot of Mont-Blanc. All naturaliſts have read with pleaſure the deſcription he has given, in this volume, of his *Magnetometre*. The more he examined the mountains, the more he felt the importance of mineralogy: to enable him to ſtudy this branch of ſcience with ſtill greater advantage, he learnt the German language. The new mineralogical knowledge which he acquired, may be eaſily ſeen by comparing the latter volume of his travels with the firſt.

In the midſt of his numerous excurſions in the Alps, and even during the time of the troubled politics of Geneva, in 1782, he found opportunities to make his fine hygrometrical experiments, the reſult of which he publiſhed in 1783, under the title of "Eſſays on Hygrometry." This work, the beſt that ever came from his pen, ſeated his reputation as a naturaliſt. We are indebted to him for the invention of the hygrometre. —Deluc had already invented his whalebone hygrometre, and a conteſt aroſe between him and Sauſſure, which degenerated into a very obſtinate diſpute.

In 1786, Sauſſure gave up his profeſſorſhip, the duties of which he had diſcharged for about 25 years. He reſigned in favour of his diſciple, Pictet, who, with great honour to himſelf, fulfilled the difficult taſk of ſucceeding this great naturaliſt.

From Sauſſure's ſituation as a profeſſor, the ſtate of public inſtruction naturally became an object of his attention. He propoſed a plan of reform in the education of Geneva, the chief deſign of which was to obtain regulations for teaching the natural ſciences and mathematics to the youth of that city at an early age. He was even deſirous that their phyſical education, if I may uſe that expreſſion, ſhould not be neglected; and therefore propoſed the eſtabliſhment of gymnaſtic exerciſes. This plan, as might be expected, occaſioned much diſcuſſion in a town where every one feels the importance of education. It found many ſupporters and many oppoſers.

The mediocrity of pecuniary reſources was, however, a great obſtacle to any innovation of importance. It was beſides feared, that in changing the forms of inſtruction the ſubſtance might be loſt, and that what was known to be good might be ſacrificed in purſuit of ſomething better. The people of Geneva were much attached to their ſyſtem of education; and for this predilection they cannot be blamed, ſince it has not only diffuſed knowledge very generally among them, but has produced many diſtinguiſhed mathematicians* and naturaliſts.†

But public education did not alone occupy the attention of Sauſſure. He employed himſelf in educating his two ſons and his daughter, who ſoon proved themſelves worthy of ſuch an inſtructor. His daughter joins to all the accompliſhments of her ſex, an extenſive knowledge in natural ſcience; and his eldeſt ſon has already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his chemical and philoſophical experiments.

The ſecond volume of the travels of Sauſſure was publiſhed in 1786: it contains a deſcription of

* Abauzit, Cramer, Lhuilier, J. Trembly, &c.

† Jalabert, A. Trembly, Bonnet, Leſage, Deluc, Senebier, Prevot, Pielet, Sauſſure himſelf, &c.

the

the Alps which ſurround Mount Blanc. The author examines them alternately as a mineralogiſt, a geologiſt, and a philoſopher. In this volume he has given ſome intereſting experiments in electricity, and a deſcription of his electrometre, which is the moſt perfect yet known. We are indebted to him for ſeveral other metrical inſtruments, ſuch as his cyanometre, deſigned for meaſuring the intenſity of the blue colour of the ſky, which varies according to the elevation of the obſerver; his diaphanometre for meaſuring the tranſparency of the air; and his anemometre, with which, by the means of a kind of balance, he weighed the force of the wind.

Some years after the publication of this volume, Sauſſure was received as a foreign aſſociate in the academy of ſciences at Paris; but our author not only honoured his country, he loved to ſerve it. He was the founder of the ſociety of arts, to which Geneva is indebted for that high degree of proſperity her manufactures have reached within theſe thirty years. He preſided over this ſociety until his death, and one of his laſt wiſhes was for the preſervation of this eſtabliſhment.

He alſo teſtified his zeal for his country in the council of two hundred, of which he became a member after the diſſolution of the national aſſembly. After having undergone much fatigue in this aſſembly, his health began to be deranged, and in 1794, a paralytic ſtroke deprived him of the uſe of almoſt the whole of one ſide of his body; diſtreſſing, however, as his ſituation then was, his mind loſt nothing of its activity, and ſince that accident he prepared for the preſs the two laſt volumes of his travels, which appeared in 1796. They contain an account of his excurſions in the mountains of Piedmont, Switzerland, and, in particular, his aſcenſion to the ſummit of Mont Blanc. Theſe two laſt volumes, far from exhibiting any ſymptom of his underſtanding having ſuffered from his diſorder, preſent an enormous maſs of new facts and important philoſophical obſervations.

He performed a laſt ſervice to ſcience by publiſhing the *Agenda*, which terminates his fourth volume. In that work this great man, ſurviving himſelf, conducts the young naturaliſt by the hand through mountains, and teaches him how to obſerve them with advantage. This Agenda is a proof of the genius of our author, and of the mental vigour which he preſerved during the decline of his health. During his ſickneſs, he alſo publiſhed, "*Obſervations on the Fuſibility of Stones by the Blow Pipe*," and directed ſome experiments for aſcertaining the height of the bed of the Arve.*

Having gone to Plombiers to uſe the baths of that place for the benefit of his health, he made obſervations on the mountains which he ſaw at a diſtance, and cauſed ſpecimens of the ſtrata which he pointed out to be brought to him. He had announced that he would terminate his travels by giving his ideas relative to the primitive ſtate of the earth. But the more he meditated upon that ſubject, the more difficult he found it to form an opinion on thoſe great revolutions which have happened to the globe. In general he was a *Neptunian*, that is to ſay,

* Theſe papers were inſerted in the "Journal de Phyſique."

he attributed the changes the earth has undergone to the operation of water. He alſo admitted the poſſibility, that elaſtic fluids, in diſengaging themſelves from ſubterraneous cavities, might have raiſed mountains.

His health gradually declined; but he ſtill preſerved the hope of re-eſtabliſhing it. The French government had named him profeſſor of experimental philoſophy in the central ſchool of Paris, and he did not deſpair of being able to fulfil the duties of that honourable ſituation. His ſtrength, however, was daily exhauſted, and a general torpor ſucceeded to the vigour which he had always enjoyed. His ſlow and embarraſſed pronunciation did not correſpond to the vivacity of his mind, and formed a ſtrange contraſt with the graceful animation by which he was formerly diſtinguiſhed. It was a painful ſpectacle to ſee a great man thus fallen, at the age when meditation bears its richeſt fruits, and when he would have enjoyed the glory of his labours.

All the remedies which medicine, enlightened by philoſophy, could afford, were reſorted to for his recovery, but in vain—every endeavour was fruitleſs. Strength and life forſook him by ſlow and painful ſteps. Towards the end of the ſixth year, his decay became more ſenſible, and on the 3d Pluvioſe, of the 7th year, in the 59th year of his age, he terminated his brilliant career, mourned by a family who loved him, by a country that honoured him, and by Europe, whoſe knowledge he had extended.

Memoirs of the celebrated Aſtronomer, Le Monnier; from the German of F. Von Zach, Editor of the Allgemeine Geograph. Ephemeriden, Director of the Obſervatory at Seeberg, near Gotha, * *&c.*

PETER Charles Le Monnier, the oldeſt aſtronomer in Europe, but who had long ceaſed to exiſt for the ſcience of aſtronomy, died on the 2d of April, 1799, aged eighty-four years, at Lizieux in the ci-devant province of Normandy. He was born at Paris on the 20th of November, 1715. From his earlieſt years, he devoted himſelf to aſtronomy: when a youth of ſixteen, he made his firſt obſervation, viz. of the oppoſition of Saturn. At the age of twenty, he was nominated a member of the royal academy of ſciences at Paris. In the year 1735, he accompanied Maupertuis in the celebrated expedition to Lapland to meaſure a degree of latitude. In 1748, he went to Scotland to lord Macclesfield, to obſerve the annular eclipſe of the ſun, which was moſt viſible in that country; and he was the firſt aſtronomer who had the pleaſure to meaſure the diameter of the moon on the diſk of the ſun.

Lewis XV. it is well known, was extremely fond of aſtronomy, and greatly honoured its profeſſors; he loved and eſteemed Le Monnier. I have ſeen the king himſelf (ſays Lalande) come out of his cabinet, and look around for Le Monnier; and when his younger brother was preſented to him, on his appointment to the office of firſt phyſician,

* Of this obſervatory Lalande juſtly remarks, in the oration pronounced by him at the opening again of the Collège de France, p. 9. "*L'Obſervatoire de Gotha eſt le plus beau qu'il y ait en Allemagne. Le Duc y a dépenſé plus de 200 mille francs: aucun prince, aucun roi, n'a donné dans ce ſiècle, ni ſuivi cet exemple.*"

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his majeſty was pleaſed to wiſh him the merit and reputation of his brother, the aſtronomer. All the remarkable celeſtial phænomena were always obſerved by the king, in company with Le Monnier. Thus he obſerved with him, at his chateau of St. Hubert, the two celebrated tranſits of Venus through the diſk of the ſun in the years 1761 and 1769; as appears from the memoirs of the royal Pariſian academy of ſciences. It well deſerves to be here recorded in what manner the king behaved during theſe important obſervations, and how little he diſturbed his aſtronomers (the celebrated La Condamine being likewiſe permitted to obſerve the tranſit in his preſence) in this occupation; the proper time for which, if permitted to paſs by, could not be re-called. Le Monnier relates in his diſſertation, that, "his majeſty perceiving that we judged the laſt contacts to be of the greateſt importance, a profound ſilence at that moment reigned around us." At the tranſit of Venus in 1769, the king allowed the marquis De Chaubert, an intelligent and expert naval officer, who was juſt returned from a literary voyage to the Levant, to aſſiſt at the obſervation. In a court like that of Lewis XV. ſo ſcrupulouſly obſervant of etiquette, theſe will be allowed to have been moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of honour, and of royal favour and condeſcenſion.

In the year 1750, Le Monnier was ordered to draw a meridian at the royal chateau of Bellevue, where the king frequently made obſervations: the monarch, on this occaſion, rewarded him with a preſent of 15,000 livres; but Le Monnier applied this ſum of money likewiſe in a manner that redounded to the honour of his munificent ſovereign and of his country, by procuring new and accurate inſtruments, with which he afterwards made his beſt and moſt remarkable obſervations. In 1742, the king gave him in Paris, *Rue de la Poſte*, a beautiful free dwelling, where, till the breaking out of the revolution, he reſided, and purſued his aſtronomical labours; and where his inſtruments in part yet remain: ſome of them the preſent French government has, at the inſtance of Lalande, purchaſed for the national obſervatory. In 1751, the king preſented him with a block of marble, eight feet in height, ſix feet in breadth, and fifteen inches in thickneſs, to be uſed for fixing his mural quadrant of five feet: this marble wall, together with the inſtruments appended to it, turns on a large braſs ball and ſocket, by which the quadrant may be directed from ſouth to north; thus ſerving to rectify the large mural quadrant of eight feet, which is immoveably made faſt to a wall, towards the ſouth.

With theſe quadrants Le Monnier obſerved, for the long period of forty years, the moon, with unwearied perſeverance, at all hours of the night. It is requiſite to be a diligent aſtronomer, to be able to conceive, to what numberleſs inconveniences the philoſopher is expoſed during an uninterrupted ſeries of lunar obſervations. As the moon during a revolution may paſs through the meridian at all hours of the day or night; the aſtronomer who, day after day, proſecutes ſuch obſervations, muſt be prepared at all, even the moſt inconvenient, hours, and ſacrifice

to them his ſleep and all his enjoyments. How ſecluded from all the pleaſures of ſocial intercourſe, and how fatiguing ſuch a mode of life is; thoſe aſtronomers, indeed, know not who then only ſet their pendulum-clocks in motion, when ſome of the eclipſes of the ſun, moon, or of the ſatellites of Jupiter, are to be viewed. At this time, and in the preſent ſtate of the ſcience, theſe are juſt the moſt inſignificant obſervations; and an able aſtronomer, well ſupplied with accurate inſtruments, may every day, if he take into his view the whole of his profeſſion, make more important and more neceſſary obſervations.

Le Monnier was Lalande's preceptor, and worthy of ſuch a ſcholar: and he promoted his ſtudies by his advice and by every other means in his power. Le Monnier's penetrating mind, indeed preſaged in young Lalande, then only ſixteen years old, what in the ſequel has been ſo ſplendidly confirmed. In his twentieth year, he became, on the recommendation of his preceptor, a member of the royal academy: and in 1752, he was propoſed by him as the fitteſt perſon to be ſent to Berlin, to make with La Caille's, who had been ſent to the Cape of Good Hope, correſpondent obſervations for the purpoſe of determining the parallaxes of the moon, then but imperfectly known. Le Monnier lent his pupil for this expedition his mural quadrant of five feet. His zeal for aſtronomy knew no bounds. For this reaſon, Lalande, in his *Notice des Travaux du C. Le Monnier*, ſays of himſelf: "*Je ſuis moi-même le principal reſultat de ſon zèle pour l'aſtronomie.*"

Le Monnier was naturally of a very irritable temper; as ardently as he loved his friends, as eaſily could he be offended; and his hatred was then implacable. Lalande, as he himſelf expreſſes it, had the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of his beloved preceptor; and he never after could regain his favour. But Lalande's gratitude and reſpect for him always continued undiminiſhed, and were, on every occaſion, with unremitting conſtancy, publicly declared: patiently he endured from him undeſerved ill-treatment; ſo much did he love and eſteem his inſtructor and maſter to the day of his death. "I have not ceaſed to exclaim (writes Lalande), as Diogenes exclaimed to his maſter Antiſthenes: you cannot find a ſtick ſtrong enough to drive me away from you!"

What a noble trait in the character of Lalande! If the readers of his correſpondence in the General Geographical Ephemerides have not already perceived that nobleneſs of ſoul and unaffected candour form the outline of his character, they would be completely convinced of it, if I were permitted to print many other intereſting paſſages in his letters. Such characteriſtic traits of celebrated men deſerve to be recorded and made public; not their trifling and innoxious weakneſſes held up to view with all the glaring colours of witticiſm. In 1797, Lalande wrote an eulogium on Le Monnier, for the *Conn. des Tems*, in the language of a grateful pupil, penetrated with ſentiments of profound veneration and eſteem for his beloved maſter: but Le Monnier refuſed to read it. When I had the pleaſure of enjoy-

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ing the familiar converſation of Lalande in 1798, often has he related to me many particulars of the harſh and implacable treatment and reſentment of Le Monnier, whom he never ceaſed to revere; and as he told me the affecting ſtory of their variance, tears would voluntarily ſtart into the eyes of the worthy old man.

This is not the place to give a circumſtantial account of this intricate quarrel; we ſhall only farther remark, that Lalande was the warm friend and admirer of the no leſs eminent aſtronomer La Caille, whom Le Monnier mortally hated. An intimate friendſhip likewiſe ſubſiſted between Le Monnier and D'Alembert, but Lalande had no friendly intercourſe with the latter.

The celebrated geometrician and profeſſor of mathematics at Utrecht, Hennert, may likewiſe be reckoned among the ſcholars of Le Monnier. I here ſubjoin an extract from a letter which Mr. H. wrote me from Utrecht, the 26th of May, 1797: "Le Monnier is a penetrating and philoſophical aſtronomer: I learned much from him in Paris; though I lodged with the late De l'Iſle, where I frequently made obſervations in company with Meſſier. Le Monnier was the friend of D'Alembert; and conſequently an oppoſer of Lalande."

Le Monnier left behind him ſome valuable manuſcripts, and a number of good obſervations, with reſpect to which he had always been very whimſical, and of which, in his latter years, he never would publiſh any thing. He had by him a ſeries of lunar obſervations, and a multitude of obſervations of the ſtars, for a catalogue of the ſtars, which he had announced ſo early as the year 1741; among which was twice to be found the new planet Uranus. (See Lalande's Aſtronomie, Tables, p. 188). The more he was requeſted to communicate his obſervations, the more obſtinate he became; he even threatened to deſtroy them. At the breaking out of the revolution, Lalande was greatly alarmed for the ſafety of theſe papers; he wiſhed to preſerve them from deſtruction, and made an attempt to get them into his poſſeſſion; but all his endeavours were in vain. He was only able to learn, that Le Monnier had hidden them under the roof his houſe. Le Monnier having been firſt ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy ſo early as the 10th of November, 1791; Lalande apprehended, leſt, if no one except himſelf ſhould know where he had hidden his papers, the infirm old man might perhaps have himſelf forgot it. He hopes, however, that his ſon-in-law, La Grange, may have ſome information concerning them. Le Monnier left behind him three married daughters, the ſecond of whom was, on the 31ſt of May, 1792, led to the altar of Hymen by the celebrated La Grange.

Memoirs of the late Pope, Pius VI. from the firſt Volume of Hiſtorical and Philoſophical Memoirs of Pius VI. and his Pontificate.

IT is, above all, in the conduct of Pius VI. in regard to the Jeſuits, that the principal traits of his character are perceptible. He never cordially acquieſced in their proſcription. He was ſenſible that the Roman pontiff had loſt in them the principal ſupport of his power; but,

but, at the ſame time, that their intriguing ambition might render them formidable. During the greater part of his reign they ſometimes excited his regret, and ſometimes his fears. He never dared either to protect or to perſecute them openly. They were odious to the crowned heads, whoſe good-will it was ſo much his intereſt to conciliate. They increaſed the irreſolution to which he was naturally inclined; and often obliged him to act with duplicity, the uſual attendant upon weakneſs. This ſituation, which would have been embarraſſing even to a mind far more energetic than his, gave birth to ſuch a ſtrange inconſiſtency of conduct, that thoſe who for more than twenty years had obſerved him narrowly, could not, at the moment of his fall, flatter themſelves that they were thoroughly acquainted with his character.

Heaven forbid, however, that we ſhould wiſh to paint him in too odious colours. It would be unjuſt, even were he ſtill in poſſeſſion of his elevated rank. It would be baſe, after the cataſtrophe which has precipitated him from it. No; Pius VI. was neither wicked nor weak; but he had ſeveral glaring defects, which could not eſcape the leaſt diſcerning eye; and caprices which formed a ſtriking contraſt with the majeſtic gravity of the part he had to play. Nobody denied him ſeveral brilliant qualities, conſiderable capacity, an agreeable turn of mind, manners at once noble and prepoſſeſſing, an eaſy and florid ſtyle of elocution, as much information as could be expected in a prieſt imbued with the principles of his profeſſion, and a taſte for the arts tolerably correct. Impatient, iraſcible, obſtinate, and ſuſceptible of prejudices, he was, however, neither obſtinately rancorous, nor premeditately malevolent. Few inſtances can be quoted of his ſenſibility; many may be adduced of his good-nature. In leſs difficult circumſtances, and with means proportioned to his views, he would perhaps have paſſed for a prudent ſovereign. But his ruling paſſion was an exceſſive love of fame, which was the principal ſource of his faults and of his misfortunes. It was that love of fame, which, when not joined to a ſtrong mind, often degenerates into puerile vanity. He would have wiſhed to ſignalize his pontificate in every manner, and to aſſociate his name with the moſt ſplendid enterpriſes. His vanity, which was apparent in every thing, drew upon him frequent mortifications. Deſcended from a family ſcarcely noble, he plumed himſelf, from the very beginning of his reign, upon his illuſtrious race. To the modeſt coat of arms of his anceſtors, he added all the vain embelliſhments of blazonry; and compoſed an eſcutcheon which afforded ample room for ridicule. It is well known, that the Italian people are more apt, perhaps, than any other, to lay hold of any thing ridiculous with mercileſs avidity. To two winds, of which the arms of his family conſiſted, he added an eagle, *fleurs-de-lys*, and ſtars. Theſe pompous armorial bearings were cruelly criticiſed in the following diſtich:

Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum lilia regi,
Sidera redde polo; cætera, Braſche, tua.

Reſtore your eagle to the empire; his lilies to the king of France; and the ſtars to heaven: the reſt, Braſchi, is your own.

His

His arms, and his name, were repeated a thouſand times over in Rome, and in the reſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. They are to be ſeen, not only upon the monuments which he erected, and upon ſuch as he repaired, but even upon thoſe in which he made the ſmalleſt change; and unleſs Rome be utterly deſtroyed, the name of *Pius Sextus*, thanks to his provident vanity! will deſcend to the lateſt poſterity. While changing the Roman government, the French commiſſaries expunged it from all the profane monuments; but it ſtill exiſts upon all the ſacred edifices in which Pius VI. had the moſt remote concern. It was calculated in 1786, that this rage for availing himſelf of the ſlighteſt pretence for immortaliſing his name had already coſt the treaſury two hundred thouſand crowns. It was this incurable vanity, rather than his piety or taſte for the arts, which ſuggeſted to him the idea of conſtructing a ſacriſty by the ſide of St. Peter's church. He there diſplayed a magnificence which may dazzle at firſt ſight, but which cannot conceal its numerous defects from the eye of the connoiſſeur. Good taſte may indeed apply to him the famous ſentence pronounced by Apelles upon the Venus of a painter of his time: you have made her fine, becauſe you could not make her beautiful. In like manner the ſacriſty of St. Peter's, which coſt more than ſixteen hundred thouſand Roman crowns, is overloaded with all the moſt gaudy decorations, which architecture, ſculpture, gilding, and painting, can afford; but it only appears ſo much the meaner when compared with the ſuperb edifice by the ſide of which it ſtands. It is the deſign of Carlo Marchionni, an architect of inferior talents, and recalls to mind the defective ſchool of Boromini; the ſtyle being altogether low and ignoble. Its dimenſions are contrary to the rules of art; and it is full of nothing but breaks, niches, and projections. The columns and the altars are, in a manner concealed in obſcure corners; and the whole is ſurcharged with ornaments of the moſt taſteleſs kind.

In order to erect this monument to his glory, much rather than to that of the God whoſe vicar he called himſelf, it was neceſſary to pull down the temple of Venus, for which Michael Angelo had ſo much veneration, that he would have conſidered the mere idea of touching it as ſacrilege.

It may be eaſily conceived, that Pius VI. was not ſparing of inſcriptions in the ſacriſty of St. Peter's. Over the principal entrance were inſcribed theſe words:

Quod at templi Vaticani ornamentum publica vota flagitabant, Pius VI. pontifex maximus, fecit perfecitque anno, &c. *

How great muſt have been his mortification, when under this inſcription he found the following inſolent lines:

Publica! mentiris. Non publica vota fuêre,
Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuêre tui.

Thou lieſt! the public voice was not conſulted; thou followedſt the dictates of thy vanity alone.

* What the public voice demanded for the decoration of the church of the Vatican, Pius VI. ſovereign pontiff, began and completed in the year, &c.

That

That motive actuated him in all his enterprises: before his elevation to the pontificate, he had poſſeſſed the abbey of Subiaco, at the diſtance of twenty miles from Rome. There alſo he diſplayed, in the moſt expenſive manner, his taſte for magnificence. An abbey in which he had reſided, a church in which he celebrated the holy myſteries, could not be ſuffered to remain in obſcurity. He ſpent conſiderable ſums in embelliſhing Subiaco; and this is not one of the ſmalleſt reproaches that may be brought againſt his prodigality.

A protector of the arts, more out of oſtentation than taſte, he connected his name with the famous muſeum, which conſtituted one of the moſt beautiful and moſt uſeful ornaments of the Vatican; and the kind of glory, thence reſulting to his pontificate, is not altogether uſurped. That glory had tempted him when he was as yet only treaſurer of the apoſtolical chamber. The famous ſtatue of Apollo Belvedère was, in a manner, exiled, with ſeveral others, in one of the court-yards of the Vatican. Braſchi ſuggeſted to Clement XIV. the idea of forming on that ſpot a collection of ancient monuments; and, as treaſurer, preſided over the firſt rudiments of this eſtabliſhment. When ſeated upon the pontifical throne, he added body and conſiſtence to his brilliant project. He built round the court-yard of the Apollo vaſt apartments, which he ornamented with ſtatues, buſts, terms, and bas-reliefs; and gave to the rich collection a title which aſſociated his name with that of his predeceſſor. He called it the *Muſæum-Pium-Clementinum*. That muſeum gradually became one of the moſt valuable in Europe; Pius VI. neglecting nothing to enrich it. He claimed the right of pre-emption whenever any antique was diſcovered; and, by thus eluding the greedy interference of the antiquaries, procured monuments of art at the firſt hand, and at a moderate price. There it was, that his vanity provided abundantly for its own gratification. Beneath each piece of ſculpture which he had acquired, theſe words were engraved in letters of gold: *Munificentiâ Pii VI. P. M.* Moſt of theſe monuments of art ſtood in a bad light, and could not be ſeen to advantage without the aſſiſtance of a torch, the wavering gleams of which added to their beauty, by giving them life (if it may ſo be ſaid); the only thing in which ſome of them were defective. It was thus that connoiſſeurs went to admire the Ganymede, the Apollo Muſagetes, the Torſo, the Laocoon, and, above all, the famous Apollo Belvedère, which is alone worth a whole muſeum.

Engravings and explanations of the principal works of art, thus collected, began to be publiſhed in 1783, under the auſpices of Pius VI. who was much flattered by the compliment. Lewis Myris undertook the taſk; and the learned Viſconti, who, in the firſt moment of the revolution, was elevated to the conſulate of Rome, added to the plates a luminous commentary, which at once proves his taſte, his ſagacity, and his erudition. They were both, it muſt be confeſſed, powerfully ſeconded by the pope. The firſt ſix volumes of this work, in folio, had already appeared in 1792; and the ſeventh was ready when the political commotions in

Italy

Italy began. All lovers of antiquity muſt regret the ſuſpenſion of this undertaking; which does double honour to the pontificate of Pius VI.

Wherever there was any thing more ſplendid than uſeful to be done, the zeal of that pontiff, and particularly his name, were ſure to appear. Wiſhing to embelliſh the entrance of the Quirinal palace, where he reſided during the ſummer ſeaſon, he raiſed, at great expenſe, 1783, the obeliſk which was lying upon the ground near the *Scala Santa*, and placed it between thoſe two equeſtrian ſtatues, that have given to the eminence on which the palace ſtands the name of *Monte Cavallo*.

Though the erection of this obeliſk was in itſelf a thing little meritorious, adulation made it ſerve as a pretence for laviſhing upon the holy father, in pompous inſcriptions, the moſt ridiculouſly bombaſtic praiſe. But the Roman people, who were ſuffering a privation of the moſt neceſſary articles of life, while the treaſury was exhauſting itſelf in embelliſhing their city, did not partake of the enthuſiaſm felt by the authors of thoſe inſcriptions. A wag, who preferred food to obeliſks, gave on this occaſion a leſſon to his holineſs, by applying to him a well-known paſſage of the goſpel. He wrote theſe words at the bottom of the obeliſk:

Signore, di a queſta pietra che divenge pane.

Lord, command that theſe ſtones be made bread.

Pius VI. took pattern from him, whoſe vicar he was, and abſtained from the miracle.

This rage for putting his name every where, and for ſuffering his munificence to be celebrated upon the moſt trifling occaſions, expoſed him to more than one ſarcaſm of a ſimilar kind. It is well known that there was no other bread made at Rome but little round loaves, weighing a few ounces, which were called *pagnotta*, and which coſt two *baiocchi*, or about two French ſous a piece. The price never varied; but according as corn was more or leſs dear, the ſize of the *pagnotta* was diminiſhed or increaſed. At a moment of ſcarcity, when the adminiſtrators of proviſions had been obliged to make an extraordinary reduction in the weight of the *pagnotta*, one of thoſe innocent malcontents, who exhale all their gall in raillery, thought proper to put an exceedingly ſmall *pagnotta* into the hand of Paſquin, and to write under the ſtatue thoſe pompous words, ſo often repeated in Rome: *—Munificentia Pii Sexti.*

Bells had a double title to his predilection. They were connected with that worſhip, by the pomp of which he was ſo much flattered and the greater their ſize, the farther off did they announce the holy perſonage by whoſe orders they were ſet in motion. Malignity reproached him, in this particular, with more than one grave puerility. There was, in St. Peter's church, at Rome, a bell which only weighed 21,244lb. He ordered it to be re-caſt in the year 1783, with the addition of 400 quintals of metal. Three years afterwards he had another caſt of 280 quintals, and chriſtened it with great ſolemnity. Barbarous verſes were afterwards engraved upon it, which attracted the admiration of the devout, and offended men of taſte. It was loaded with valuable

pearls, and decorated with eight dolphins, a crown and a thouſand other ornaments; but the founder's art had failed him: the bell had no ſound. The wags made themſelves merry at the expenſe of the bell, the founder, and the godfather. They voted that this abortion ſhould be depoſited either in the *Muſeum-Pio-Clementinum*, or in the arſenal, after the example of the Abderitan ſages, who were of an opinion ſomewhat ſimilar in regard to a well, which was very ſkilfully conſtructed, and which wanted nothing but water.

In general Pius VI. was not fortunate in the enterpriſes ſuggeſted by his vanity. The ſovereigns of Rome, from the time of the emperors down to the preſent day, have prided themſelves upon enlarging, fortifying, and embelliſhing the port of Ancona. The ruins of the beautiful monument erected there by the ſenate in honour of Trajan, ſtill atteſts the beneficence of that emperor. In modern times Clement XII. is the pope who has paid the moſt attention to the embelliſhment of that port. A triumphal arch erected in honour of him, oppoſite to that of Trajan, and his ſtatue in marble, are teſtimonies of the gratitude of its inhabitants. Pius VI. wiſhed alſo to give a luſtre to his pontificate, by making ſome addition to the works of his predeceſſors. The port of Ancona is indebted to him for ſeveral improvements; among others, for a light-houſe: but he was ſtill more anxious to have his ſtatue erected there than to deſerve it. In 1789, while the workmen were employed on it, part of the ſcaffolding gave way, and killed a great number of them. This accident, joined to ſo many others, was conſidered as a bad omen; and in fact Pius VI. was now approaching the era of his greateſt misfortunes.

But it was in the performance of his pontifical functions, above all, that his taſte for oſtentation was diſplayed; and that his vanity found frequent opportunities of gratification. It muſt be confeſſed, that, on thoſe occaſions, he was as much favoured by nature as by the pompous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. He was in all reſpects one of the handſomeſt men of his time. To a very lofty ſtature he joined a noble and expreſſive ſet of features, and a florid complexion, which the hand of time itſelf ſeemed to ſpare. He contrived to wear his pontifical habits in ſuch a way, that they deprived him of none of his perſonal advantages. In every thing he did, he diſplayed them with a refinement of coquetry which gave great ſcope to ridicule. When elevated to the papacy, he had, in conformity with a cuſtom that had grown into a law, laid aſide the peruke, which he wore while cardinal. His forehead was entirely bald; but there remained behind, and on each ſide of his head, a ring of hair of the moſt brilliant white, which gave him a look at once noble and venerable. He had alſo one of the handſomeſt legs in Italy; and was not a little vain of it. Not wiſhing that his long pontifical robes ſhould entirely conceal that part of his perſon, to the adorning of which he was always ſcrupulouſly attentive, he took great care to hold them up on one ſide, ſo that one of his legs was entirely expoſed to view. This affected diſplay of his hair and legs, ſo unworthy of a grave pontiff, gave occaſion to the following

following diſtich, which, though bad enough in itſelf, ſerves, however, as a proof that no opportunity was loſt of turning him into ridicule:

Aſpice, Roma, Pium. Pius! haud eſt: aſpice mimum—
Luxuriante comâ, luxuriante pede.

Rome, look at Pius. He Pius! not indeed:
He is a comedian. Behold the diſplay of his hair;
And ſee how vain he is of his leg.

Nothing, indeed, was more ſtriking, than to ſee him, on days of great parade, crowned with the triple diadem, arrayed in robes of the moſt dazzling white, which contraſted with the ſplendor of the Roman purple, ſoaring in a manner over a crowd of eccleſiaſtics of every rank, and ſeeming thereby to announce his ſway over the univerſal church. On theſe ſolemn occaſions, all the members of the clergy came and adored him repeatedly; and each claſs in a different way. The cardinals were not permitted to kiſs his hand till they had bowed down before his throne. The prelates and heads of orders bowed ſtill more humbly, and only roſe as high as his knees; while the inferior clergy remained at his feet. The allegory of the ſtatuary, proſtrate before the work of his own hands, was never better applied, than to this ſtupid veneration, particularly of the cardinals for the ſovereign pontiff—the creature of their intrigues and of their caprices; in which not one of them, perhaps, ſeriouſly thought that he ſaw the work of the Holy Ghoſt.

It is needleſs to ſay with what an eye of pity philoſophy looks down upon this humiliating homage, paid by a multitude of reaſonable beings to one of their fellow-creatures. Many ſpectators, however,—many even of thoſe who were the moſt ſtrongly guarded againſt all theſe vain illuſions, could not help feeling a ſtrong emotion at the ſight of the pomp that ſurrounded St. Peter's chair, eſpecially while it was occupied by Pius VI. The greateſt magnificence accompanied him whenever he went out. A carriage, at the back of which he was ſeated alone in an arm chair richly ornamented, moved forward, eſcorted by ſervants on horſeback, and in long clothes, driven by a coachman and poſtillions, with their heads uncovered, rolling along majeſtically ſlow between two rows of foot ſoldiers, and followed by detachments of light-horſe and cuiraſſiers. It was impoſſible for any thing to be more ſtriking.

But when he officiated in the grand ceremonies of the church, it was difficult even for heretics, for free-thinkers even, to avoid feeling a ſort of religious enthuſiaſm.

Pius VI. like him whoſe vicar he called himſelf, was endowed with a two-fold nature. Clad in his pontifical habits, ſurrounded by the pomp of religious ceremonies, and employed in the diſtribution of celeſtial treaſures, Pius VI. appeared to the Romans to be a god. On his return to the Vatican, he was no more in their eyes, particularly during the laſt years of his pontificate, than a man expoſed to their murmurs, and to their ſarcaſms. This double ſovereignty was ſo far ſingular, that the ſceptre conſidered itſelf as inviolable under ſhelter of the tiara; that the devotion of the ſubjects ſeemed to enſure their obedience;

and that the benedictions, the indulgences, and all the celeſtial favours, of which the monarchical demi-god had undertaken to be the diſtributor, had at once for object and reſult to ſanctify, to overawe, and to diſarm them. Accordingly nothing leſs than the violent hurricane of the French revolution was neceſſary to tear up by the roots that gigantic tree,

> De qui la tête au ciel étoit voiſine.
> Et dont les pieds touchoient à l'empire des morts. *

It remains to be obſerved, that all theſe pompous mummeries, of which we have juſt given a few ſpecimens, had long been an appendage of the pontifical throne; but no pope had combined, in the ſame degree as Pius VI. every thing neceſſary to inſure their effect. His predeceſſor, much more meritorious than he in a variety of reſpects, was humane, affable, and generous. He poſſeſſed all the domeſtic virtues; but he retained under the tiara all the modeſty of his former ſituation in life; and felt a ſort of philoſophical diſdain for oſtentation. The principal perſons about him, ſenſible how much the parade of ceremonies added to the temporal power of the Roman Catholic church, and increaſed the illuſion of which it ſtands ſo much in need, were vexed at Ganganelli's neglecting, with a ſort of affectation, that external dignity which impoſes ſo much upon the vulgar. The ſacred charm was about to vaniſh. The pontiff ſeemed deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf only by his ſimplicity. Braſchi, on the contrary, poſſeſſed in his manners, in his taſte, and in his exterior, every thing that was capable of impreſſing mankind with reſpect. The ſtriking contraſt that exiſted, in that particular, between him and his predeceſſor, gave riſe to a belief that the cardinals, in electing Pius VI. had been actuated above all by the hope that the chair of St. Peter, debaſed by Ganganelli, would riſe again, and ſhine with renovated ſplendor. An Engliſh traveller obſerved, that in this they imitated the Roman ſenate, which ſometimes choſe a dictator in order to reſtore the ancient diſcipline.

The hope of the cardinals was not deceived, at leaſt in that reſpect. No pope ever diſplayed more pomp than Pius VI. in the performance of his functions; nor was the prevailing taſte of any of his predeceſſors ever more favoured by circumſtances. The rage for viſiting Italy was become general; and had reached every country and every rank. Pius VI. had the good fortune, ſo dear to his vanity, of reviewing a whole crowd of great perſonages, including moſt of the princes of Europe, of receiving their homage, and of doing the honours of his court and church in the preſence of the moſt illuſtrious viſitors.

The epoch at which he was elected procured him, during the very firſt year of his pontificate, one of thoſe occaſions of unfrequent occurrence, on which the Romiſh church diſplays the greateſt pomp, and is moſt laviſh of ſpiritual treaſures; we mean the jubilee, which was a real *bonne fortune* to Pius VI.

* Of which the head approached the ſkies, and the feet reached down to the manſions of the dead.

It

It will ſoon be forgotten in France; but, perhaps, it is yet remembered, that there were jubilees of two kinds; the one which recurred periodically was properly called the *Holy Year*; the other was the *Jubilee of Exaltation*, and was celebrated at the acceſſion of a new pope to the pontifical throne. The firſt as being the moſt uncommon, was beyond compariſon the moſt ſolemn.

It was firſt eſtabliſhed in 1300, by Boniface VIII. who, wiſhing to ſanctify the profane inſtitution of the ſecular games of ancient Rome, conceived the idea of indicating the firſt year of each century as that in which heaven, more particularly propitious, would in future ſhower down upon the faithful a larger portion of thoſe bleſſings, of which the popes called themſelves the diſpenſers. Clement VI. was of opinion, that theſe periods, ſo favourable to the faithful, and ſo glorious to the holy ſee, were too diſtant; and ordered that they ſhould recur every fifty years. The ſecond jubilee was therefore celebrated in 1350. Sextus V. improved ſtill farther upon the liberality of his predeceſſors; and ordained that the jubilee ſhould take place every five-and-twenty years, which has been the practice ever ſince.

Clement XIV. already attacked by the lingering diſeaſe of which he died, had, in the month of April, announced the opening of the holy year, in full conſiſtory. It was reſerved for another to celebrate it. Pius VI. had *that happineſs* in the following year; and, but for the cataſtrophe which precipitated him from his throne, would probably have enjoyed it a ſecond time.

The jubilee of 1775, in all probability the laſt, was celebrated with a degree of magnificence, ſurpaſſing that of all the preceding ones. It was on this occaſion, that Pius VI. gave the firſt proof of his taſte for pompous ceremonies. One of the principal circumſtances of the feſtival, that indeed which may be called the firſt act of it, is the opening of the famous *porta ſanta*, or ſacred door. This door, which is one of thoſe of St. Peter's church, remained conſtantly ſhut except during the holy year. It was then opened with a parade of which Pius VI. took care not to diminiſh the effect. It was his office to preſide over the demolition of a brick wall, that cloſed the entrance of the ſacred door. Advancing with majeſtic gravity, he ſtruck the firſt ſtroke, and inſtantly the wall fell to the ground under the redoubled blows of the workmen, to whom the ſignal had been given. The pious ſpectators eagerly ſeized upon the materials; each ſtone being an object of high veneration. By their contact with that which was laid four-and-twenty years before by the ſacred hands of the ſovereign pontiff, they had acquired the virtue of curing all ſorts of diſeaſes. According to cuſtom, the *porta ſanta* remained open during all the holy year, and was the ſcene of the moſt ridiculous mummery. The pope himſelf did not paſs through it without exhibiting marks of the moſt profound reſpect; while the pilgrims, diſdaining the numerous paſſages which lead into the church of St. Peter, entered it only by crawling under the ſacred door upon their hands and knees. It was ſhut with great ſolemnity at the end of the year. The pope approached, ſitting upon a kind of throne, and ſurrounded by the cardinals;

dinals; and an anthem was ſung, accompanied by loud muſic: it was the lyre of Amphion about to rebuild the walls of Thebes. The pontiff then deſcended with a gold trowel in his hand; laid the firſt ſtone of the wall, which was to laſt twenty-five years; put a little mortar upon it, and re-aſcended his throne. Real maſons took his place, and completed the blocking up of the ſacred door, the ceremony cloſing with a ſolemn maſs. Thus did the Roman catholics laviſh the auguſt myſteries of their religion, ſometimes upon the baptiſm of a bell, and ſometimes upon the rebuilding of a wall.

The following day the feſtival was continued, Pius VI. diſplaying in it all his great talents for acting, which were hitherto but little known. He was already near ſixty years of age; but his complexion ſtill retained ſomewhat of the brilliant colouring of youth. The Romans, accuſtomed to ſee their pontiffs bending under the weight of years, and labouring in the performance of their public functions, which were often long and fatiguing, admired the addreſs and grace with which the new pope acquitted himſelf of his taſk. The church ſeemed to grow young again, and to have a right, as well as Pius VI. to expect proſperous days.

It was ſhortly afterwards that the beauty of his perſon received a homage to which the vicars of Jeſus Chriſt were not accuſtomed. While Pius VI. was paſſing through a ſtreet of Rome, carried along with a ſplendor ſuitable to his dignity, a voice was heard from one of the windows, which were crowded with curious ſpectators. It was that of a young woman: *Quanto è bello!* *quanto è bello!* cried ſhe, in a moment of enthuſiaſm. An old woman, in haſte to correct any thing that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied, with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up to heaven, *Tanto è bello, quanto è ſanto!* It is ſaid, that ſuch a compliment gave Pius VI. more ſecret ſatisfaction than all the incenſe laviſhed upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflexions of the ſacred college.

We do not mean, however, that an inclination, common to many of the cardinals, was ever included in the charges brought againſt him during the courſe of his long pontificate. His very enemies, if not altogether unjuſt, muſt confeſs that he has always been irreproachable as to purity of morals. In the early days which he paſſed at Rome, ambition made him ſeek the ſociety of a lady of high rank, and of a very intriguing diſpoſition, who was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs conſiderable influence. This was madame Falconieri, mother of the young lady, afterwards ducheſs of Braſchi. He was indebted to her for his firſt ſucceſs in his eccleſiaſtical career. But madame Falconieri, though worthy of attention as a patroneſs, had nothing that could make her deſirable as a miſtreſs. Braſchi viſited her for a ſhort time; kept away as ſoon as he had obtained the only favour he expected from her; and was ſolely indebted for the reputation, which he acquired in theſe latter times, of being mademoiſelle Falconieri's father, to the ill-humour of his ſubjects, and to his blind partiality for her after ſhe became his niece.

During the time that he was treaſurer of the Apoſtolical Chamber, that

that is to ſay, from 1766 to 1773, he was remarkable for his conſtant application to buſineſs, for his contempt of worldly pleaſures, and for the regularity of his conduct, which procured him general eſteem. He did not forfeit this character during his cardinalate, which laſted only two years; and when he was ſeated in St. Peter's chair, excepting indeed the duplicity of which he was ſuſpected, and which the embarraſſment of circumſtances ſeemed to render excuſable, he was free from all ſerious reproach. Since his elevation to the papacy, his defects, which he had either concealed, or had no opportunity of developing, have excited a great deal of hatred; but calumny, which has not ſpared him, has ſcarcely ever attacked him upon the ſcore of his morals. Gorani, is, perhaps, the only one who treats him as ill in that reſpect as in every other. He throws ſuſpicions upon the motives of the affection which cardinal Ruffo manifeſted for him in his youth; he pretends that it was not ambition alone which led to his connection with madame Falconieri: and he even inſinuates, that gallantry was one of the principal means of his elevation to the papal throne. It is in fact of no great conſequence whether theſe charges be founded or not. The ſalvation of Pius VI. may be much concerned; but his glory is very little intereſted in his having faithfully practiſed one of the firſt Chriſtian virtues. It is a duty, however, that we owe to truth, to affirm, that thoſe who have known him long, and well, never perceived any thing that could give riſe to the ſmalleſt doubt as to the purity of his morals, at leaſt from the time in which he was appointed treaſurer, to the end of his pontificate. If the amorous connections of a temporal ſovereign cannot eſcape the vigilance of his numerous attendants, how can a pope, all whoſe ſteps and movements are counted, conceal himſelf from the nice obſervation of the conſcientious, or from the keen eye of malignity, and cover his ſecret intrigues with an impenetrable veil? Pius VI. divided all his time between his religious duties, his cloſet, and the library of the Vatican. He went out very ſeldom, and never without company. He had no taſte for a country reſidence, nor even for thoſe innocent amuſements which the graveſt men allow themſelves as a relaxation after their labours. He paſſed the ſummer ſeaſon at the Quirinal palace, and the reſt of the year at the Vatican. His only recreation was the viſit which he paid almoſt every year to the Pontine marſhes. Conſtantly taken up with ſerious occupations, or the duties of his office, he avoided, inſtead of ſeeking, the ſociety of women.

As pope, he could not then lead a more examplary life; but as a man, and as a ſovereign, he no doubt expoſed himſelf to many and ſerious reproaches. An erroneous opinion had been formed of him in many reſpects. When rendered more conſpicuous by his eminent ſtation, he ſoon diſcovered a great ignorance of worldly affairs, particularly of politics; an obſtinacy which never yielded to a direct attack; and an invincible attachment to certain prejudices, inſeparable perhaps from his profeſſion, but of which he neither ſuſpected the inconvenience nor the danger. This we ſhall have frequent opportunities of obſerving in the courſe of theſe

memoirs. He entertained the moſt favourable idea of his own capacity. Rather headſtrong than firm, he was conſtantly undoing what he had done; and this mixture of vanity and weakneſs, was attended with ſerious inconveniences. What was no more than inconſiſtency, and want of reſolution, was taken for duplicity. Coldly affable, he never felt a real affection for any one; nor ever knew what it was completely to unboſom himſelf, unleſs when fear rendered him communicative.

Out of the five cardinals, who were ſucceſſively his ſecretaries of ſtate, there was not one who could flatter himſelf with having enjoyed his entire confidence. He granted it, but ſtill under certain reſtrictions, to Gerdyl and Antonelli, two other cardinals; conſulting them ſolely about matters in which he thought he could derive advantage from their talents.

Haſty, impetuous, and ſometimes even paſſionate, he required to be curbed by fear, or ſoothed by affectionate language, which indicated an attachment to his intereſt, without hurting his pride. Cardinal de Bernis ſaid of him, towards the end of the year 1777, 'I watch over him inceſſantly, as over a child of an excellent diſpoſition; but too full of ſpirits, and capable of throwing itſelf out of the window if left a moment alone.'

That excellent diſpoſition was afterwards, in a great meaſure, ſpoiled by adulation, the poſſeſſion of power, and the want of ſomebody bold enough to tell him the truth, or inclined to take the trouble. Faults gradually manifeſted themſelves that the moſt clear-ſighted had not even ſuſpected. His long pontificate was, beſides, a grievance which neither the cardinals nor the people of Rome, could pardon him. In ſhort, a concurrence of unlucky circumſtances, to which he knew not how to accommodate himſelf, added to his improvidence and to his vanity, the principal ſource of his prodigality, and of his taſte for brilliant, but expenſive enterprizes, rendered him, in the end, more odious than many princes, who have been really wicked.*

Character and Manner of Life of General Waſhington; from Weld's Travels in America.

ON the day I ſaw gen. Waſhington he had terminated his 64th year; but though not an unhealthy man, he ſeemed conſiderably older. The innumerable vexations he has met with, in his different public capacities, have very ſenſibly impaired the vigour of his conſtitution, and given him an aged appearance. There is a very material difference, however, in his looks when ſeen in private, and when he appears in public, full dreſſed; in the latter caſe the hand of art makes up for the ravages of time, and he ſeems many years younger.

Few perſons find themſelves for the firſt time in the preſence of general Waſhington, a man ſo renowned, in the preſent day, for his wiſdom and moderation, and whoſe name will be tranſmitted with ſuch honour to poſterity, without being impreſſed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do theſe emotions ſubſide on a cloſer acquaintance;

* For a notice of the death of Pius VI. ſee before, p. [illegible] of this volume.

quaintance; on the contrary, his perſon and deportment are ſuch, as rather tend to augment them. There is ſomething very auſtere in his countenance, and in his manners he is uncommonly reſerved. I have heard ſome officers, that ſerved immediately under his command, during the American war, ſay, that they never ſaw him ſmile during all the time that they were with him. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unconſtrained ties of friendſhip; and but a few can boaſt even of having been on an eaſy and familiar footing with him.

The height of his perſon is about five feet eleven; his cheſt is full; and his limbs, though rather ſlender, well ſhaped and muſcular. His head is ſmall, in which reſpect he reſembles the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his noſe is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever obſerved in that of any other human being; the ſockets for the eyes, for inſtance, are larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the noſe broader. All his features, he obſerved, were indicative of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ungovernable paſſions, and had he been born in the foreſts, it was his opinion, that he would have been the fierceſt man amongſt the ſavage tribes. In this Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great diſcernment and intimate knowledge of the human countenance; for, although general Waſhington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmneſs, during the very trying ſituations in which he has ſo often been placed, yet thoſe who have been acquainted with him the longeſt and moſt intimately ſay, that he is, by nature, a man of a fierce and irritable diſpoſition, but that, like Socrates, his judgement and great ſelf-command have always made him appear a man of a different caſt, in the eyes of the world. He ſpeaks with great diffidence, and ſometimes heſitates for a word; but it is always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expreſſive. At levee, his diſcourſe with ſtrangers turns principally upon the ſubject of America; and if they have been through any remarkable places, his converſation is free, and particularly intereſting, as he is intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He is much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies ſtill more ſo than when ſolely with men.

General Waſhington gives no public dinners, or other entertainments, except to thoſe who are in diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Waſhington. Strangers, with whom he wiſhes to have ſome converſation, about agriculture, or any ſuch ſubject, are ſometimes invited to tea. This, by many, is attributed to his ſaving diſpoſition; but it is more juſt to aſcribe it to his prudence and foreſight; for as the ſalary of the preſident, is very ſmall, and totally inadequate, by itſelf, to ſupport an expenſive ſtyle of life, were he to give numerous and ſplendid entertainments the ſame might poſſibly be expected from ſubſequent preſidents, who, if their private fortunes were not conſiderable,

would

would be unable to live in the ſame ſtyle, and might be expoſed to many ill-natured obſervations, from the relinquiſhment of what the people had been accuſtomed to; it is moſt likely alſo, that general Waſhington has been actuated by theſe motives, becauſe, in his private capacity at Mount Vernon, every ſtranger meets with a hoſpitable reception from him.

General Waſhington's ſelf-moderation is well known to the world already. It is a remarkable circumſtance, which redounds to his eternal honour, that while preſident of the United States, he never appointed one of his own relations to any office of truſt or emolument, although he has ſeveral that are men of abilities, and well qualified to fill the moſt important ſtations in the government.

Since ſelecting the above Extract, we have the melancholy Duty of adding the following ſhort Notice of the Preſident's Death.

The illuſtrious general George Waſhington died, at his ſeat, at Mount Vernon, the 14th of December 1799, in the 68th year of his age, after a ſhort illneſs of about twenty-four hours. His diſorder was an inflammatory ſore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on the 13th. The next morning, about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. Craick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Dick, of Alexandria, and Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, were ſoon after called in. Every medical aſſiſtance was offered, but without the deſired effect. His laſt ſcene correſponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor a complaint eſcaped him, in extreme diſtreſs. With perfect reſignation, and a full poſſeſſion of his reaſon, he cloſed his well-ſpent life. His funeral was celebrated with every mark of honour and regret, ſo juſtly due to his virtues. The corpſe was interred in the family-vault, in an elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomack. The general aſſembly of Maryland have requeſted, that a day of mourning, humiliation, and prayer, may be appointed; ſcarfs and hat-bands are to be worn by the governor, the ſenate, and all the officers of ſtate and government, during the whole of the preſent ſeſſion.

Sketch of the Life of the late William Seward, Eſq. F. R. A. S. S.; from the Gentleman's Magazine.

THIS gentleman was the ſon of Mr. Seward, partner in Calvert's brewhouſe, and was born in January, 1747. He firſt went to the Charterhouſe, whence he was removed to Oxford, where he finiſhed his education. Being poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune, he did not apply to any profeſſion, but devoted his life to learned leiſure, cultivating his talents for his own amuſement, and the entertainment and inſtruction of the public. He poſſeſſed uncommonly active benevolence, being always ready to promote the intereſt of his friends, and ſolicitous to relieve thoſe who were in diſtreſs. His charity was unbounded; and it would be difficult to point out a perſon, with whom he was intimate, who had not obligations to acknowledge from him. He afforded the Whitehall Evening Poſt much aſſiſtance, particularly in ſupplying

plying it with the *Reminiſcentia*, of which a conſiderable portion remains yet to publiſh. He bore a lingering diſorder with great fortitude and reſignation, and quitted life with the regret of all who knew his virtues, or who reſpect worth and talents, all uniformly employed for the benefit of mankind. Mr. S. was a great gleaner of information, and collector of a pleaſing maſs of intelligence, which he dealt out to the public through the channels of the European Magazine and Cadell's Repoſitory. Although he could not draw characters like Clarendon, yet he had a felicity of his own in hitting off the leading features of his ſubject. He was apt to dwell long and return often to certain names, not conſidering that telling a ſtory is like driving a nail into a plaſtered wall; a few ſtrokes fix it; after which, if you attempt to enforce it, it either grows looſe, or recoils. Mr. S. dwelt much in loco-motion, and often paſſed from place to place in ſearch of happineſs, as he fondly imagined this was the beſt way to procure her if ſhe were to be had on earth.—He was the author of "Anecdotes of diſtinguiſhed Perſons," 4 vol. 8vo. 1795, and "Biographiana" 2 vol. 8vo. 1799. He died of a dropſy at his lodgings, in Dean-ſtreet, Soho, in the prime of life.

Character of the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode; from the ſame.

AT his houſe, in Queen-ſquare, Weſtminſter, died the rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, M. A. 1753, ſtudent of Chriſt Church, Oxford, one of the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum,* and fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies; to which laſt he was choſen in 1787. He expired, after a ſevere ſtruggle, in great pain. His death was probably brought on by a cold he caught in going out after a long confinement, being evidently much recovered, and having returned to his old haunts and habits. His diſeaſe, which it is not eaſy to define, was apparently an atrophy, but, finally, a conſtipation of the bowels. He had completed his ſeventieth year; and yet his look was that of a man of ſixty, till within the twelvemonth. Among his other habits, in which he was extremely regular, he was accuſtomed, for 40 years of his life, to go every day firſt to Mr. Elmſly's, in the Strand, and thence to Mr. Payne's, at the Mews-gate, to meet his literary friends; and punctually called every Saturday at the late Mr. Mudge's, now Mr. Dutton's, the ingenious mechanic, in Fleet-ſtreet, to have his watch exactly regulated. For the laſt fortnight of his life he was dreadfully emaciated! and, on the Monday before his death, ſeemed to take a laſt farewel of the parlour at the Mews-gate, in a manner that could not eſcape the obſervation of its owner, to whom, as to his father, he had been ſo liberal a cuſtomer, and by his energetic recommendation engaged ſo many *literati* to follow his example. Soon after he got home, it was found neceſſary to call in ſir George Baker, who paid the moſt unremitting attention, and revived him from the momentary effects of a fit in which he fell down,

* To which he has bequeathed his valuable library.

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but could not prolong his farther exiſtence. The greateſt journey of his life was from London to Oxford, and he was never on horſeback. He had an eſtate in Hertfordſhire, on which grew a remarkable cheſnut-tree, which he never ſaw but in an etching. This property was the manor of Great Wimondly, held of the crown in grand ſerjeantry by the ſervice of preſenting to the king the firſt cup he drinks at his coronation; the cup to be of ſilver gilt, and the king returns it as the fee of office. Col. Cracherode purchaſed this manor of the Groſvenor family, and officiated at the coronation of his preſent majeſty. The apprehenſion of being called to perform this ſervice occaſioned no ſmall uneaſineſs to his ſon. His fortune was large, which he received from his father, who ſailed with lord Anſon round the world. Poſſeſſing about 600*l.* a year in landed property, and nearly 100,000*l.* in three per cents. he was *dives agris, dives poſitis in fœnore nummis;* of which he made the beſt uſe, for his charities were ample as his income, but ſecret.

His attainments were various and conſiderable. He wrote elegantly in Latin verſe, as may be ſeen in the "Carmina Quadrigeſimalia" for the year 1748, which is the only thing he was ever known to have publiſhed. He employed a conſiderable part of a large revenue in making collections of what was beſt and moſt curious in literature and certain branches of the arts. His library is unrivalled in its kind; and his cabinet of prints, drawings, and medals, is conſidered as among the moſt ſelect and valuable in a country that poſſeſſes ſo many of them. He was an exquiſite judge of art, both ancient and modern, particularly of ſculpture, painting, and muſic, and collected the choiceſt of early printed books, drawings, coins, and gems, of which a complete *catalogue raiſonnée* would require a volume; but thus much may be ſaid in this ſhort ſketch of his character, that many of his articles were *unique* for their beauty, their preſervation, or the rarity of their occurrence: ſuch, for inſtance, as his cameo of a lion on a ſardonyx, and intaglio of the Diſcobolos; his Tyndale's New Teſtament on vellum, that belonged formerly to Anne Boleyn; his lord Finch, with wings on his head, by Marſhall; his Olbiopolis and his Dichalcos, the firſt and ſmalleſt coin, being the fourth part of an obolus. Of theſe and every other curioſity in his poſſeſſion he was, at all times, moſt obligingly communicative. His books, which he uſed modeſtly to call a ſpecimen-collection, particularly the *fourteen hundreds*, form, perhaps, the moſt perfect *collana*, or necklace, ever ſtrung by one man. His paſſion for collecting was ſtrong in death; and, whilſt he was at the laſt extremity, Thane was buying prints for him at Richardſon's. In his farewel viſit to Payne's ſhop he put an Edinburgh Terence in one pocket, and a large paper Cebes in another, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire to carry away Triveti Annales, and Henry Stephens's Pindar in old binding, both beautiful copies, and, as he thought, finer than his own, which Mr. Payne had deſtined for Lord Spencer. There is a drawing in black lead of this elegant and amiable man by Eardeſley, an ingenious artiſt, in Dufour-court, made by order of lady Spencer, but by himſelf expreſsly forbidden to be engraved.

Memoirs

Memoirs of Robert Merry, Esq.; from the same.

HE was eldest son of Robert Merry, esq. late governor of the Hudson's Bay company, by a sister of the late judge Willes; was born 1755; educated at Harrow under the private tuition of Dr. Parr; admitted of Christ-college, Cambridge, and of Lincoln's Inn. On the death of his father he bought a commission in the horse-guards, and was several years adjutant and lieutenant to the first troop, commanded by lord Lothian. He quitted this service, and travelled some years on the continent, making a long residence at Florence, where he was elected a member of the celebrated academy Della Crusca, being a principal contributor to the "Florence Miscellany," written by a few English of both sexes, among whom were Mrs. Piozzi, Mr. Greathead, &c. whom chance had jumbled together in that city, and who took a fancy to, while away, their time in scribbling high-flown panegyrics on themselves, and complimentary 'canzonettas' on two or three Italians, who understood too little of the language in which they were written to be disgusted with them. In this there was not much harm, nor, indeed, much good; but, as folly is progressive, they soon wrought themselves into an opinion that they really deserved the fine things which were mutually said and sung of each other. In 1787, he published, at London, "Paulina, or the Russian Daughter," a poetical tale founded on fact; and next year, "Diversity, a Poem." Also, another poem, called, "The Laurel of Liberty;" "Lorenzo," a tragedy, represented at Covent-garden; "An Ode for the 14th of July, 1791," performed at the Crown and Anchor tavern; "Fenelon, or the Nuns of Cambray," a serious drama, altered from the French; and the "Pains of Memory," a poem, 1796; an ode on his majesty's recovery, recited by Mrs. Siddons at a gala given by the subscribers to Brookes's club; "The Magician no Conjurer," a comic, or, as the author of "The Mæviad" calls it, "idiotic, Opera, acted four nights in the winter of 1791. June 29, 1787, he sent a little poem, intituled, "The Adieu and the Recal to Love," signed Della Crusca, to The World, a newspaper of the day, set up by a knot of fantastic coxcombs, alike ignorant and conceited, who took upon them to direct the taste of the town, by prefixing a short panegyric to every trifle. At this auspicious period the first cargo of poetry arrived from Florence, and was given to the public through the medium of this favoured paper. While the epidemic malady was spreading, Della Crusca came over, and immediately announced himself by a sonnet to Love. Anna Matilda wrote an incomparable piece of nonsense in praise of it; and these two great luminaries of the age, as Mr. Bell calls them, fell desperately in love with each other. From that period not a day passed without an amatory epistle—the fever turned to a frenzy—and from one end of the kingdom to the other all was nonsense and Della Crusca. Heaven itself, if we may believe Mrs. Robinson, took part in the general infatuation:

"Round to catch the *heavenly* song
Myriads of *wondering* seraphs throng."

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It was anſwered by another poem, intituled, "The Pen," ſigned Anna Matilda. This correſpondence was kept up two years by various new writers; and it was at laſt diſcovered that the two firſt were Mr. M. and Mrs. Robinſon, who had an interview towards the concluſion of the correſpondence; and the poetry was reprinted in volumes, under the title of "The Poetry of the World," which reached a fourth edition, in two vol. 12mo, intituled, "The Britiſh Album," in which Mr. M's "Diverſity" and "Ambitious Vengeance" are inſerted. The firſt *interview* between Mr. M. and Mrs. R. produced diſguſt, and this fatal meeting put an end to the whole. When the Baviad came forth, Della Cruſca appeared no more in the Oracle. The re-appearance of ſome of this knot as writers for the ſtage called forth "The Mæviad."

Mr. Merry was an accompliſhed man and certainly poſſeſſed a degree of poetical genius that might have given permanence to his works, if his muſe had not been ſeduced by the tinſel of affectation. Before the lamentable diſorders of France, he was highly eſteemed by numerous and reſpectable friends, who admired him for his knowledge, humour, and companionable qualities; but the change in his political opinions gave a ſullen gloom to his character, which made him relinquiſh all his former connections, and unite with people far beneath his talents, and quite unſuitable to his habits. He once poſſeſſed a good fortune, which was devoted to a faſhionable ſtyle of living; and, by family intereſt, as well as by his talents, he might have riſen in the army, which he quitted early in life. He married, Auguſt 29, 1791, Miſs Brunton, the actreſs, and induced her to exerciſe her talents in America, becauſe republican principles prevailed in that country, and to procure him a maintenance.

He was ſeized with a fit of appoplexy, walking in his garden, at Baltimore, in America, about eight o'clock in the morning, and, before eleven, yielded his laſt breath. Several gentlemen of the faculty attended, and every poſſible means of recovery were, in vain, had recourſe to.

Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Tucker; from the ſame.

AT the deanry, Glouceſter, died, of a paralytic ſtroke, aged 88, the rev. Joſiah Tucker, D. D. He was of St. John's college, Oxford; M. A. 1739; B. and D. D. 1755; prebendary of Briſtol, which he reſigned, on being appointed dean, July 13, 1758; rector of St. Stephen, Briſtol, and chaplain to the biſhop. His firſt publication was, "A Sermon, before the Truſtees of Briſtol Infirmary, 1746." "A brief Eſſay on the Advantages and Diſadvantages which reſpectively attend France and Great Britain, with Regard to Trade." "Reflections on the Expediency of a Law for the Naturalization of Foreign Proteſtants, Part I. 1752;" Part II. 1753; on which were publiſhed "Remarks, 1753." "Six Sermons, on important Subjects, 1772," 12mo. "Letters to Dr. Kippis, occaſioned by his Treatiſe, intituled, A Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters, with regard to their late Application to Parliament, 1773," 8vo. "Four Tracts, together with Two Sermons, on Political Subjects, 1774," 8vo

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"A brief and diſpaſſionate View of the Difficulties attending the Trinitarian, Arian, and Socinian Syſtems, &c. 1774," 8vo. "Religious Intolerance no Part of the general Plan either of the Moſaic or Chriſtian Diſpenſation, proved by Scriptural Inferences and Deductions, after a Method entirely new, 1774," 8vo. A fourth tract, "On the Diſpute between Great Britain and her Colonies, 1775," 8vo, in confirmation of his plan of mutual ſeparation. "An humble Addreſs and earneſt Appeal to thoſe reſpectable Perſonages in Great Britain and Ireland, who, by their great and permanent Intereſt in Landed Property, their liberal Education, and enlarged Views, are the ableſt to judge, and the fitteſt to decide, whether a Connection with, or a Separation from, the Continental Colonies of America be moſt for the National Advantage, and the laſting Benefit, of theſe Kingdoms, 1776," 8vo. A letter to him, on his propoſal of a ſeparation between Great Britain and her American Colonies, 1774, 8vo. called forth "A Series of Anſwers to certain popular Objections againſt ſeparating from the rebellious Colonies, and diſcarding them entirely; being the concluding Tract of Joſiah Tucker, D. D. Dean of Glouceſter, on the Subject of American Affairs, 1776," 8vo. "Cui Bono? or, An Inquiry what Benefits can ariſe, either to the Engliſh, or the Americans, the French, Spaniards, or Dutch, from the greateſt Victories or Succeſſes in the preſent War. Being a Series of Letters, addreſſed to M. Necker, late Controller-general of the Finances of France. With a Plan for a general Pacification." "Four Letters on important Subjects, addreſſed to the Earl of Shelburne, his Majeſty's firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, 1778," 8vo.—The boldneſs and ſpirit which he diſplayed, as a political writer, at one time, brought the credit of his underſtanding conſiderably into queſtion; but his very early argument in favour of a ſeparation from America, and his reaſonings to ſhew, that no material diſadvantage would ariſe from it, were ſo far confirmed by experience, and his principles, in favour of a free trade, ſo naturally approved themſelves, to unbiaſſed minds, that he was not long without a numerous ſet of admirers. In 1781, he publiſhed "A Treatiſe concerning Civil Government, in Three Parts, in Reply to Mr. Locke," 8vo; in which he does not appear to have ſucceeded ſo well as in his other political writings. He alſo publiſhed ſeveral ſermons. "An Apology for the Church of England, 1772," 8vo, in oppoſition to the petitioning clergy. By far the beſt pamphlet on the occaſion. Beſides the great learning and abilities which diſtinguiſhed him in his profeſſion, he was eminent for his extenſive charity, and for his great knowledge of the true principles of trade and commerce, and other matters reſpecting the police of the country.

There is no quality of the mind which tends ſo much to the dignity of the human character as the love of the truth, accompanied by an ardent deſire to attain it, and an unyielding reſolution to ſupport it. So great an effect has this principle on mankind, that we admire it in its weakneſſes. The hermit in his cell, though led thither by gloomy ſuperſtition, and the martyr in the flames, ſuffering for opinions that reaſon condemns,

condemns, have often elevated pity into admiration. This quality particularly distinguished the eminent person of whose life and character I am about to give this biographic record of respect and affection. Dean Tucker was a native of Wales, and his father farmed a small estate of his own in that country. The good man, however, had discernment sufficient to perceive that his son's dispositions elevated him above his own situation, and, therefore, after giving him the best education that could be found for him in the principality where he lived, the young man was sent to Oxford, and entered of Jesus college.* It has been said, and I believe with some truth, that several of his early journies to and from the university were performed on foot, with a stick on his shoulder and a bundle at the end of it. *Omnia mea mecum porto*, might have been said by him, as it was by Simonides. At the usual period he entered into holy orders, and served the curacy of a church in Bristol; where, to his honour be it remembered, he was patronized and cherished by that most excellent man and learned divine, Dr. Butler, bishop of that diocese, to whom he was indebted for his promotion to the rectory of St. Stephen in that city. To the circumstances of this situation he may owe that disposition to commercial inquiry and political research which, though he blended with, he always made subservient to, his theological studies. The scenery, the conversation, the pursuits, of Bristol were all commercial; and his sagacious, inquisitive mind seized the objects that presented themselves before him. He first became more generally known by his support of the bill for the naturalization of the Jews, which caused a very considerable ferment in its day; and for his defence of that measure, in a series of letters written with great force of argument, and on the broad ground of justice and national policy. He suffered great obloquy,† was menaced with personal violence, and absolutely burned in effigy by the populace, who, not only at Bristol, but in other parts of the kingdom; and in the metropolis itself, were instigated to believe that, by the Jew bill, Christianity itself was in danger of being overthrown. Soon after this circumstance, Mr. Nugent, since lord Clare, having married the dowager lady Berkeley, and being thereby connected with the neighbourhood of Bristol, became a candidate to represent that city in parliament; and Dr. Tucker, whose influence was paramount in his extensive and opulent parish, greatly promoted, if it did actually decide, the election in Mr. Nugent's favour. By that gentleman's powerful recommendation, he was shortly after promoted to the deanry of Gloucester. It was about this time that he was employed by Dr. Hayter, bishop of Norwich, and at that time preceptor to his present majesty when prince of Wales, to frame an elementary system of commerce, for the instruction of a young prince who was born to reign over the first

* This must be a mistake; for he is stated as being of St. John's college in the catalogue of Oxford graduates. Edit.

† He was branded with the opprobious name of *Josiah ben Tucker, ben Judas Iscariot.*

commercial people in the world. biſhop Hayter, however, being removed from his ſituation, the plan was not adopted by his ſucceſſor; and the work, we believe, was never completed, though a part of it appears in ſome of the deans ſubſequent publications. He alſo made a conſpicuous figure in the controverſy which took place in the year 1771, when a very ſerious, powerful, and perſevering attempt was made to obtain from parliament an abolition of the ſubſcription to the XXXIX Articles. Amid the violence which inflamed the principal writers on both ſides, Dr. Tucker diſplayed much eccleſiaſtical erudition and ſound theology, both which he applied with ſuperior argument, and in the genuine ſpirit of Chriſtian moderation, to the ſupport of the church of England. The rights and doctrines of that church he afterwards farther maintained, in a ſeries of letters to Dr. Kippis, an eminent miniſter of the Diſſenting perſuaſion. He alſo interpoſed in a very active and prolonged controverſy, that took place between the leaders, of different ſects, of the Methodiſts; and publiſhed a volume of ſermons, on ſome of the more abſtruſe points of Chriſtian doctrine, which he treated with great ſtrength of argument, and perſpicuity of expreſſion. Having, for ſome time, conſidered him as a theological diſputant, we muſt now bring him forward as an eminent political writer, in which character he appeared, on ſeveral occaſions, during the American war. His opinions were ſingular on that ſubject, and, as he agreed with neither party, he became unpopular with both. Mr. Burke ſpoke of him in parliament, in terms that bordered on contempt; and Mr. Dunning, in a charge, which he gave to the grand jury of Briſtol, as recorder of that city, mentioned the dean, and his opinions reſpecting America, with an indignant reprobation. His opinion uniformly was, that America could never be coerced into obedience; and that, if Great Britain perſevered in the attempt it would coſt rivers of blood. He, therefore, contended, that it would be the wiſeſt policy to quench rebellion, and ſecure friendſhip, by an unreſerved aſſent to American independence. Subſequent events and later experience have redeemed the general obloquy he ſuffered for that opinion. During the laſt war, when the apprehenſion of an invaſion prevailed throughout the kingdom, he publiſhed "Obſervations" on that circumſtance, with various political inſtructions, moſt admirably calculated to diſſipate the alarms, and encourage the ſpirit, of the people. But the work in which dean Tucker ſeemed to hazard moſt, and required no common reſolution to preſent to the world, becauſe it attacked the favourite prejudices and principles of the old whigs and the modern tories, was his "Treatiſe on Civil Government," publiſhed in 1781, whoſe principal object was to combat the political doctrines of Mr. Locke. He was immediately attacked by ſeveral very able writers, who bore hard upon him. He touched the ark; but he ſurvived the preſumption. He might, however, conſole himſelf by having his work quoted by lord Mansfield, in the houſe of peers, with a fine eulogium on the talents of the author, whom he mentioned as a writer of the firſt claſs, for ſagacity and knowledge. Such is the general outline of Dr. Tucker's

life; which he, in a great measure, divided between his rectory at Bristol and the deanry at Gloucester, till he resigned the former to his curate, and which his persevering exertions obtained for him. That he performed his duty as became him, in both situations, is well known to those who are acquainted with the scenes of it. Never was a parish-priest more beloved by his parishoners; nor is there a chapter in the kingdom whose discipline has been better maintained, whose revenues have been more wisely managed, and whose patronage more properly bestowed, than that of Gloucester. Of his private character it may be said, with truth, that he had a capacity for friendship; but it was the friendship of experience. He was also continually doing good—for his charity was that of reflection, and therefore effectual. It has often been said of him, that he thought and talked more of trade than of religion. In what manner he employed his thoughts can be only known to that Being who is the searcher of them; but that trade and politics were frequent subjects of his conversation, may be willingly acknowledged. And let us ask, what are and ought to be the ordinary topics of social conversation but the occurrences that are happening by us? and the events of trade and politics are among the principal of them. Sacred subjects are not the colloquial coin of every hour; they have their seasons, when the world is not of the party. We do not fetch the chalice from the alter, to pour into it the beverage of the banquet. But the dean shall answer for himself. On his being once asked concerning the coolness which subsisted between him and Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, his answer was to the following effect, and in similar expressions: "The bishop affects to consider me with contempt; to which I say nothing. He has sometimes spoken coarsely of me; to which I replied nothing. He has said that religion is my trade; and trade is my religion. Commerce and its connections have, it is true, been favourite objects of my attention; and where is the crime? And as for religion, I have carefully attended to the duties of my parish; nor have I neglected my cathedral. The world knows something of me as a writer on religious subjects; and I will add, which the world does not know, that I have written near three hundred sermons, and preached them all, again and again. My heart is at ease on that score; and my conscience, thank God, does not accuse me.' The fact is, that he had studied theology in all its branches scientifically, considered it professionally, and applied it practically. And dean Tucker will certainly rank among the ablest divines and most distinguished polemical writers of his age and country.

He left the bulk of his fortune, we believe, to his wife, notwithstanding he had a number of poor relations.

Anecdotes of the late Admiral Earl Howe.

THE late right hon. Richard Howe, earl and viscount Howe, of Langar, in Nottinghamshire, viscount Howe and baron Clenawley,

Clenawley, in Ireland, and a baronet, was the ſecond ſon of ſir Emanuel Scrope, who was ſecond lord viſcount Howe, baron Clenawley, and was appointed governor of Barbadoes, in May, 1732, and Maria Sophia Charlotte, eldeſt daughter of the baron Kilmanſeck, maſter of the horſe to George the Firſt, as elector of Hanover, and was born in 1725. The family of Howe was of diſtinction in the counties of Somerſet, Wilts, and Dorſet, for ſeveral generations. The manor of Langar, in the county of Nottingham, came into the poſſeſſion of the family by the marriage of John Howe, eſq. with Arabella, daughter of the earl of Sunderland, whoſe eldeſt ſon, ſir Scrope, was created a baron and viſcount, and was ſucceeded by Scrope, the father of the preſent lord Howe, in 1712. The late earl ſucceeded his brother, George Auguſtus, the late viſcount, July 5, 1758; and married, in the ſame year, Mary, daughter of Chiverton Hartop, eſq. of Welby, co. Leiceſter, by whom he had three daughters: the eldeſt, lady Sophia Charlotte, is the relict of the hon. Mr. Curzon, late M. P. for the county of Leiceſter; lady Mary Indiana; and lady Louiſa Catharine, married to the preſent earl of Altamont. Dying without iſſue-male, his Iriſh honours, which are lord Howe, baron of Clenawley, deſcend to his brother, ſir William Howe, and alſo the Engliſh baronetcy. The Engliſh earldom and viſcounty are extinct; and the Engliſh barony deſcends to his daughters and their heirs-male. His lordſhip was only ten years of age when he loſt his father. He was, during ſome time, at Eton-college, which he left at 14, to enter on board the Severn, of 50 guns, commanded by the hon. captain Legge, and which formed part of the ſquadron deſtined for the South Seas, under the command of commodore Anſon. On its arrival off Terra del Fuego, it ſuffered the greateſt diſtreſs from a very long and violent tempeſt; in which the Severn, after being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, was finally ſeparated from it, and, having refitted at Rio Janeiro, returned to Europe. Mr. Howe next ſerved on board the Burford, which was one of the ſquadron detached, in 1743, from admiral ſir Chaloner Ogle's fleet, under the command of commodore Knowles, to attempt the town of La Guira, on the coaſt of Caraccas. The Burford ſuffered very much in this enterpriſe; and captain Luſhington, who commanded her, having loſt his thigh by a chain-ſhot, died ſoon after. Mr. Howe was now appointed acting lieutenant by the commodore, and in a ſhort time returned to England with his ſhip; but, his commiſſion not being confirmed by the admiralty, he returned to his patron in the Weſt Indies, where he was made lieutenant of a ſloop of war; and being employed to cut an Engliſh merchantman, which had been taken by a French privateer, under the guns of the Dutch ſettlement of St. Euſtatia, and with the connivance of the governor, out of that harbour, he executed the difficult and dangerous enterpriſe in ſuch a manner as to produce the moſt ſanguine expectations of his future ſervices. In 1745, lieutenant Howe was with admiral Vernon in the Downs, but was in a ſhort time raiſed to the rank of commander, in the Balti-

more sloop of war, which joined the squadron then cruizing on the coast of Scotland, under the command of admiral Smith. During this cruize an action took place, in which captain Howe gave a fine example of persevering intrepidity. The Baltimore, in company with another armed vessel, fell in with two French frigates of 30 guns, with troops and ammunition for the service of the pretender, which she instantly attacked by running between them. In the action which followed, captain Howe received a wound in his head, which at first appeared to be fatal. He, however, soon discovered signs of life, and, when the necessary operation was performed, resumed all his former activity, continued the action, if possible, with redoubled spirit, and obliged the French ships, with their prodigious superiority in men and metal, to steer off, leaving the Baltimore, at the same time, in such a shattered condition as to be wholly disqualified to pursue them. He was, in consequence of this gallant service, immediately made post-captain, and, on the 10th of April, 1746, was appointed to the Triton frigate, and ordered to Lisbon, where, in consequence of captain Holbourne's bad state of health, he was transferred to the Rippon, destined for the coast of Guinea. But he soon quitted that station to join his early patron, admiral Knowles, in Jamaica, who appointed him first captain of his ship of 80 guns; and, at the conclusion of the war, in 1748, he returned in her to England. In March, 1751, captain Howe was appointed to the command of the Guinea station, in La Gloire, of 44 guns; when, with his usual spirit and activity, he checked the injurious proceedings of the Dutch governor-general on the coast, and adjusted the difference between the English and Dutch settlements. At the close of the year 1751, he was appointed to the Mary yacht, which was soon exchanged for the Dolphin frigate, in which he sailed to the Streights, where he executed many difficult and important services. Here he remained about 3 years; and soon after, on his return to England, he obtained the command of the Dunkirk, of 60 guns, which was among the ships that were commissioned from an apprehension of a rupture with France. This ship was one of the fleet with which admiral Boscawen sailed to obstruct the passage of the French fleet into the gulph of St. Lawrence, when captain Howe took the Alcide, a French ship of 64 guns, off the coast of Newfoundland. A powerful fleet being prepared, in 1757, under the command of sir Edward Hawke, to make an attack upon the French coast, captain Howe was appointed to the Magnanime, in which ship he battered the fort on the island of Aix till it surrendered. In 1758, he was appointed commodore of a small squadron which sailed to annoy the enemy on their coasts. This he effected with his usual success at St. Malo, where a hundred sail of ships, and several magazines, were destroyed; and the heavy gale blowing into the shore, which rendered it impracticable for the troops to land, alone prevented the executing a similar mischief in the town and harbour of Cherbourg. On the 1st of July he returned to St. Helen's. This expedition was soon followed by another, when prince Edward,

afterwards

afterwards duke of York, was intruſted to the care of commodore Howe, on board his ſhip the Eſſex. The fleet ſailed on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1758, and on the 6th came to an anchor in the bay of Cherbourg; the town was taken, and the baſon deſtroyed. The commodore, with his royal midſhipman on board, next ſailed to St. Malo, and, as his inſtructions were to keep the coaſt of France in continual alarm, he very effectually obeyed them. The unſucceſsful affair of St. Cas followed. But never was courage, ſkill, or humanity, more powerfully or ſucceſsfully diſplayed than on this occaſion. He went in perſon in his barge, which was rowed through the thickeſt fire, to ſave the retreating ſoldiers; the reſt of the fleet, inſpired by his conduct, followed his example, and at leaſt 700 men were preſerved, by his exertions, from the fire of the enemy, or the fury of the waves. In July the ſame year (1758) his elder brother, who was ſerving his country with equal ardour and heroiſm in America, found an early grave. That brave and admirable officer was killed in a ſkirmiſh between the advanced guard of the French and the troops commanded by general Abercromby, in the expedition againſt Ticonderago. Commodore Howe now ſucceeded to the titles and property of his family. In the following year (1759) lord Howe was employed in the channel, on-board his old ſhip the Magnanime; but no opportunity offered to diſtinguiſh himſelf till the month of November, when the French fleet, under Conflans, was defeated. When he was preſented to the king, by ſir Edward Hawke, on this occaſion, his majeſty ſaid, "Your life, my lord, has been one continued ſeries of ſervices to your country." In March, 1760, he was appointed colonel of the Chatham diviſion of marines; and in September following, he was ordered by ſir Edward Hawke, to reduce the French fort on the Iſle of Dumel, in order to ſave the expenſe of the tranſports employed to carry water for the uſe of the fleet. Lord Howe continued to ſerve, as occaſion required, in the channel; and, in the ſummer of 1762, he removed to the Princeſs, Amelia, of 80 guns, having accepted the command as captain to his royal highneſs the duke of York, then rear admiral of the blue, ſerving as ſecond in command under ſir Edward Hawke, in the channel. On the 23d of Auguſt, 1763, his lordſhip was appointed to the board of admiralty, where he remained till Auguſt, 1765. He was then made treaſurer of the navy; and, in October, 1770, was promoted to rear admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. In March, 1775, he was appointed rear-admiral of the white: and was ſoon after choſen to repreſent the borough of Dartmouth in parliament. In the month of December, in the ſame year, he was made vice-admiral of the blue. It was on one of theſe promotions that lord Hawke, then firſt lord of the admiralty, roſe in the houſe of peers and ſaid, "I adviſed his majeſty to make the promotion. I have tried my lord Howe on important occaſions; he never aſked me how he was to execute any ſervice, but always went and performed it."—We are now to conſider lord Howe as commander-in-chief on the American ſtation, a very critical part of his life, and which at the time, was ſubject to the cenſure and praiſe of

contending parties; but, leaving such discussions to historical examination, we shall proceed briefly to observe, as it appears to us, that every enterprize in which his squadron was concerned was uniformly successful; and he never failed in obtaining those objects that were within the reach of the naval force which he commanded. In 1778, France having become a party in the war, the French admiral (d'Estaing) appeared, on the 11th of July, in sight of the British fleet, at Sandy Hook, with a considerable force of line of battle ships, in complete equipment and condition. Most of the ships under lord Howe had been long in service, were not well manned, and were not line of battle ships of the present day. The French admiral, however, remained seven days without making an attack, and by that time lord Howe had disposed his inferior force in such a manner as to bid him defiance. On d'Estaing's leaving the Hook, lord Howe heard of the critical situation of Rhode Island, and made every possible exertion to preserve it. He afterwards acted chiefly on the defensive. Such a conduct appears to have been required from the state of his fleet, and the particular situation of the British cause in America. He, however, contrived to baffle all the designs of the French admiral; and may be said, considering the disadvantages with which he was surrounded, to have conducted and closed the campaign with honour. Lord Howe now resigned the command to admiral Byron; and, on his return to England in October, immediately struck his flag. In the course of this year he had been advanced to be vice-admiral of the white, and, shortly after, to the same rank in the red squadron. On the change of administration in the year 1782, lord Howe was raised to the dignity of a viscount of Great Britain, having been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. He was then appointed to command the fleet fitted out for the relief of Gibraltar; and he fulfilled the important objects of this expedition. That fortress was effectually relieved, the hostile fleet baffled, and dared in vain to battle; and different squadrons detached to their important destinations; while the ardent hopes of his country's foes were disappointed. Peace was concluded shortly after lord Howe's return from performing this important service; and, in January, 1783, he was nominated first lord of the Admiralty. That office, in the succeeding April, he resigned to lord Keppel; but was re-appointed on the 30th of December in the same year. On the 24th of September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the white; and, in July, 1788, he finally quitted his station at the Admiralty. On August 19 following he was created an earl of Great Britain. At the commencement of the present war, in 1793, earl Howe accepted the command of the western squadron, at the particular and personal request of his majesty, and justified the choice which his sovereign had made at such a perilous and important moment. The glorious victory of the first of June soon followed; the enemy's fleet, which was one of the most powerful that France had ever equipped for sea, was totally vanquished, and seven ships of the enemy's line were in possession of the conqueror.

conqueror. He now returned to receive all the honours which a grateful country could beſtow. On the 26th of the ſame month, their majeſties, with three of the princeſſes, arrived at Portſmouth, and proceeded the next morning in barges to viſit lord Howe's ſhip the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead. His majeſty held a naval levee on board, and preſented the victorious admiral with a ſword, enriched with diamonds, and a gold chain, with the naval medal ſuſpended from it. The thanks of both houſes of parliament, the freedom of the city of London, and the univerſal acclamations of the nation, followed the acknowledgements of the ſovereign. In the courſe of the following year he was appointed general of marines, on the death of admiral Forbes; and finally reſigned the command of the weſtern ſquadron in April, 1797. On the 2d of June in the ſame year he was inveſted with the inſignia of the garter. The laſt public act of a life employed againſt the foreign enemies of his country was exerted to compoſe its internal diſſentions. It was the lot of earl Howe to contribute to the reſtoration of the fleet, which he had conducted to glory on the ſea, to loyalty in the harbour. His experience ſuggeſted the meaſures to be purſued by government on the alarming mutinies which, in 1797, diſtreſſed and terrified the nation; while his perſonal exertions powerfully promoted the diſperſion of that ſpirit which had, for a time, changed the very nature of Britiſh ſeamen, and greatly helped to recall them to their former career of duty and obedience. Such was earl Howe, who is gone to his grave full of years and honour, leaving behind him a name which will mark one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed periods of Britiſh glory.

Anecdotes of the late Mr. Bacon.

THIS celebrated ſculptor was born, in London, on the 24th of November, 1740. His father was a clothworker, in Southwark. When he was about five years of age, he fell into a pit of a ſoap-boiler, and muſt have periſhed if a man, who then entered the yard, had not diſcovered the top of his head, and immediately drawn him out. About the ſame time he fell before a cart, the wheel of which went over his right hand, and muſt have cruſhed it, had it not fallen between two projecting ſtones.—When very young, Mr. Bacon diſcovered an inclination for drawing; but never made any great proficiency in that art. In the year 1755, and at the age of 14, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Criſpe, of Bow-church-yard, where he was employed in painting on porcelain. Mr. Criſpe had a manufactory of china, at Lambeth, where Mr. Bacon occaſionally went and aſſiſted. His then occupation, indeed, was but a feeble ſtep towards his future acquirements, as he was chiefly employed in forming ſhepherds, ſhepherdeſſes, and ſuch like ſmall ornamental pieces; yet, for a ſelf-taught artiſt to perform even works like theſe with taſte, and, in leſs than two years, form (as he did) all the models for the manufactory, was to give indications of no ordinary powers. But, as goodneſs of heart excels greatneſs of parts, we ought not to admit recording here a proof of his filial affection. At this early

period he, in a great meaſure, ſupported his parents from the produce of his labours, even to the abridging himſelf of the neceſſaries of life. His capacity, however, for greater things diſcovered itſelf on the following occaſion: *, "In attending the manufactory at Lambath he had an opportunity of obſerving the models of different ſculptors, which were ſent to a pottery, on the ſame premiſes, to be burnt. Small circumſtances often give riſe to important events. From the ſight of theſe models Mr. Bacon was firſt inſpired with an inclination towards his art. He applied himſelf to it with the moſt unremitting diligence; his progreſs was as rapid as his turn for it was ſudden and unpremeditated: this will appear from the books publiſhed annually by the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, where it may be found, that, between the years 1763 and 1766, incluſive, the firſt premiums in thoſe claſſes for which he contended were no leſs than nine times adjudged to him." The firſt of theſe attempts was made in the year 1758, on a ſmall figure of Peace, after the manner of the antique. It was during Mr. Bacon's apprenticeſhip that he formed a deſign of making ſtatues in artificial ſtone, which he afterwards perfected. The manufactory now carried on at Lambeth by Mrs. Coade originated with him. About the year 1763 Mr. Bacon firſt attempted working on marble. As he had never ſeen this performed, he was led to invent an inſtrument for transferring the form of the model to the marble, technically called *getting out the points*, which inſtrument has ſince been uſed by many other ſculptors in England and France. At this time Mr. Bacon lived in the city, where his family-connections were; but, in the year 1768, he removed to the weſt end of the town; and it was then (being about 28 years of age), in attending the Royal Academy, inſtituted that year, that he received his firſt inſtructions in his art, having never before ſeen the art of modeling or ſculpture regularly performed. "In the following year the gold medal for ſculpture (the firſt ever given by that body) was decreed to Mr. Bacon; † and, about two or three years after, his reputation was publicly eſtabliſhed by the exhibition of his ſtatue of Mars, which recommended him to the notice of the preſent archbiſhop of York, who, having deſigned to place a buſt of his preſent majeſty in the hall of Chriſt-Church-college, in the Univerſity of Oxford, preſented Mr. Bacon to his majeſty, who was pleaſed to ſit to him for this purpoſe; and his execution of this work, added to the fame he had already acquired, procured him the Royal patronage, and an order from his majeſty to prepare another buſt, which he intended to preſent to the Univerſity of Göttingen. Her majeſty was alſo pleaſed to give directions for a third; and Mr. Bacon has ſince executed a fourth, which has been placed in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries. He was ſoon afterwards employed by the dean and fellows of Chriſt Church in forming ſeveral buſts for

* What follows, in quotation, is taken from an authentic account in a reſpectable periodical publication for Auguſt, 1790.

† He became an aſſociate in 1770, and an academician in 1778.

them,

them, particularly the late general Guiſe, the biſhop of Durham, and the primate of Ireland. In 1773 he preſented to the ſociety for the encouragement of arts two ſtatues in plaſter, which, by a vote of that ſociety, were directed to be placed in their great room. On this occaſion Mr. Bacon addreſſed a letter to them in the following terms: 'The honour you have done me, in your acceptance of my ſtatues of Mars and Venus, affords me an opportunity, which I gladly embrace, of acknowledging the many obligations I have to the ſociety. It was your approbation which ſtimulated, and your encouragement which enabled me to purſue thoſe ſtudies which a diſadvantageous ſituation had otherwiſe made difficult, if not impoſſible. Believe me, gentlemen, I never think of the ſociety without gratitude, and without the higheſt idea of the principles on which it is formed; which juſtly place it among the inſtitutions that do honour to human nature, raiſe the glory of a nation, and promote the general good of mankind.' To this letter the ſociety ſent a polite anſwer, accompanied with their gold medal, on the reverſe of which is inſcribed EMINENT MERIT. In 1777 he was employed to prepare a model of a monument to be erected in Guy's hoſpital, Southwark, to the memory of the founder. In the north aile of Weſtminſter-abbey is a monument erected by Mr. Bacon to the memory of the late earl of Haliſax; and a marble urn executed by him has, by the direction of lady Chatham, been placed in the gardens at Burton Pynſent, Somerſetſhire, ſacred to the memory of the earl of Chatham. The inhabitants of Jerſey, having determined to perpetuate the memory of the gallant major Pierſon, who fell in the defence of that iſland againſt the French, the execution of the monument was committed to Mr. Bacon; and the ſociety of All Souls, Oxford, having agreed to erect a ſtatue of the late ſir William Blackſtone, Mr. Bacon was employed by them for that purpoſe. In the different competitions with rival artiſts Mr. Bacon has been almoſt always ſucceſsful," there being but *one* exception out of ſixteen inſtances.—" Of the works of this artiſt exhibited at different periods at the Royal Academy, the following may be enumerated: ſtatues of Mars and Venus; coloſſal buſt of Jupiter; coloſſal ſtatue of the Thames; ſeveral ſmall figures in marble; and a monument ſince placed in the cathedral of Briſtol, to the memory of Mrs. Draper, celebrated by Sterne under the name of Eliza. But the moſt important work hitherto preſented to the world by Mr. Bacon is the monument of lord Chatham, erected in Weſtminſter-abbey at the public expenſe. This will at all times remain a proof of the genius of the artiſt who produced it; an artiſt who has acquired his fame without foreign inſtruction or ſtudy in the ſchools of Italy, and who may be produced as a proof, not only that " genius is the growth of," but may be fully ripened in, " the Britiſh iſle, unaſſiſted by ſuch aid." When young, his abilities as an artiſt were not called in queſtion, except with reſpect to the antique, of which ſome affirmed he underſtood nothing. On this occaſion he modeled his large head of Jupiter Tonans, which was inſpected by ſeveral eminent connoiſſeurs, and miſtaken for a fine antique; they even

even inquired, "from what temple abroad it had been brought." It is not the deſign of theſe memoirs to preſent a regular liſt of his works, and much leſs to enter into a critical inveſtigation of their reſpective merits: they are before the public, and will beſt ſpeak for themſelves. Beſides thoſe monuments already mentioned, the moſt conſiderable are, lord Chatham's, in Guildhall; the bronze group in the ſquare of Somerſet-houſe; lady Miller's, at Bath; lord Rodney's, at Jamaica; lord Heathfield's, at Buckland, near Plymouth; earl and counteſs of Effingham's, at Jamaica; ſir George Pococke's and biſhop Thomas's, in Weſtminſter-abbey; Mr. Howard's and Dr. Johnſon's, in St. Paul's; * and the Pediment of the Eaſt India houſe. Mr. Bacon had under his hand at the time of his death the monuments of Mr. Whitbread; ſir William Jones; Mr. Maſon, the poet; dean Milner; General Dundas, for St. Paul's; captains Harvey and Hutt, for the Abbey; a group for India, containing a coloſſal ſtatue of marquis Cornwallis; an equeſtrian bronze of William the Third, for St. James's ſquare; with ſome others of leſs importance.—This diſtinguiſhed artiſt and excellent man was ſuddenly attacked with an inflammation in his ſtomach, on the evening of Sunday, Auguſt 4, 1799, which carried him off in two days. During this ſhort illneſs he expreſſed a firm reliance on that ſure foundation on which he had long and conſiſtently built. He departed on Wedneſday morning, Auguſt 7, in the 59th year of his age; leaving two ſons and three daughters by his firſt wife, and three ſons by his laſt, the ſurviving widow. In perſon Mr. Bacon was about 5 feet 8 inches high; of a fair complexion and intereſting countenance, expreſſive of his natural vivacity, tenderneſs, and addreſs. In communicating his ideas he was ſometimes forcible and happy, but frequently circuitous and obſcure; what was ſucceſsful burſt like lightning from a cloud, but, unlike that meteor, it remained to enlighten and to warm. He had a peculiar felicity in illuſtrating his conceptions by emblems and analogies; and his ſtrong ſympathies were frequently accompanied with his tears. He was naturally irritable, but not at all vindictive; warm in his attachments, but more diſpoſed to lament his wrongs than to reſent them. His habits were frugal, but not penurious. While he preſerved his family from mixing with a diſſipated and dangerous world, he ſtrove by every means to render their home delightful, and ſpared no expenſe that could make it ſo. He was an affectionate huſband, a tender father, a ſteady friend, a loyal ſubject, and an honeſt man. It only remains to be added that, in perfect conſiſtency with the character deſcribed above, Mr. Bacon ordered by his will a plain ſtone with the following inſcription (after the name and date) to be placed over his grave:

"What I was as an artiſt, ſeemed to me of ſome importance while I lived;

BUT

What I really was, as a believer in Chriſt Jeſus, is the only thing of importance to me now."

* See his modeſt letter to Mr Nichols on theſe two monuments, Gent. Mag. vol. LXVI. p. 180.

Anecdotes of James Burnett, Lord Monboddo.

THIS gentleman died at the advanced age of 85.* He was the third on the bench, in ſucceſſion ſince the revolution. His lordſhip was admitted an advocate in 1737, and on the 12th of February, 1767, he was raiſed to the bench in the room of lord Milton, appointed a judge the 4th of June, 1742, and who had ſucceeded ſir John Lauder, of Fountainhall, admitted Nov. 1, 1689. Thus three perſons have enjoyed the ſame gown for 110 years.

His private life was ſpent in the practice of all the ſocial virtues, and in the enjoyment of much domeſtic felicity. He had married Miſs Farquharſon, a very amiable woman, by whom he had a ſon and two daughters. Although rigidly temperate in his habits of life, he, however, delighted much in the convivial ſociety of his friends, and among theſe he could number almoſt all the moſt eminent of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed in Scotland for virtue, literature, or genuine elegance of converſation and manners. One of thoſe who eſteemed him the moſt was the late lord Gardenſtone, a man who poſſeſſed no mean portion of the ſame overflowing benignity of diſpoſition, the ſame unimpeachable integrity as a judge, the ſame partial fondneſs for literature and the fine arts. His ſon, a very promiſing boy, in whoſe education he took great delight, was, indeed, ſnatched away from his affections by a premature death. But, when it was too late for ſorrow and anxiety to avail, the afflicted father ſtifled the emotions of nature in his breaſt, and wound up the energies of his ſoul to the firmeſt tone of ſtoical fortitude. He was, in like manner, bereaved of his excellent lady, the object of his deareſt tenderneſs; and he endured the loſs with a ſimilar firmneſs, fitted to do honour either to philoſophy or to religion. In addition to his office as a judge in the ſupreme civil court in Scotland, an offer was made to him of a ſeat in the court of juſticiary, the ſupreme criminal court. But, though the emoluments of this would have made a convenient addition to his income, he refuſed to accept it; leſt its buſineſs ſhould too much detach him from the purſuit of his favourite ſtudies. His patrimonial eſtate was ſmall; not affording a revenue of more than 300*l.* a year; yet, he would not raiſe the rents, would never diſmiſs a poor tenant for the ſake of any augmentation or emolument offered by a richer ſtranger; and, indeed, ſhewed no particular ſolicitude to accompliſh any improvement upon his lands, ſave that of having the number of perſons who ſhould reſide upon them as tenants, and be there ſuſtained by their produce, to be, if poſſible ſuperior to the population of any equal portion of the lands of his neighbours.

The vacation of the court of ſeſſion afforded him ſufficient leiſure to retire every year, in ſpring and in autumn, to the country; and he uſed then to dreſs in a ſtyle of ſimplicity, as if he had been only a plain farmer; and to live among the people upon his eſtate, with all the kind familiarity and attention of an aged father among his grown up children.

* See before, page 22, for a notice of his death.

children. It was there he had the pleaſure of receiving Dr. Samuel Johnſon, with his friend James Boſwell, at the time when theſe two gentlemen were upon their well-known tour through the Highlands of Scotland. Johnſon admired nothing in literature ſo much as the diſplay of a keen diſcrimination of human character, a juſt apprehenſion of the principles of moral action, and that vigorous common ſenſe which is the moſt happily applicable to the ordinary conduct of life. Monboddo delighted in the refinements, the ſubtleties, the abſtractions, the affections of literature; and, in compariſon with theſe, deſpiſed the groſſneſs of modern taſte and of common affairs. Johnſon thought learning and ſcience to be little valuable, except ſo far as they could be made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of living uſefully and happily with the world, upon his own terms. Monboddo's favourite ſcience taught him to look down with contempt upon all ſublunary, and eſpecially upon all modern things; and to fit life to literature and philoſophy, not literature and philoſophy to life. James Boſwell, therefore, in carrying Johnſon to viſit Monboddo, probably thought of *pitting* them one againſt another, as two game cocks, and promiſed himſelf much ſport from the colloquial conteſt which he expected to enſue between them. But Monboddo was too hoſpitable and courteous to enter into keen contention with a ſtranger in his own houſe. There was much talk between them, but no angry controverſy, no exaſperation of that diſlike for each other's well-known peculiarities with which they had met. Johnſon, it is true, ſtill continued to think lord Monboddo what he called *a prig* in literature.

Lord Monboddo uſed frequently to viſit London, to which he was allured by the opportunity that great metropolis affords of enjoying the converſation of a vaſt number of men of profound erudition. A journey to the capital became a favourite amuſement of his periods of vacation from the buſineſs of the court to which he belonged; and, for a time, he made this journey once a year. A carriage, a vehicle that was not in common uſe among the ancients, he conſidered as an engine of effeminacy and ſloth, which it was diſgraceful for a man to make uſe of in travelling. To be dragged at the tail of a horſe, inſtead of mounting upon his back, ſeemed, in his eyes, to be a truly ludicrous degradation of the genuine dignity of human nature. In all his journies, therefore, between Edinburgh and London, he was wont to ride on horſeback, with a ſingle ſervant attending him. He continued this practice, without finding it too fatiguing for his ſtrength, till he was upwards of eighty years of age. Within theſe few years, on his return from a laſt viſit, which he made on purpoſe to take leave, before his death, of all his old friends in London, he became exceedingly ill upon the road, and was unable to proceed; and had he not been overtaken by a Scotch friend, who prevailed upon him to travel the remainder of the way in a carriage, he might perhaps, have actually periſhed by the way ſide, or breathed his laſt in ſome dirty inn. Since that time, he has not again attempted an equeſtrian journey to London.

In London, his viſits were exceedingly acceptable to all his friends,

friends, whether of the literary or fashionable world. He delighted to show himself at court; and the king is said to have taken a pleasure in conversing with the old man with a distinguishing notice that could not but be very flattering to him. He used to mingle, with great satisfaction, with the learned and the ingenious, at the house of Mrs. Montague. However, after the death of his friend, Mr. Harris, he found a very sensible diminution of the pleasure he had been wont to enjoy in the society of London.

A constitution of body, naturally framed to wear well and last long, was strengthened to lord Monboddo by exercise, guarded by temperance, and by a tenor of mind too firm to be deeply broken in upon by those passions which consume the principles of life. In the country he has always used much the exercises of walking in the open air, and of riding. The cold bath was a means of preserving the health, to which he had recourse in all seasons, amid every severity of the weather, under every inconvenience of indisposition or business, with a perseverance invincible. He has been accustomed, alike in winter and in summer, to rise at a very early hour in the morning, and, without loss of time, to betake himself to study or wholesome exercise. It is said, that he has even found the use of what he called the air bath, or the practice of occasionally walking about, for some minutes, naked, in a room filled with fresh and cool air, to be highly salutary.

His eldest daughter became, many years since, the wife of Kirkpatrick Williamson, esq. a gentleman who holds a respectable office in the court of session, and is universally beloved and esteemed. His second daughter, in personal loveliness one of the finest women of the age, was beheld in every public place with general admiration, and was sought in marriage by many suitors. Her mind was endowed with all her father's benevolence of temper, and with all his taste for elegant literature, without any portion of his whim and caprice. It was her chief delight to be the nurse and the companion of his declining age.

It is she who is elegantly praised in one of the papers of the Mirror, as rejecting the most flattering and advantageous opportunities of settlement in marriage, that she might amuse a father's loneliness, nurse the sickly infirmity of his age, and cheer him with all the tender cares of filial affection and self denial. Her presence contributed to draw around him, in his house, and at his table, all that was truly respectable among the youth of his country. She mingled in the world of fashion, without sharing its follies; and heard those flatteries which are there addressed to youth and beauty, without being betrayed to that light and selfish vanity which is often the only sentiment that fills the heart of the high praised beauty. She delighted in reading, in literary conversation, in poetry, and in the fine arts, without contracting, from this taste, any of that pedantic self-conceit and affectation which usually characterize literary ladies, and whose presence often frightens away the domestic virtues, the graces, the delicacies, and all the more interesting charms of the sex. When Burns, the well known Scottish poet, first arrived from the plough, in Ayrshire, to publish his poems in Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, there was none by whom he was more zealouſly patronized than by lord Monboddo and his lovely daughter. No man's feelings were ever more powerfully or exquiſitely alive than thoſe of the ruſtic bard, to the emotions of gratitude, or to the admiration of the good and fair. In a poem which he at that time wrote, as a panegyrical addreſs to Edinburgh, he took occaſion to celebrate the beauty and excellence of Miſs Burnet, in, perhaps, the fineſt ſtanza of the whole:

"Thy daughters bright thy walks adorn,
Gay as the gilded ſummer ſky,
Sweet as the dewy milk-white thorn,
Dear as the raptur'd thrill of joy!
Fair Burnet ſtrikes th' adoring eye;
Heav'n's beauties on my fancy ſhine,
I ſee the *Sire of Love* on high,
And own his work, indeed, divine!"

She was the ornament of the elegant ſociety of the city in which ſhe reſided, her father's pride, and the comfort of his domeſtic life in his declining years. Every amiable and every noble ſentiment was familiar to her heart, every female virtue was exemplified in her life. Yet, this woman, thus lovely, thus elegant, thus wiſe and virtuous, whoſe life, for the conſolation of her father, ſhould have been prolonged till ſhe had cloſed his dying eyes in peace; who, for a bleſſing to ſociety, ſhould have been ſpared till ſhe had ſet the ſame example in the diſcharge of the duties of a wife and mother which ſhe had exhibited in performing thoſe of a daughter. This woman was cut off in the flower of her age, and left her father bereft of the laſt tender tie which bound him to ſociety and to life. She died about ſix years ſince, of a conſumption; a diſeaſe that in Scotland proves too often fatal to the loveliеſt and moſt promiſing among the fair and the young. Neither his philoſophy, nor the neceſſary torpor of the feelings of extreme old age were capable of preventing lord Monboddo from being very deeply affected by ſo grievous a loſs; and from that time he began to droop exceedingly in his health and ſpirits.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

On a ſubmarine Foreſt, on the Eaſt Coaſt of England, by Joſeph Correa de Serra, LL.D. F.R.S. and A.S. from the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society.

IN geology, more perhaps than in any other branch of natural hiſtory, there exiſts a neceſſity of ſtrictly ſeparating the facts obſerved from the ideas which, in order to explain them, may occur to the mind of the obſerver. In the preſent ſtate of this ſcience, every well aſcertained fact increaſes our ſtill narrow ſtock of real knowledge; when, on the contrary, the reaſonings we are enabled to make, are at beſt but ingenious gueſſes, which too often bias and miſlead the judgement. I ſhall therefore endeavour, in this paper, to give, firſt, a mere deſcription of the object, unmixed with any ſyſtematical ideas, and ſhall afterwards offer ſuch conjectures on its cauſe as ſeem to me to be fairly grounded on obſervation.

It was a common report in Lincolnſhire, that a large extent of iſlets of moor, ſituated along its coaſt, and viſible only in the loweſt ebbs of the year, was chiefly compoſed of decayed trees. Theſe iſlets are marked in Mitchel's chart of that coaſt, by the name of *clay huts*; and the village of Huttoff, oppoſite to which they principally lie, ſeems to have derived its name from them. In the month of September, 1796, I went to Sutton, on the coaſt of Lincolnſhire, in company with the right honourable preſident of the ſociety, in order to examine their extent and nature.—The 19th of the month, being the firſt day after the equinoctial full moon, when the loweſt ebbs were to be expected, we went in a boat, at half paſt twelve at noon, and ſoon after ſet foot upon one of the largeſt iſlets then appearing. Its expoſed ſurface was about thirty yards long, and twenty-five wide, when the tide was at the loweſt. A great number of ſimilar iſlets were viſible round us, chiefly to the eaſtward and ſouthward; and the fiſhermen, whoſe authority on this point is very competent, ſay, that ſimilar moors are to be found along the whole coaſt, from Skegneſs to Grimſby, particularly off Addlethorpe and Mablethorpe. The channels dividing the iſlets were, at the time we ſaw them, wide, and of various depths; the iſlets themſelves ranging generally from eaſt to weſt in the largeſt dimenſion.

We viſited them again in the ebbs of the 20th and 21ſt; and, though it generally did not ebb ſo far as we expected, we could notwithſtanding aſcertain, that they conſiſted almoſt entirely of roots, trunks,

trunks, branches, and leaves of aquatic plants. The remains of ſome of theſe trees were ſtill ſtanding on their roots; while the trunks of the greater part lay ſcattered on the ground, in every poſſible direction. The bark of the trees and roots appeared generally as freſh as when they were growing; in that of the birches particularly, of which a great quantity was found, even the thin ſilvery membranes of the outer ſkin were diſcernible. The timber of all kinds, on the contrary, was decompoſed and ſoft, in the greateſt part of the trees; in ſome, however, it was firm, eſpecially in the knots. The people of the country have often found among them very ſound pieces of timber, fit to be employed for ſeveral economical purpoſes.

The ſorts of wood which are ſtill diſtinguiſhable are birch, fir, and oak. Other woods evidently exiſt in theſe iſlets, of ſome of which we found the leaves in the ſoil; but our preſent knowledge of the comparative anatomy of timbers, is not ſo far advanced as to afford us the means of pronouncing with confidence reſpecting their ſpecies. In general, the trunks, branches, and roots of the decayed trees, were conſiderably flattened; which is a phænomenon obſerved in the *Surtarbrand* or foſſil wood of Iceland, and which Scheuchzer remarked alſo in the foſſil wood found in the the neighbourhood of the lake of Thun, in Switzerland.

The ſoil to which the trees are affixed, and in which they grew, is a ſoft greaſy clay; but, for many inches above its ſurface, the ſoil is entirely compoſed of rotten leaves, ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable to the eye, many of which may be ſeparated, by putting the ſoil in water, and dexterouſly and patiently uſing a ſpatula, or a blunt knife. By this method, I obtained ſome perfect leaves of *ilex aquifolium*, which are now in the Herbarium of the right hon. ſir Joſeph Banks; and ſome other leaves which, though leſs perfect, ſeem to belong to ſome ſpecies of willow. In this ſtratum of rotten leaves, we could alſo diſtinguiſh ſeveral roots of *arundo phragmites*.

Theſe iſlets, according to the moſt accurate information, extend at leaſt twelve miles in length, and about a mile in breadth, oppoſite to Sutton ſhore. The water without them, towards the ſea, generally deepens ſuddenly, ſo as to form a ſteep bank. The channels between the ſeveral iſlets, when the iſlets are dry, in the loweſt ebbs of the year, are from four to twelve feet deep; their bottoms are clay or ſand, and their direction is generally from eaſt to weſt.

A well dug at Sutton, by Joſhua Searby, ſhows that a moor of the ſame nature is found under ground, in that part of the country, at the depth of ſixteen feet: conſequently, very nearly on the ſame level with that which conſtitutes the iſlets. The diſpoſition of the ſtrata was found to be as follows:

Clay,	16 feet.
Moor, ſimilar to that of the iſlets,	from 3 to 4 ditto.
Soft moor, like the ſcowerings of a ditch bottom, mixed with ſhells and ſit,	20 ditto.
Marly clay,	1 foot.
Chalk rock,	from 1 to 2 feet.
Clay,	31 yards.
Gravel and water; the water has a chalybeate taſte.	

In

In order to aſcertain the courſe of this ſubterraneous ſtratum of decayed vegetables, ſir Joſeph Banks directed a boring to be made, in the fields belonging to the Royal Society, in the pariſh of Mablethorpe. Moor, of a ſimilar nature to that of Searby's well, and of the iſlets, was found, very nearly on the ſame level, about four feet thick, and under it a ſoft clay.

The whole appearance of the rotten vegetables we obſerved, perfectly reſembles, according to the remark of ſir Joſeph Banks, the moor which in Blankeney fen, and in other parts of the eaſt fen in Lincolnſhire, is thrown up in the making of banks; barks, like thoſe of the birch tree, being there alſo abundantly found. This moor extends over all the Lincolnſhire fens, and has been traced as far as Peterborough, more than ſixty miles to the ſouth of Sutton. On the north ſide, the moory iſlets, according to the fiſhermen, extend as far as Grimſby, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the mouth of the Humber; and it is a remarkable circumſtance, that in the large tracts of low lands which lie on the ſouth banks of that river, a little above its mouth, there is a ſubterraneous ſtratum of decayed trees and ſhrubs, exactly like thoſe we obſerved at Sutton; particularly at Axholme iſle, a tract of ten miles in length, by five in breadth; and at Hatfield-chaſe, which comprehends one hundred and eighty thouſand acres. Dugdale * had long ago made this obſervation, in the firſt of theſe places; and de la Pryme † in the ſecond. The roots are there likewiſe ſtanding in the places where they grew; the trunks lie proſtrate. The woods are of the ſame ſpecies as at Sutton. Roots of aquatic plants and reeds are likewiſe mixed with them; and they are covered by a ſtratum of ſome yards of ſoil, the thickneſs of which, though not aſcertained with exactneſs by the above-mentioned obſervers, we may eaſily conceive to correſpond with that which covers the ſtratum of decayed wood at Sutton, by the circumſtance of the roots being (according to Mr. Richardſon's obſervations ‡) only viſible when the water is low, where a channel was cut, which has left them uncovered.

Little doubt can be entertained of the moory iſlets of Sutton being a part of this extenſive ſubterraneous ſtratum, which, by ſome inroad of the ſea, has been there ſtripped of its covering of ſoil.—The identity of the levels; that of the ſpecies of trees; the roots of theſe affixed, in both, to the ſoil where they grew; and, above all, the flattened ſhape of the trunks, branches, and roots, found in the iſlets, (which can only be accounted for by the heavy preſſure of a ſuperinduced ſtratum,) are ſufficient reaſons for this opinion.

Such a wide ſpread aſſemblage of vegetable ruins, lying almoſt in the ſame level, and that level generally under the common mark of low water, muſt naturally ſtrike the obſerver, and give birth to the following queſtions:

1. What is the epoch of this deſtruction?

* Hiſtory of Embanking and Draining. Chap. xxvii.
† Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. XXII. p. 980.
‡ Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. XIX. p. 528.

2. By what agency was it effected?

In anſwer to theſe queſtions, I will venture to ſubmit the following reflections:

The foſſil remains of vegetables hitherto dug up in ſo many parts of the globe, are, on a cloſe inſpection, found to belong to two very different ſtates of our planet. The parts of vegetables, and their impreſſions, found in mountains of a cotaceous, ſchiſtous, or even ſometimes of a calcareous nature, are chiefly of plants now exiſting between the tropics, which could neither have grown in the latitudes in which they are dug up, nor have been carried and depoſited there by any of the acting forces under the preſent conſtitution of nature. The formation, indeed, of the very mountains in which they are buried, and the nature and diſpoſition of the materials which compoſe them, are ſuch as we cannot account for by any of the actions and re-actions which, in the actual ſtate of things, take place on the ſurface of the earth. We muſt neceſſarily recur to that period in the hiſtory of our planet, when the ſurface of the ocean was at leaſt ſo much above its preſent level, as to cover even the ſummits of theſe ſecondary mountains which contain the remains of tropical plants. The changes which theſe vegetables have ſuffered in their ſubſtance, is almoſt total: they commonly retain only the external configuration of what they originally were. Such is the ſtate in which they have been found in England, by Llwyd; in France, by Juſſieu; in the Netherlands, by Burtin; not to mention inſtances in more diſtant countries. Some of the impreſſions or remains of plants found in ſoils of this nature, which were, by more ancient and leſs enlightened oryctologiſts, ſuppoſed to belong to plants actually growing in temperate and cold climates, ſeem, on accurate inveſtigation, to have been parts of exotic vegetables. In fact, whether we ſuppoſe them to have grown near the ſpot where they are found, or to have been carried thither from diſferent parts, by the force of an impelling flood, it is equally difficult to conceive, how organized beings, which, in order to live, require ſuch a vaſt difference in temperature and in ſeaſons, could live on the ſame ſpot, or how their remains could (from climates ſo widely diſtant) be brought together to the ſame place, by one common diſlocating cauſe. To this ancient order of foſſil vegetables belong whatever retains a vegetable ſhape, found in or near coal-mines, and (to judge from the places where they have been found) the greater part of the agatized woods. But, from the ſpecies and preſent ſtate of the trees which are the ſubject of this memoir, and from the ſituation and nature of the ſoil in which they are found, it ſeems very clear that they do not belong to this primeval order of vegetable ruins.

The ſecond order of foſſil vegetables, comprehends thoſe which are found in ſtrata of clay or ſand; materials which are the reſult of ſlow depoſitions of the ſea or of rivers, agents ſtill at work under the preſent conſtitution of our planet.—Theſe vegetable remains are found in ſuch flat countries as may be conſidered to be of a new formation. Their vegetable organization ſtill ſubſiſts, at leaſt in part: and their vegetable ſubſtance has ſuffered a change

change only in colour, ſmell, or conſiſtence; alterations which are produced by the development of their oily and bituminous parts, or by their natural progreſs towards rottenneſs. Such are the foſſil vegetables found in Cornwall, by Borlaſe; in Eſſex, by Derham; in Yorkſhire, by De la Pryme and Richardſon; and in foreign countries, by other naturaliſts. Theſe vegetables are found at different depths, ſome of them much below the preſent level of the ſea, but in clayey or ſandy ſtrata (evidently belonging to modern formation), and have, no doubt, been carried from their original place, and depoſited there by the force of great rivers or currents, as it has been obſerved with reſpect to the Miſſiſſipi.* In many inſtances, however, theſe trees and ſhrubs are found ſtanding on their roots, generally in low or marſhy places, above, or very little below, the actual level of the ſea.

To this laſt deſcription of foſſil vegetables, the decayed trees here deſcribed certainly belong. They have not been tranſported by currents or rivers; but, though ſtanding in their native ſoil we cannot ſuppoſe the level in which they are found, to be the ſame as that in which they grew. It would have been impoſſible for any of theſe trees and ſhrubs to vegetate ſo near the ſea, and below the common level of its water: the waves would cover ſuch tracts of land, and hinder any vegetation. We cannot conceive that the ſurface of the ocean has ever been lower than it now is; on the contrary, we are led by numberleſs phænomena to believe, that the level of the waters in our globe is much below what it was in former periods; we muſt therefore conclude, that the foreſt here deſcribed grew in a level high enough to permit its vegetation; and that the force (whatever it was) which deſtroyed it, lowered the level of the ground where it ſtood.

There is a force of ſubſidence (particular in ſoft ground) which being a natural conſequence of gravity, ſlowly though perpetually operating, has its action ſometimes quickened and rendered ſudden by extraneous cauſes; for inſtance, by earthquakes. The ſlow effects of this force of ſubſidence have been accurately remarked in many places; examples alſo of its ſudden action are recorded in almoſt every hiſtory of great earthquakes. The ſhores of Alexandria, according to Dolomieu's obſervations, are a foot lower than they were in the time of the Ptolemies. Donati, in his natural hiſtory of the Adriatic, has remarked, ſeemingly with great accuracy, the effects of this ſubſidence at Venice; at Pola, in Iſtria; at Liſſa, Bua, Zara, and Diclo, on the coaſt of Dalmatia. In England, Borlaſe has given, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions,† a curious obſervation of a ſubſidence, of at leaſt ſixteen feet, in the ground between Sampſon and Treſcaw iſlands, in Scilly. The ſoft and low ground between the towns of Thorne and Gowle, in Yorkſhire, a ſpace of many miles, has ſo much ſubſided in latter times, that ſome old men of Thorne affirmed, "That whereas they could before ſee little of the ſteeple (of Gowle), they now ſee

* La Coudreniere *ſur les Depots du Miſſiſſipi. Journ. de Phyſ.* Vol. XXI. p. 230.
† Vol. XLVIII. p. 62.

the church-yard wall."* The inſtances, of ſimilar ſubſidence which might be mentioned, are innumerable.

This force of ſubſidence, ſuddenly acting by means of ſome earthquake, ſeems to me the moſt probable cauſe to which the actual ſubmarine ſituation of the foreſt we are ſpeaking of may be aſcribed. It affords a ſimple eaſy explanation of the matter; its probability is ſupported by numberleſs inſtances of ſimilar events; and it is not liable to the ſtrong objections which exiſt againſt the hypotheſis of the alternate depreſſion and elevation of the level of the ocean; an opinion which, to be credible, requires the ſupport of a great number of proofs, leſs equivocal than thoſe which have hitherto been urged in its favour, even by the genius of a Lavoiſier. †

The ſtratum of ſoil, ſixteen feet thick, placed above the decayed trees, ſeems to remove the epoch of their ſinking and deſtruction, far beyond the reach of any hiſtorical knowledge. In Cæſar's time, the level of the north ſea appears to have been the ſame as in our days. He mentions the ſeparation of the Wahal branch of the Rhine, and its junction to the Meuſe; noticing the then exiſting diſtance from that junction to the ſea; which agrees, according to d'Anville's inquiries, ‡ with the actual diſtance. Some of the Roman roads conſtructed by order of Auguſtus, under Agrippa's adminiſtration, leading to the maritime towns of Belgium, ſtill exiſt, and reach the preſent ſhore. § The deſcriptions which Roman authors have left us, of the coaſts, ports, and mouths of rivers, on both ſides of the North ſea, agree in general with their preſent ſtate; except in the places ravaged by the inroads of this ſea, more apt, from its form, to deſtroy the ſurrounding countries, than to increaſe them.

An exact reſemblance exiſts between maritime Flanders and the oppoſite low coaſt of England, both in point of elevation above the ſea, and of internal ſtructure and arrangement of their ſoils. On both ſides, ſtrata of clay, ſilt, and ſand, (often mixed with decayed vegetables,) are found near the ſurface; and, in both, theſe ſuperior materials cover a very deep ſtratum of bluiſh or dark-coloured clay, unmixed with extraneous bodies. On both ſides, they are the lowermoſt part of the ſoil, exiſting between the ridges of high lands, ‖ on their reſpective ſides of the ſame narrow ſea. Theſe two countries are certainly coeval; and, whatever proves that maritime Flanders has been for many ages out of the ſea, muſt, in my opinion, prove alſo, that the foreſt we are ſpeaking of was long before that time deſtroyed, and buried under a ſtratum of ſoil. Now it ſeems proved, from hiſtorical re-

* Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, T. III. p. 35.
† *Mém. de l'Acad. de Paris*, 1789, p. 351.
‡ D'Anville *Notice des Gaules*, p. 461.
§ Nicol. Bergier. *Hiſt. des grands Chemins des Romains. Ed. de Bruxelles.* Vol. II. p. 109.
‖ Theſe ridges of high lands, both on the Britiſh and Belgic ſide, muſt be very ſimilar to each other, ſince they both contain parts of tropical plants in a foſſil ſtate. Cocoa nuts, and fruits of the areca, are found in the Belgic ridge. The petrified fruits of Sheppy, and other impreſſions of tropical plants, on this ſide of the water, are well known.

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cords, carefully collected by several learned members of the Bruſſels academy, that no material change has happened to the lowermoſt part of maritime Flanders, during the period of the laſt two thouſand years.*

I am therefore inclined to ſuppoſe the original cataſtrophe, which buried this foreſt, to be of a very ancient date; but I ſuſpect the inroad of the ſea, which uncovered the decayed trees of the iſlets of Sutton, to be comparatively recent. The ſtate of the leaves and of the timber, and alſo the tradition of the neighbouring people, concur to ſtrengthen this ſuſpicion. Leaves and other delicate parts of plants, though they may be long preſerved in a ſubterraneous ſituation, cannot remain uninjured, when expoſed to the action of the waves and of the air. The people of the country believe, that their pariſh-church once ſtood on the ſpot where the iſlets now are, and was ſubmerged by the inroads of the ſea; that, at very low water, their anceſtors could even diſcern its ruins; that their preſent church was built to ſupply the place of that which the waves waſhed away; and that even their preſent clock belonged to the old church. So many concomitant though weak teſtimonies, incline me to believe their report, and to ſuppoſe that ſome of the ſtormy inundations of the north ſea, which in theſe laſt centuries have waſhed away ſuch large tracts of land on its ſhores, took away a ſoil reſting on clay, and at laſt uncovered the trees which are the ſubject of this paper.

Deſcription of the mountainous Part of the Province of Taurida; from Mr. Tooke's View of the Ruſſian Empire.

ONE of the mildeſt and moſt fertile regions of the empire is the beautiful ſemicircular and amphitheatral vale, formed by the Tauridan mountains on their ſide along the ſhores of Euxine.

Theſe vallies, which are bleſſed with the climate of Anatolia and the Leſſer Aſia, where the winter is ſcarcely ſenſible, where the primroſes and ſpring-ſaffron bloom in February and often in January, and where the oak frequently retains its foliage the whole winter through, are, in regard to botany and rural economy, the nobleſt tract in Taurida, and perhaps in the whole extent of the empire. Here are ſeen thriving and flouriſhing in open air the ever-verdant laurel, the oil-tree, the fig, the lotus, the pomegranate, and the celtis, which perhaps are the remains of Grecian cultivation; with the manna-bearing aſh, the turpentine-tree, the tanbark-tree, the ſtrawberry-tree from Aſia Minor, and many others. This laſt particularly covers the ſteepeſt cliffs of the ſhore, and beautifies them in winter by its perpetual foliage and the red rind of its thick ſtem. In theſe happy vales, the foreſts conſiſt of fruit-trees of every kind, or rather the foreſt is only a large orchard left entirely to itſelf. On the ſhores of the ſea, the caper-buſhes propagate themſelves ſpontaneouſly; without the aſſiſtance of art, the wild or

* Vide ſeveral papers in the Bruſſels *Mémoires*; alſo *Journ. de Phys.* T. XXXIV. p. 401.

planted vine-ſtems climb the loftieſt trees, and, twining with flowering ivies form feſtoons and hedges. The contraſts of the orchards and the rich verdure with the beautiful wilderneſs which the adjacent mountains and rocks preſent, which in ſome places riſe among the clouds, and in others are fallen in ruins; the natural fountains and caſcades that agreeably preſent their ruſhing waters; laſtly, the near view of the ſea, where the ſight is loſt in the unbounded proſpect: all theſe beauties together form ſo pictureſque and delightful a whole, that even the enraptured muſe of the poet or the painter would be unable to conceive any thing more charming. The ſimple manner of life of the good-humoured Highland Tartars, who inhabit theſe paradiſaical vales; their turf-covered cottages, ſome hewn in the rock on the mountain's ſide, others placed amidſt the luxuriant foliage of the ſurrounding orchards; the roving flocks of goats and ſheep clinging to the declivities of the ſolitary rock; the ſound of the paſtoral flute, re-echoing its plaintive tones among the hills—every thing here renews the image of the golden age, its innocence and ſimplicity; every thing contributes to cheriſh the propenſity to an artleſs, retired, and rural life, and we for a ſecond time gain a fondneſs for the abode of mortals, which the horrors of war, the forbid purſuit of wealth in great cities, find the luxury which fills the train of all the ſocial vices, render ſo ſoon intolerable to the ſincere votaries of wiſdom.*

Account of the Ice-Fox; from the ſame.

THIS animal is found in Aſiatic Ruſſia, from the Aleutan iſlands and from Kamtſhatka to the diſtricts of the Petſchora and the Kama; but the quality of his ſkin in this extenſive region is extremely different. The fineſt ſables come from Yakutſk and Nertſchinſk; and among theſe are likewiſe, though rarely, yellow, and extremely ſeldom white ſables. The Kamtſhadale ſables are the largeſt of all. Their ſkin is thick and long-haired, but not very black, therefore moſt of them go to China, where they are coloured. At the time of the conqueſt of that country, the ſables were there in ſuch extraordinary numbers, that a ſingle hunter could eaſily bring away ſixty, eighty, and more of theſe animals in a winter, and they were held in ſuch little eſtimation by the Kamtſhadales, that they deemed the more uſeful ſkin of a dog to be of twice the value. For ten rubles-worth of iron-ware there was no difficulty to obtain the value of five or ſix hundred rubles in ſables; and whoever had only ſol-

* To the generality of readers it may not be a matter of indifference to learn, that the philoſopher from whoſe pen this paſſage proceeds, reſides at preſent, according to his wiſh, in the country, the beauties whereof he here paints in ſuch warm and poetical colours. As the health of this famous naturaliſt rendered his living in a warm climate neceſſary, on his requeſt to the late empreſs, he obtained not only immediate permiſſion to chooſe for himſelf a place in her dominions, but alſo, on his pitching upon Taurida for that purpoſe, an eſtate in that province, and to the forming of his eſtabliſhment a preſent of ten thouſand rubles.

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lowed this trade to Kamtſhatka, for the ſpace of a year, uſually came back with a profit of thirty thouſand rubles and upwards. This ſuperfluity, however, ſince the firſt Kamtſhadale expedition, or ſince the year 1740, has conſiderably diminiſhed; but notwithſtanding this, that peninſula and the circumjacent territory continues to be the richeſt in ſables, as, on account of the mountains, they cannot be ſo eaſily caught, and are prevented by the bordering ſea from retiring to other tracts. The manner in which the ſables of Kamtſhatka are taken is extremely ſimple. The Kamtſhadales follow the track of this animal in ſnow-ſhoes, till they have detected his covert, which is generally a burrow in the earth. As ſoon as the little creature is aware of his purſuer, he eſcapes into a hollow tree, which the hunter ſurrounds with a net, and then either cuts it entirely down, or forces the ſable by fire and ſmoke to abandon his retreat, when he falls into the net and is killed.

During my unfortunate abode (ſays Steller) on Behring's iſland, I had opportunities more than enough for ſtudying the nature of this animal, far excelling the common fox in impudence, cunning, and roguery. The narrative of the innumerable tricks they played us, might eaſily vie with Albertus Julius's hiſtory of the apes on the iſland of Saxenburg. They forced themſelves into our habitations by night as well as day, ſtealing all that they could carry off; even things that were of no uſe to them, as knives, ſticks, our clothes, &c. They were ſo inconceivably ingenious as to roll down our caſks of proviſions, ſeveral poods in weight, and then ſteal the meat out of them ſo ably, that at firſt we could not bring ourſelves to aſcribe the theft to them. As we were ſtripping an animal of his ſkin, it often happened that we could not avoid ſtabbing two or three foxes, from their rapacity in tearing the fleſh out of our hands. If we buried it ever ſo carefully, and added ſtones to the weight of earth that was upon it, they not only found it out, but ſhoved away the ſtones, as men would have done, with their ſhoulders, and lying under them, helped one another with all their might. If, thinking to ſecure it, we put any on the top of a high poſt in the air, they grubbed up the earth at the bottom, ſo that the poſt and all came tumbling down, or one of them clambered up and threw down what was upon it with incredible artifice and dexterity. They watched all our motions, and accompanied us in whatever we were about to do. If the ſea threw up an animal of any kind, they devoured it, ere a man of us could come up; to our great diſadvantage: and, if they could not conſume it all at once, they trailed it away in portions to the mountains where they buried it under ſtones before our eyes; running to and fro as long as any thing remained to be conveyed away. While this was doing, others ſtood upon guard and watched us. If they ſaw any one coming at a diſtance, the whole troop combined at once and began digging all together in the ſand, till they had ſo fairly put a beaver, or a ſea-bear, under the ſurface, that not a trace of it was to be ſeen. If we laid down as if intending to ſleep, they came and ſmelled at our noſes, to try whether we were dead or alive; if we held our breath, they gave ſuch a tug to the noſe as if they would bite it off.

On our firſt arrival, they bit off the noſes, the fingers and toes of our dead, while we were preparing the grave; and thronged in ſuch a manner about the infirm and the ſick, that it was with difficulty we could keep them off. Every morning we ſaw theſe audacious animals patrolling about among the ſea-lions and ſea-bears lying on the ſtrand, ſmelling at ſuch as were aſleep, to diſcover whether ſome of them might not be dead; if that happened to be the caſe, they proceeded to diſſect him immediately, and preſently after all were at work in dragging the parts away: becauſe the ſea-lions of a night, in their ſleep, frequently overlay their young, they examine, as if conſcious of this circumſtance, every morning the whole herd of them, one by one, and immediately drag away the dead cubs from their dams. When theſe buſy animals could not get hold on what they wanted, for example, the clothes we occaſionally put off, they voided their excrements upon it, and then ſcarcely one of the reſt paſſed by without doing the ſame. From all circumſtances it was clear to us, that they could never before have ſeen a human being, and that the dread of man is not innate in the brutes, but muſt be grounded on long experience.

An Account of the Pearl-Fiſhery in the Gulph of Manar, in March and April, 1797, by Henry J. Le Beck, Eſq. From the Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. 5.

FROM the acounts of the former pearl-fiſheries at Ceylon, it will be found, that none have ever been ſo productive as this year's. It was generally ſuppoſed that the renter would be infallibly ruined, as the ſum he paid for the preſent fiſhery was thought exorbitant when compared with what had been formerly given; but this conjecture in the event appeared ill founded, as it proved extremely profitable and lucrative.

The farmer this time was a Tamul merchant, who for the privilege of fiſhing with more than the uſual number of donies or boats, paid between two and three hundred thouſand Porto-novo pagodas, a ſum nearly double the uſual rent.

Theſe boats he farmed out again to individuals in the beſt manner he could, but for want of a ſufficient number of divers, ſome of them could not be employed.

The fiſhing, which commonly began about the middle of February, if wind and weather allowed, was this year, for various reaſons, delayed till the end of the month; yet ſo favourable was the weather, that the renter was able to take advantage of the permiſſion granted by the agreement, to fiſh a little longer than the uſual period of thirty days.

The fiſhery cannot well be continued after the ſetting in of the ſouthern monſoon, which uſually happens about the 15th of April, as, after that time, the boats would not be able to reach the pearl-banks, and the water being then ſo troubled by heavy ſeas, diving would be impracticable; in addition to which, the ſea-weed, a ſpecies of fucus, driven in by the ſoutherly wind, and which ſpreads to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore, would be an impediment.

Many of the divers, being Roman Catholics, leave the fiſhery on Sun-

days

days to attend divine ſervice in their church at Aripoo; but if either a Mahomedan or Hindoo feſtival happens during the fiſhing days, or if it is interrupted by ſtormy weather, or any other accident, this loſt time is made up by obliging the Catholics to work on Sundays.

The fear of ſharks, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, is alſo another cauſe of interruption. Theſe, amongſt ſome others, are the reaſons that, out of two months, (from February till April,) ſeldom more than thirty days can be employed in the fiſhery.

As this time would be inſufficient to fiſh all the banks (each of which has its appropriate name, both in Dutch and Tamul,) it is carried on for three or four ſucceſſive years, and a new contract annually made till the whole banks have been fiſhed, after which they are left to recover.

The length of time required for this purpoſe, or from one general fiſhing to another, has not yet been exactly determined; it was, therefore, a practice to depute ſome perſons to viſit the banks annually, and to give their opinion, whether a fiſhery might be undertaken with any degree of ſucceſs? *

From various accounts, which I have collected from good authority, and the experience of thoſe who aſſiſted at ſuch examinations, I conjecture, that every ſeven years ſuch a general fiſhery could be attempted with advantage, as this interval ſeems ſufficient for the pearl-ſhells to attain their growth: I am alſo confirmed in this opinion, by a report made by a Dutch governor at Jafnas of all the fiſheries that have been undertaken at Ceylon ſince 1722; a tranſlation of which is to be found in Wolfe's Travels into Ceylon. But the ruinous condition in which the divers leave the pearl-banks at each fiſhery, by attending only to the profit of individuals, and not to that of the public, is one great cauſe, that it requires twice the above mentioned ſpace of time, and ſometimes longer, for rendering the fiſhing productive. They do not pay the leaſt attention, to ſpare the young and immature ſhells that contain no pearl; heaps of them are ſeen thrown out of the boats as uſeleſs, on the beach between Manâr † and Aripoo; if theſe had been ſuffered to remain in their native beds, they would, no doubt, have produced many fine pearls. It might, therefore, be adviſeable, to oblige the boat people to throw them into the ſea again, before the boats leave the bank. If this circumſpection, in ſparing the ſmall pearl-ſhells, to perpetuate the breed was always obſerved, ſucceeding fiſheries might be expected ſooner, and with ſtill greater ſucceſs: but the neglect of this ſimple precaution will, I fear, be attended with ſimilar fatal conſequences here, as have already happened to the pearl-banks on the coaſt of Perſia, South America, and Sweden, where the fiſheries are by no means ſo profitable at preſent as they were formerly.

Another cauſe of the deſtruction of numbers of both old and young pearl-ſhells, is the anchoring of ſo

* A gentleman, who aſſiſted at one of the laſt viſits, being an engineer, drew a chart of the banks, by which their ſituation and ſize are now better known than formerly.

† Manara, properly Manar, is a Tamul word, and ſignifies a ſandy river, from the ſhallowneſs of the ſea at that place.

many boats on the banks, almoſt all of them uſe differently formed, clumſy, heavy, wooden anchors, large ſtones, &c. &c. If this evil cannot be entirely prevented, it might, at leaſt, be greatly leſſened, by obliging them to uſe anchors of a particular ſort, and leſs deſtructive.

This ſeaſon the Sewel bank only was fiſhed, which lies above twenty miles to the weſtward of Aripoo, oppoſite to the freſh water rivers of Moofalee Modragam and Pomparipoo. It has been obſerved, that the pearls on the north-weſt part of this bank, which conſiſts of rock, are of a clearer water than thoſe found on the ſouth-eaſt, neareſt the ſhore, growing on corals and ſand.

Condatchy is ſituated in a bay, forming nearly a half moon, and is a waſte, ſandy diſtrict, with ſome miſerable huts built on it. The water is bad and brackiſh, and the ſoil produces only a few, widely ſcattered, ſtunted trees and buſhes. Thoſe perſons who remain here during the fiſhery are obliged to get their water for drinking from Aripoo, a village with a ſmall old fort, lying about four miles to the ſouthward. Tigers, porcupines, wild hogs, pangolines, or the Ceylon armadillos, are, amongſt other quadrupeds, here common. Of amphibia, there are tortoiſes, eſpecially the *teſtudo geometrica* and various kinds of ſnakes. A conchologiſt meets here with a large field for his inquiries. The preſents which I made to the people employed in the fiſhery, to encourage them to collect all ſorts of ſhells which the divers bring on ſhore, produced but little effect; as they were too much taken up in ſearching after the mother of pearl ſhells to pay attention to any other object. However, my endeavours were not entirely uſeleſs; I will ſpecify here a few of the number I collected during my ſtay: different kinds of *pectines*, * *palium porphyreum*, *ſolen radiatus*, † *Venus caſtrenſis*, *Linn.* ‡ *aſtrea hyotis*, § *oſtr. Forſkolii*, *oſtr. Malleus*, ‖ *mytilus hirundo Linn.* ** *ſpondilus crocius*, *pholas puſillus*, *Linn.* †† *mitra epiſcopalis*, *Linn.* *lepas ſtriata Pennanti*, (*vide Zool. Brit.*) *patella tricarinata*, *Linn.* *bulla perfecta maculata*, ‡‡ *harpa nobilis*, *porcellana ſalita*, *Rumph.* §§ *ſtrombus ſcorpio*, and other of inferior kinds. Amongſt the *zoophytes*, many valuable ſpecies of *ſpongiæ*, *corallinæ*, *ſatulariæ*, &c. a great variety of ſea ſtars, and other marine productions, that cannot be preſerved in ſpirits, but ſhould be deſcribed on the ſpot. Theſe, as well as the deſcription of the different animals inhabiting the ſhells, are the more worthy of our attention, and deſerve farther inveſtigation, as we are yet very deficient in this branch of natural hiſtory.

During the fiſhing ſeaſon, the deſert, barren place, Condatchey, offers to our view a ſcene equally novel and aſtoniſhing. A hetero-

* Scallops.
† Radiated razor ſhell.
‡ Alpha cockle.
§ Double cocks-comb.
‖ Hammer oiſter; theſe were pretty large, but many broken and ſome covered by a calcarious cruſt. It is very probable that, among thoſe, there may be ſome precious white ones.
** Swallow muſcle.
†† The wood piercer.
‡‡ Diving ſnail, (Grew, Muſ.)
§§ Salt-coury, Kl.

gencous

geneous mixture of thouſands of people of different colours, countries, caſts, and occupations, the number of tents and huts, erected on the ſea ſhore, with their ſhops or bazars before each of them; and the many boats returning on ſhore in the afternoon, generally, richly laden; all together form a ſpectacle entirely new to an European eye. Each owner runs to his reſpective boat as ſoon as it reaches the ſhore, in hopes of finding it fraught with immenſe treaſure, which is often much greater in imagination than in the ſhell; and though he is diſappointed one day, he relies with greater certainty on the next, looking forward to the fortune promiſed him by his ſtars, as he thinks it impoſſible for the aſtrological predictions of his Brahmen to err.

To prevent riot and diſorder, an officer with a party of Malays is ſtationed here. They occupy a large ſquare, where they have a field piece and a flag ſtaff for ſignals.

Here and there you meet with brokers, jewellers, and merchants of all diſcriptions; alſo, ſuttlers offering proviſions and other articles to gratify the ſenſual appetite and luxury. But by far the greater number are occupied with the pearls. Some are buſily employed in aſſorting them; for which purpoſe they make uſe of ſmall braſs plates perforated with holes of different ſizes; others are weighing and offering them to the purchaſer; while others are drilling or boring them; which they perform for a trifle.

The inſtrument, theſe people carry about with them for this purpoſe, is of a very ſimple conſtruction, but requires much ſkill and exerciſe to uſe it; it is made in the following manner: the principal part conſiſts of a piece of ſoft wood, of an obtuſe, inverted, conical ſhape, about ſix inches high and four in diameter in its plain ſurface; this is ſupported by three wooden feet, each of which is more than a foot in length. Upon the upper flat part of this machine are holes, or pits, for the larger pearls, and the ſmaller ones are beat in with a wooden hammer. On the right ſide of this ſtool, half a cocoa nut ſhell is faſtened, which is filled with water. The drilling inſtruments are iron ſpindles, of various ſizes, adapted to the different dimenſions of the pearls, which are turned round in a wooden head by a bow. The pearls being placed on the flat ſurface of the inverted cone, as already mentioned, the operator ſitting on a mat, preſſes on the wooden head of his inſtrument with the left hand, while, with his right, he moves the bow which turns round the moveable part of the drill; at the ſame time, he moiſtens the pearl, occaſionally dipping the little finger of the ſame hand into the water of the cocoa nut ſhell, with a dexterity that can only be attained by conſtant practice.

Among the crowd are found vagabonds of every deſcription, ſuch as *Pandarams*, *Andee*, or *Hindu*, monks, fakirs, beggars, and the like, who are impertinently troubleſome. Two of theſe wretches particularly attracted the attention of the mob, though their ſuperſtitious penance muſt have diſguſted a man of the leaſt reflection; one had a gridiron, of one and a half foot long and the ſame in breadth, faſtened round his neck, with which he always walked about, nor did he take it off either when eating or ſleeping;

ſleeping; the other had faſtened round that member, which decency forbids me to mention, a braſs ring, and fixed to it was a chain, of a fathom in length, trailing on the ground, the links of this chain were as thick as a man's finger, and the whole was exhibited in a moſt ſcandalous manner.

The peſtilential ſmell occaſioned by the numbers of putrifying pearl-fiſhes, renders the atmoſphere of Condatchey ſo inſufferably offenſive when the ſouth-weſt wind blows, that it ſenſibly affects the olfactory nerves of any one unaccuſtomed to ſuch cadavorous ſmells. This putrefaction generates immenſe numbers of worms, flies, muſkitoes, and other vermin; all together forming a ſcene ſtrongly diſpleaſing to the ſenſes.

Thoſe who are not provided with a ſufficient ſtock of money ſuffer great hardſhips, as not only all kinds of proviſions are very dear, but even every drop of good water muſt be paid for. Thoſe who drink the brackiſh water of this place are often attacked by ſickneſs. It may eaſily be conceived what an effect the extreme heat of the day, the cold of the night, the heavy dews, and the putrid ſmell, muſt have no weak conſtitutions. It is, therefore, no wonder that of thoſe who fall ſick many die, and many more return home with fevers, fluxes, or other equally fatal diſorders.

The many diſappointments, uſually experienced by the lower claſſes of men in particular, make them often repent of their coming here. They are oftened ruined, as they riſk all they are worth to purchaſe pearl-ſhells; however, there are many inſtances of their making a fortune beyond all expectation. A particular circumſtance of this kind fell within my own obſervation: a day-labourer bought three oiſters * for a copper fanam (about the value of two-pence) and was ſo fortunate as to find one of the largeſt pearls which the fiſhery produced this ſeaſon.

The donies appointed for the fiſhery are not all procured at Ceylon; many came from the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, each of which has its diſtinguiſhing number. About ten o'clock at night a gun is fired as a ſignal, when they ſail from Condatchy with an eaſterly or land wind, under the direction of a pilot. If the wind continues fair, they reach the bank before day, and begin diving at ſun-riſe, which they continue till the weſt or ſea breeze ſets in, with which they return. The moment they appear in ſight, the colours are hoiſted at the flag-ſtaff, and in the afternoon they come to an anchor, ſo that the owners of the boats are thereby enabled to get their cargoes out before night, which may amount to 30,000 oiſters, if the divers have been active and ſucceſsful.

Each boat carries twenty-one men and five heavy diving ſtones, for the uſe of ten divers, who are called, in Tamul, *kooly kárer*, the reſt of the crew conſiſts of a tandel, or head boat-man, and ten rowers, who

* The East India pearl-ſhell is well known to be the *matrix perlarum* (mother of pearl) of Rumphius, or the *mytilus margaritiferus* of Linneus; conſequently the general term pearl-oiſter muſt be erroneous; however, as it has long been in common uſe, I hope to be excuſed for continuing it.

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aſſiſt in liſting up the divers and their ſhells.

The diving ſtone is a piece of coarſe granite, a foot long, ſix inches thick, and of a pyramidical ſhape, round at the top and bottom. A large hair rope is put through a hole in the top. Some of the divers uſe another kind of ſtone, ſhaped like a half moon, to bind round their belly, ſo that their feet may be free. At preſent theſe are articles of trade at Condatchey. The moſt common, or pyramidical ſtone, generally weighs about thirty pounds. If a boat has more than five of them, the crew are either corporally puniſhed or fined.

The diving, both at Ceylon and at Tutucorin, is not attended with ſo many difficulties as authors imagine. The divers, conſiſting of different caſts and religions, (though chiefly of Parrawer* and Muſſulmans,) neither make their bodies ſmooth with oil, nor do they ſtop their ears, mouths, or noſes, with any thing, to prevent the entrance of ſalt water. They are ignorant of the utility of diving bells, bladders, and double flexible pipes. According to the injunctions of the ſhark conjurer they uſe no food while at work, nor till they return on ſhore, and have bathed themſelves in freſh water. Theſe Indians, accuſtomed to dive from their earlieſt infancy, fearleſſly deſcend to the bottom in a depth of, from five to ten fathoms, in ſearch of treaſures. By two cords a diving ſtone and a net are connected with the boat. The diver putting the toes of his right foot on the hair rope of the diving ſtone, and thoſe of his left on the net, ſeizes the two cords with one hand, and ſhutting his noſtrils with the other, plunges into the water. On reaching the bottom, he hangs the net round his neck, and collects into it the pearl-ſhells as faſt as poſſible, during the time he finds himſelf able to remain under water, which uſually is about two minutes. He then reſumes his former poſture, and making a ſignal, by pulling the cords, he is immediately lifted into the boat. On emerging from the ſea, he diſcharges a quantity of water from his mouth and noſe, and thoſe who have not been long enured to diving frequently diſcharge ſome blood; but this does not prevent them from diving again in their turn. When the firſt five divers come up and are reſpiring the other five are going down with the ſame ſtones. Each brings up about one hundred oiſters in his net, and if not interrupted by any accident, may make fifty trips in a forenoon. They and the boat's crew get generally, from the owner, inſtead of money, a fourth of the quantity they bring on ſhore; but ſome are paid in caſh, according to agreement.

The moſt ſkilful divers come from Colliſh, on the coaſt of Malabar; ſome of them are ſo much exerciſed in the art, as to be able to perform it without the aſſiſtance of the uſual weight; and for a handſome reward will remain under water for the ſpace of ſeven minutes; this I ſaw performed by a Caffre boy, belonging to a citizen at Karical, who had often frequented the fiſheries of theſe banks. Though Dr. Halley deems this impoſſible, daily experience convinces us, that, by long practice, any man

* Fiſhermen of the Catholic religion.

may

may bring himself to remain under water above a couple of minutes. How much the inhabitants of the South-Sea-islands distinguish themselves in diving we learn from several accounts; and who will not be surprized at the wonderful Sicilian diver Nicholas, surnamed the Fish?*

Every one of the divers, and even the most expert, entertain a great dread of the sharks, and will not, on any account, descend until the conjuror has performed his ceremonies. This prejudice is so deeply rooted in their minds, that the government was obliged to keep two such conjurors always in their pay, to remove the fears of their divers. Thirteen of these men were now at the fishery from Ceylon and the coast, to profit by the superstitious folly of these deluded people. They are called in Tamul, *Pillal Kadtar*, which signifies one who binds the sharks and prevents them from doing mischief.

The manner of enchanting consists in a number of prayers learned by heart, that nobody, probably not even the conjuror himself, understands, which he, standing on the shore, continues muttering and grumbling from sun rise until the boats return; during this period, they are obliged to abstain from food and sleep, otherwise their prayers would have no avail, they are, however, allowed to drink, which privilege they indulge in a high degree, and are frequently so giddy, as to be rendered very unfit for devotion. Some of the conjurers accompany the divers in their boats, which pleases them very much, as they have their protectors near at hand. Nevertheless, I was told, that in one of the preceding fisheries, a diver lost his leg by a shark, and when the head conjurer was called to an account for the accident, he replied that an old witch had just come from the coast, who, from envy and malice, had caused this disaster, by a counter-conjuration, which made fruitless his skill, and of which he was informed too late; but he afterwards shewed his superority by enchanting the poor sharks so effectually, that though they appeared in the midst of the divers, they were unable to open their mouths. During my stay at Condutchy, no accident of this kind happened. If a shark is seen, the divers immediately make a signal, which, on perceiving, all the boats return instantly. A diver who trod upon a hammer oister, and was somewhat wounded, thought he was bit by a shark, consequently made the usual signal, which caused many boats to return; for which mistake he was afterwards punished.

The owners of the boats † sometimes sell their oisters, and at other times open them on their own account. In the latter case some put

* According to Kircher, he fell a victim amongst the polypes, in the gulph of Charybdis, on his plunging, for the second time, in its dangerous whirlpool, both to satisfy the curiosity of his king, Frederick, and his inclination for wealth. I will not pretend to determine, how far this account has been exaggerated.

† These are the individuals which farm one or more boats from the renter; and though they are in possession of them only during the fishery, they are commonly called the owners of the boats.

them

them on mats in a ſquare, ſurrounded with a fence; others dig holes of almoſt a foot deep, and throw them in till the animal dies; after which they open the ſhells and take out the pearls with more eaſe. Even theſe ſquares and holes are ſold by auction after the fiſhery is finiſhed, as pearls often remain there, mixed with the ſand.

In ſpite of every care, tricks in picking out the pearls from the oiſters can hardly be prevented. In this the natives are extremely dexterous. The following is one mode they put in practice to effect their purpoſe: when a boat owner employs a number of hired people to collect pearls, he places over them an inſpector of his own, in whom he can confide; theſe hirelings previouſly agree that one of them ſhall play the part of a thief, and bear the puniſhment, to give his comrades an opportunity of pilfering. If one of the gang happens to meet with a large pearl, he makes a ſign to his accomplices, who inſtantly conveys away one of ſmall value, purpoſely, in ſuch a manner as to attract notice. On this the inſpector and the reſt of the men take the pearl from him: he is then puniſhed and turned out of their company. In the mean time, while he is making a dreadful uproar, the real thief ſecures the valuable pearl, and afterwards the booty is ſhared with him who ſuffered for them all. Beſides tricks like theſe the boat-owners and purchaſers often loſe many of the beſt pearls, while the dony is returning from the bank; for, as long as the animal is alive and untouched, the ſhells are frequently open near an inch; and if any of them contain a large pearl, it is eaſily diſcovered and taken out by means of a ſmall piece of ſtiff graſs or bit of ſtick, without hurting the pearl-fiſh. In this practice they are extremely expert. Some of them were diſcovered whilſt I was there, and received their due puniſhment.

Gmelin aſks if the animal of the *mytilus margaritiferus* is an *aſcidia?* See Linn. Syſt. Nat. tom. I. p. vi. 3350. This induces me to believe that it has never yet been accurately deſcribed: it does not reſemble the *aſcidia* of Linnæus, and may, perhaps, form a new genus. It is faſtened to the upper and lower ſhells by two white flat pieces of muſcular ſubſtance, which are called by Houttuin * *ears*, and extend about two inches from the thick part of the body, growing gradually thinner. The extremity of each ear lies looſe, and is ſurrounded by a double brown fringed line. Theſe lie almoſt the third of an inch from the outer part of the ſhell, and are continually moved by the animal. Next to theſe, above and below, are ſituated two other double fringed moveable ſubſtances, like the branchiæ of a fiſh. Theſe ears and fringes are joined to a cylindrical piece of fleſh, of the ſize of a man's thumb, which is harder and of a more muſcular nature than the reſt of the body. It lies about the centre of the ſhells, and is firmly attached to the middle of each.—This, in fact, is that part of the pearl-fiſh which ſerves to open and ſhut the ſhells. Where this column is faſtened, we find on the fleſh deep impreſſions, and on the ſhell various nodes of round or oblong

* Vide Houtt. Nat. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. xv. p. 81, ſeq.

forms

forms, like imperfect pearls. Between this part, and the hinge *(cardo)* lies the principal body of the animal, separated from the reſt, and ſhaped like a bag. The mouth is near the hinge of the ſhell, enveloped in a veil, and has a double flap or lip on each ſide; from thence we obſerve the throat (œſophagus) deſcending like a thread to the ſtomach. Cloſe to the mouth there is a carved browniſh tongue, half an inch in length, with an obtuſe point; on the concave ſide of this deſcends a furrow, which the animal opens and ſhuts, and probably uſes to convey food to its mouth.* Near its middle are two bluiſh ſpots, which ſeem to be the eyes. In a pretty deep hole, near the tape of the tongue, lies the beard *(byſſus)*, faſtened by two fleſhy roots, and conſiſting of almoſt one hundred fibres, each an inch long, of a dark green colour, with a metallic luſtre; they are undivided, parallel, and flattened. In general the *byſſus* is more than three quarters of an inch, without the cleft *(rima)*; but if the animal is diſturbed, it contracts it conſiderably. The top of each of theſe threads terminates in a circular gland or head, like the *ſtygma* of many plants. With this *byſſus* they faſten themſelves to rocks, corals, and other ſolid bodies; by it the young pearl-fiſh cling to the old ones, and with it the animal procures its food, by extending and contracting it at pleaſure. Small ſhell-fiſh, on which they partly live, are often found clinging to the former. The ſtomach lies cloſe to the root of the beard, and has, on its lower ſide, a protracted obtuſe point. Above the ſtomach are two ſmall red bodies, like lungs; and from the ſtomach goes a long channel or gut, which takes a circuit round the muſcular column above-mentioned, and ends in the anus, which lies oppoſite to the mouth, and is covered with a ſmall thin leaf, like a flap. Though the natives pretend to diſtinguiſh the ſexes, by the appearance of the ſhell, I could not find any genitalia. The large flat ones they call males, and thoſe that are thick, concave, and vaulted, they call females, or *pedoo-chippy*; but, on a cloſe inſpection, I could not obſerve any viſible ſexual difference.

It is remarkable that ſome of theſe animals are as red as blood, and that the inſide of the ſhell has the ſame colour, with the uſual pearly luſtre, though my ſervants found a reddiſh pearl in an oiſter of this colour; yet ſuch an event is very rare. The divers attribute this redneſs to the ſickneſs of the pearl-fiſh; though it is moſt probable that they had it from their firſt exiſtence. In the ſhade they will live twenty-four hours after being taken out of the water. This animal is eaten by the lower claſs of Indians, either freſh in their curries, or cured by drying;

* The depth at which the pearl fiſh generally is to be found, hindered me from paying any attention to the locomotive power, which I have not the leaſt doubt it poſſeſſes, uſing for this purpoſe its tongue. This conjecture is ſtrengthened by the accurate obſervations made on *muſcles* by the celebrated Reaumur, in which he found that this body ſerves them as a leg or arm, to move from one place to another. Though the divers are very ignorant with regard to the economy of the pearl-fiſh, this changing of habitation has been long ſince obſerved by them. They alledge, that it alters its abode when diſturbed by an enemy or in ſearch of food. In the former caſe they ſay it commonly deſcends from the ſummit of the bank to its declivity.

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in which ſtate they are exported to the coaſt; though I do not think them by any means palatable.

Within a mother of pearl-ſhell I found thirteen *murices nudati* (vide Chemnitz's New Syſtem, Cabt. vol. XI. tab. 192, f. 1851 and 1852), the largeſt of which was three quarters of an inch long; but as many of them were putrid, and the pearl-fiſh itſelf dead, I could not aſcertain whether they had crept in as enemies, or were drawn in by the animal itſelf. At any rate turtles and crabs are inimical to the animals, and a ſmall living crab was found in one of them.

The pearls are only in the ſofter part of the animal, and never in that firm muſcular column above-mentioned. We find them in general near the earth, and on both ſides of the mouth. The natives entertain the ſame fooliſh opinion concerning the formation of the pearl which the ancients did. They ſuppoſe them formed from dew-drops in connection with ſun-beams. A Brahmen informed me that it was recorded in one of his Sanſcrit books, that the pearls are formed in the month of May at the appearance of the Sooatee ſtar (one of their twenty-ſeven conſtellations) when the oiſters come up to the ſurface of the water, to catch the drops of rain. One of the moſt celebrated conchologiſts,* ſuppoſes that the pearl is formed by the oiſter in order to defend itſelf from the attacks of the pholades and boreworms. But we may be aſſured that in this ſuppoſition he is miſtaken, for although theſe animals often penetrate the outer layers of the pearl-ſhell, and there occaſion hollow nodes, yet, on examination, it will be found, that they are never able to pierce the firm layer, with which the inſide of the ſhell is lined. How can the pearls be formed as a defence againſt exterior worms, when, even on ſhells that contain them, no worm-holes are to be ſeen? It is, therefore, more probable theſe worms take up their habitations in the nodes, in order to protect themſelves from the attacks of an enemy, than that they are capable of preying on an animal, ſo well defended as the pearl-fiſh is. It is unneceſſary to repeat the various opinions and hypotheſis of other modern authors; it is much eaſier to criticiſe them, than to ſubſtitute in their place a more rational theory. That of Reaumur, mentioned in the memoirs of the French Academy for 1712, is the moſt probable, viz. that the pearls are formed like bezoars and other ſtones in different animals, and are apparently the effects of a diſeaſe. In ſhort it is very evident, that the pearl is formed by an extravaſation of a glutinous juice either within the body, or on the ſurface of the animal: the former caſe is the moſt common. Between one and two hundred pearls have been found within one oiſter. Such extravaſations may be cauſed by heterogeneous bodies ſuch as ſand, coming in with the food, which the animal, to prevent diſagreeable friction, covers with its glutinous matter, and which as it is ſucceſſively ſecreted forms many regular lamellæ, in the manner of the coats of an onion, or like different ſtrata of bezoars, only much thiner; this is probable, for if we cut through the centre of a pearl, we often find

* The rev. Mr. Chemnitz, at Copenhagen.

a foreign particle, which ought to be conſidered as the nucleus, or primary cauſe of its formation. The looſe pearls, may originally have been produced within the body, and on their increaſe may have ſeparated and fallen into the cavity of the ſhell. Thoſe compact ones, fixed to the ſhells ſeem to be produced by ſimilar extravaſation, occaſioned by the friction of ſome roughneſs on the inſide of the ſhell. Theſe and the pearl-like nodes have a different aſpect from the pearls, and are of a darker and bluer colour. In one of the former I found a pretty large, true oval pearl, of a very clear water; while the node itſelf was of a dark blueiſh colour. The yellow or gold coloured pearl, is the moſt eſteemed by the natives; ſome have a bright, red luſtre; others are grey or blackiſh, without any ſhining appearance, and of no value. Sometimes when the grey lamella of a pearl is taken off, under it is found a beautiful genuine one, but it oftener happens that after having ſeparated the firſt coat you find a worthleſs impure pearl. I tried ſeveral of them, taking one lamella off after another, and found clear and impure by turns, and in an impure pearl I met with one of a clear water, though in the centre of all I found a foreign particle. The largeſt and moſt perfect pearl which I ſaw during my ſtay at Condatchey, was about the ſize of a ſmall piſtol bullet, though I have been told ſince my departure, many others of the ſame ſize have been found. The ſpotted and irregular ones are ſold cheap, and are chiefly uſed by the native phyſicians as an ingredient in their medicines.

We may judge with greater or leſſer probability by the appearance of the pearl-ſhell, whether they contain pearls or not. Thoſe that have a thick calcareous cruſt upon them, to which *ſerpulæ* (ſea-tubes) *Tubuli marini irregulariter intorti, Criſta-gali Chamar lazuras, Lepas tintinabulum, Madreporee, Millipore, Cellipore, Gorgoniæ, Spongiæ,* and other Zoophytes are faſtened, have arrived at their full growth, and commonly contain the beſt pearls; but thoſe that appear ſmooth, contain either none, or ſmall ones only.

Were a naturaliſt to make an excurſion for a few months to Manâr, the ſmall iſland near Jafna and the adjacent coaſt, he would diſcover many natural curioſities, ſtill buried in obſcurity, or that have never been accurately deſcribed.

Indeed no place in the Eaſt Indies abounds more with rare ſhells, than theſe: for there they remain undiſturbed, by being ſheltered from turbulent ſeas, and the fury of the ſurf. I will juſt name a few of them, viz. *Tellina foliaca* Linn,* *Tell, Spengleri, Arca culculata,* † *Arca Noæ, ſolen anatinus* Linn. *Oſtrea Iſognomum, Terebullum, albidum, ſtriatum, Turbo ſcalaris* ‡ *Bula volva* Linn, || *Vexillum ingritarum, &c.* Amongſt the beautiful conc ſhells: *conus thalaſſiarchus Anglicanus cullatus,* § *amadis thaſſiarchus con. generalcis* Linn. *c. capitaneus,*** *c. miles,* †† *c. ſtercus muſcarum,* ‡‡ *c. reteaureu*, *c. glaucus,* ||| *c. cereola, regia corona murus lapedius, canda erminea ſocietas cordium.* There

* The golden tong. † Mounkſcape. ‡ Royal ſtaircaſe.
|| Weaver's ſhuttle. § Red Engliſh admiral. ** Green ſtamper.
†† Garter ſtamper. ‡‡ Great ſand ſtamper. ||| Capſ. Gottw.

are

are many others, beſides thoſe already mentioned, equally valuable and curious.

The great ſucceſs of the rev. doctor John, in conchology; when at Tutucorin, and aſſiſted by G. Angelbeck, with a boat and divers: and the capital collections made by his agents, whom he afterwards ſent there with the neceſſary inſtructions and apparatus, may be ſeen in Chemnitz's elegant cabinet of ſhells, in 4to. (with illuminated plates), and how many new ſpecies of zoophytes he diſcovered, we learn from another German work by Eſper, at Erlangen, the third volume of which is nearly finiſhed.

Extract of a Journal to the Peak of Teneriffe, by M. M. de Lamanon and Mongés, on the 24th of Auguſt 1785; and the Reſults of ſome chymical Experiments made on the Summit of the Mountain; together with a Deſcription of ſome new Varieties of Volcanic Schörls. From la Pérouſe's Voyage round the World.

THE crater of the peak is a true ſolfatara, perfectly analogous to thoſe of Italy; its length is about fifty toiſes, its breadth forty, and it riſes abruptly from weſt to eaſt.

On the ſides of the crater, eſpecially towards the lower part, are ſeveral vents or chimneys, from which ſteam and ſulphureous acid are continually exhaling: the heat of theſe vapours is ſo great as to raiſe the thermometer from nine to thirty-four degrees. The inſide of the crater is covered with yellow, red, and white clay, and blocks of partly decompoſed lava, under which are found beautiful cryſtals of ſulphur; their figure is that of a rhomboidal octaedron, ſome of which are nearly an inch high, and are perhaps the fineſt ſpecimens of native volcanic ſulphur yet known.

The ſteam aiſing from the vents appeared, from the taſte and ſome experiments, to be pure water.

The elevation of the peak above the ſea being about 1900 toiſes, induced me to make on its ſummit ſeveral chymical experiments, in order to compare their reſults with what takes place in our laboratories: it will be ſufficient to give the reſults without encumbering the reader with the detail.

The volatilization of liquids and the conſequent production of cold was very conſiderable, a minute was ſufficient for the evaporation of a full doſe of ether.

The action of acids on metals, earths, and alkalis, was ſlow; and the bubbles that eſcaped during the effervescence were of a much greater ſize than uſual. The production of vitriols was attended with ſome ſingular phenomena; that of iron became inſtantly of a beautiful violet colour, and that of copper was ſuddenly precipitated of a bright blue.

I examined the humidity of the atmoſphere by means of the hygrometer, pure alkali, and ſulphuric acid, and conclude, that during the abſence of clouds the air is very dry, for at the end of three hours the ſulphuric acid had not undergone any change of colour, or gained any increaſe of weight: the fixed alkali remained dry, except on the edges of the veſſel, where it appeared to be a little damp; the index of the hygrometer pointed to 64 degrees, but we could not fix it with perfect exactneſs on account of the violence of the wind.

The ſmell and ſtrength of liquids appeared to be not in the leaſt impared by this height, contrary to the extraordinary accounts of ſome even modern travellers: volatile alkali, ether, and ſpirit of wine, poſſeſſed their uſual pungency. The fuming liquor of Boyle was the only one that ſuffered any perceptible loſs of ſtrength; its evaporation, however, was not retarded, for in thirty ſeconds a ſmall quantity that I poured out had diſappeared, leaving behind only the ſulphur, which gave a reddiſh tinge to the ſides and bottom of the veſſel. On the addition of a little ſulphuric acid to this liquor it detonated briſkly, and the vapour that aroſe had a ſenſible degree of heat.

I attempted to produce the volatile alkali by decompoſing ſal ammoniac by fixed alkali, but its effect was ſlow, and hardly to be perceived, whereas on the ſea ſhore an equal quantity of materials produced it readily and in great abundance.

Deſirous of aſcertaining the nature of the vapours which were riſing from the crater, particularly, whether they contained any inflammable air, fixed air, or marine acid, I made the following experiments. Having expoſed ſome nitrous ſolution of ſilver on the edge of one of the vents, and ſuffering it to remain above an hour amid the riſing vapours, I perceived no alteration in it, which clearly ſhowed the abſence of marine acid: I then dropped in a little marine acid, and there enſued an immediate precipitation of corneous ſilver; but, inſtead of being white, as is commonly the caſe, it was of a fine dark violet colour, which preſently became grey, aſſuming the form of little ſcaly cryſtals diſtinguiſhable by the naked eye, ſuch as M. Sage obſerved. (Vid. *Min. docim.*) From ſome experiments that I have made on the precipitation of corneous ſilver in inflammable air, I am inclined to attribute its change of colour to the preſence of that ſubſtance. Lime-water, after an expoſure of three hours on the ſide of the crater, in the neighbourhood of one of the vents, exhibited no pellicle, but merely a few floating detatched threads; hence proving, that there is not only no exhalation of fixed air from the crater, but that the quantity of it contained in this elevated expoſure is not equal to that of the lower atmoſphere; inflammable and ſulphureous vapours being the only ones that abound here.

The electricity of the atmoſphere was pretty conſiderable, for the electrometer of M. Sauſſure, held in the hand about five feet from the ſurface, indicated three degrees of poſitive electricity, whereas on the ground it ſhowed only one and a half.

The violence of the wind hindered me from making any experiments on boiling water upon the crater itſelf, but at the icy fountain it continued in a ſtate of ebullition at 71° of Reaumur's thermometer, the mercury in the barometer being 19 inches, 1 line.

I met with ſome new varities of volcanic ſchörls.

1. A triple cryſtal belonging to the claſs of octaedral unequal-ſided priſms.

2. Black ſchörl in octaedral unequal-ſided priſms, terminated by oppoſite triedral ſummits, the plans of which forms two large irregular heptaedrons and a ſmall ſcalene triangle produced by the truncature of the upper angle.

A com-

3. A compreſſed hexaedral priſm, the two largeſt faces oppoſite, terminated at one end by an obtuſe tetraedral pyramid, with trapezoidal plans; and at the other by a hexaedral pyramid compoſed of ſix trapezodial plans; two of which, very ſmall, are formed on the intervals of the two upper ſides of the large hexagon of the priſm.

4. Terminated at one end like the ſummit of the preceeding criſtal, and at the other by a diedral pyramid, all the edges of which are bevelled.

5. Terminated at one end by a tetraedral ſummit, and at the other by a heptaedral, compoſed of an irregular pentagon in the centre, five trapezoids on the ſides, and a ſixth on one of the angles.

6. Terminated at one end by a pentaedral ſummit, compoſed of four pentagons ſurrounding a truncated rhomb; and at the other by a pentaedral ſummit differing from the firſt only in a triangular truncature of the edge of two of the trapezoids.

7. Black ſchörl with a hexaedral priſm, terminated at one end by a heptaedral ſummit, compoſed of two irregular hexhagons, two irregular pentagons, and three trapezoids; and at the other end by a tetraedral ſummit, the truncatures of which form; 1. Two great trapezoids and one rhomboid; 2. Two ſmall regular trapezoids; and between the great and the ſmall trapezoids three truncatures, the firſt hexagonal, the ſecond pentagonal, and the third a ſcalene.

Account of the Corbiveau, an African Bird; tranſlated from the French of le Vaillant's Natural Hiſtory of the Birds of Africa.

THIS African bird is ſimilar to the raven in the ſhape of his body, his feet, and his claws: his middle claw is united as far as the firſt articulation, by a membrane, to the inner one; and the feathers on the lower part of his beak are turned upwards, and cover his noſtrils: but he is unlike the raven in his back, in the length of his wings, and in his *graduated** tail.

This bird appears to occupy in part the ſpace which is diſcoverable between the genus of the ravens and that of the vultures; though he reſembles the former in a greater degree than the latter. He is ſimilar to the African vultures which I have already deſcribed, in the ſize of his wings; which when ſpread are three inches longer than his tail; in his *graduated* tail; in the form of his beak, which is compreſſed ſideways, convex above, crooked and rounded; that is to ſay, raiſing itſelf like that of the caffree and oricou, its whole length, and then progreſſively becoming crooked. Theſe particulars diſtinguiſh the corbiveau from all the ſpecies of ravens hitherto deſcribed; and if travellers in future ſhould diſcover birds very ſimilar to this, they may always aſcertain the corbiveau, by the white patch on the nape of his neck, which ſtrongly contraſts with the gloſſy black that conſtitutes the reſt of his plumage; except a white mark which ſeparates the ſides of this white patch on the back of his neck, and encircles the neck. This ſtripe, (*cordon*) in itſelf not

* The French word is *étagé*, for which we cannot find any Engliſh term more analogous than *graduated*.

very apparent, is formed by a ſingle row of white feathers, or half-white, of which the outer border is alone viſible. The throat is of a leſs decided black than the reſt of the body, and the feathers which cover it are forked; the beards extending beyond the ſtems as if the points had been cut off; a very remarkable circumſtance, and ſuch as I have had an opportunity of obſerving in very few birds.

The tail of the corbiveau, which is leſs than that of the great raven, and larger than that of the grey raven, is much graduated, and the feathers on the ſides are very ſhort; the feet are black, and ſo is the beak, which however has a white end to it; the iris is brown, like a hazel-nut. The claws of the corbiveau, it is obſervable, are ſtronger and more hooked than thoſe belonging to the generality of ravens.

This deſcription of the corbiveau ſhews that this ſpecies of raven, if I may ſo call it, has ſome reſemblance in point of form to birds of prey. The following obſervations on their manners and mode of life will confirm the reſemblance. Noiſy, voracious, daring, ſocial, and dirty, he reſembles the raven in his taſte for carrion, which conſtitutes the chief part of his food; and he frequently aſſembles in large and noiſy crowds. Theſe birds raiſe hoarſe and hollow cries, not unlike thoſe of the raven; and which ſingularly conform with its ſhape and manners to the diſguſting ideas which we entertain of ſavage animals, in general, from the aggregate of their repulſive and mournful characteriſtics. To the habits which I have juſt mentioned, the corbiveau joins a marked appetite for live prey; he attacks and kills lambs and young antelopes, and devours them after having pulled out their eyes and tongue; he may be ſeen following troops of buffaloes, oxen, and horſes, the rhinoceros, and even the elephant himſelf. The love of live fleſh and the blood leads theſe birds to purſue ſuch great quadrupeds, on whoſe backs they are frequently perched in great numbers. The corbiveau would be a dangerous and fatal bird of prey to theſe animals, if he poſſeſſed ſtrength ſufficient to kill them: but, unable to penetrate their ſtrong and ſolid hides, he contents himſelf with plunging his beak into the ſoft parts of the body of the animal, and where the ſkin has been injured by the vermin who depoſit their eggs there. If theſe quadrupeds then permit the corbiveau on their back, they really derive a benefit from his ſanguinary inſtinct; a benefit, which they receive with conſiderable pleaſure, in ſuffering him to remove with the point of his beak the ſanguineous *larvæ*; of which the number is ſo conſiderable on certain animals, that I have ſeen many periſh from the extreme waſte which they occaſion.

The corbiveau flies with great ſtrength, and raiſes himſelf very high by means of his long wings.—He builds his neſt in October, and conſtructs it in thickets, or trees: the neſt is large and hollow, compoſed of boughs, and furniſhed in the inſide with ſofter materials. It lays four eggs, greeniſh, ſpotted with brown.

The corbiveau is not a bird of paſſage, but continues the whole year in the country where he was born. I have ſee him in every part of my African travels, though in ſome places more frequently than

in others, and particularly among the Grand Namaquois. He is leſs common about the city of the cape, but is to be found in great numbers in Swarte-Land. The female is leſs than the male, the white of her neck leſs extended, and the black leſs gloſſy, more inclining to a brown colour.

Deſcription of a Volcanic Iſland recently formed in the Vicinity of Iceland, by Captain Von Löwenhorn, in the Daniſh Service.

IN the ſpring of 1783, a volcanic iſland was formed in the vicinity of Iceland, which, according to the accounts of the navigators who that year viſited the country, attracted no ſmall notice. The diſcoverer of it, who arrived juſt at the time of the firſt eruption, when ſmoke and flames aſcended out of the ſea, relates that no iſland or any land could be ſeen, from which theſe flames could originate. No wonder, then, that he fell into the greateſt conſternation, when, as he expreſſes himſelf, he ſaw the waves on fire.—Captain and crew therefore conceived the notion, that the day of judgement was at hand: and took to their prayer and hymn books, devoutly to prepare themſelves for their approaching end. But as no trumpet ſounded, as the ſun remained undarkened, and the firmament undiſturbed, they began to reflect farther what it might be, and at laſt hit upon the thought, that Iceland had been ſunk by an earthquake, and that this was the laſt remains and ejection of Hecla, the well-known burning mountain on that iſland. Wholly poſſeſſed with this idea, they were on the point of tacking about and returning to Denmark with the news of the dreadful event: but luckily, they had not proceeded far before they got ſight of the coaſt of Iceland.

The ſite of the vocanic eruption lies only $7\frac{3}{4}$ nautical miles (15 to a degree) from the ſouth-weſt point of Iceland; and they had not diſcovered any land: but having now been convinced of their miſtake, reſpecting the ſubmerſion of Iceland, the ſhip reached its deſtined port, and completed its voyage. Ships that arrived afterwards ſaw a ſmall iſland from which the volcanic eruption proceeded: and, as may well be conceived, always ſaw it under a different form. The ſame year ſmoke and flames were perceived on the ſhores next adjacent to Iceland.

As there are numerous inſtances of ſuch volcanic eruptions in the ſea becoming an iſland, this phenomenon attracted the attention of the Daniſh government; and the following year orders were given to all ſhips bound to Iceland, to examine the newly-formed iſland: but ſo entirely had it vaniſhed, that none of them either ſaw, or could diſcover the ſmalleſt trace of it.—However, towards the end of the year, a very unfortunate accident happened, which was occaſioned, beyond all doubt, by ſome rocks under water, the remains of the vaniſhed iſland.

A Daniſh ſhip of war, of 64 guns, called the Indfödſretten, was expected back from the Eaſt Indies; and intelligence had been received, that ſhe had already ſailed from the Cape of Good Hope: but from that time nothing farther was heard of her until the year 1785; when the ſhips returning from Iceland re-

ported, that ſome parts of that ſhip, and the long-boat, had been thrown on the coaſt of Iceland. From all accounts, and a compariſon of circumſtances, to me it appears certain, that the Indſödſretten foundered on this rock, which now no longer riſes above the ſurface of the ſea. It is impoſſible that ſuch a long-boat can come out of a ſhip, except it be done by the hands of men, even ſhould the ſhip be ſhattered all to pieces. Now, not only was this long-boat driven on ſhore whole, and in good condition; but they, moreover, found in it a box of wax-candles, but not a living ſoul. At the diſtance of about a quarter of a mile from the boat, they diſcovered ſeveral parts of the ſame ſhip, which were known from the mark upon them. Theſe parts, of different dimenſions and form, would not have been thrown on ſhore ſo near to one another, if the ſhipwreck had happened at a greater diſtance; the waves of the ſea, the currents, &c. muſt undoubtedly, in that caſe, have ſcattered them farther aſunder. Moreover, the fragments had been waſted to the land by the wind which blows in the direction from the rock. Beſides, no other traces of this misfortune had been noticed along the coaſt of Iceland.

From theſe circumſtances I drew the concluſion, that the Indſödſretten had, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope on her return home, a dangerous and adverſe paſſage; for it is known, that in our northern ſeas in that year, eaſt winds generally prevailed. Very many ſhips, eſpecially the ſhips of war, prefer going north round England, to ſailing through the channel: and probably the ſhip may have been in want of ſomething; as, for example, freſh water, and the like.—The captain was, at any rate, well acquainted in Iceland; for I myſelf had, ſome years before, been there with him as lieutenant of a ſhip under his command; he may, then, have been in ſearch of ſome of the harbours of Iceland, when he had the misfortune, in the open ſea, unexpectedly to ſtrike on this hidden rock. In this deſperate ſituation, the crew probably had recourſe to the long-boat, as the only means of ſaving at leaſt a few of them: but while they were hoiſting it overboard, it is likely that the ſhip foundered, and every ſoul on board periſhed, as no intelligence was ever received concerning them.

During my expedition to Iceland in the year 1786, it became an object of my particular attention, to make inquiries concerning this volcanic iſland, although no one then ſuſpected that the above-mentioned ſhip of war had been wrecked at that place; for this is only a concluſion which I have drawn from what I learned during my inveſtigation of the ſubject.

When I arrived in Iceland, where, on account of the obſervations for the maps, and of other affairs committed to my care, I found myſelf under the neceſſity of remaining with my ſhip a conſiderable time in Holmens-Hafen, and had at my diſpoſal a ſmall ſhip lying in that harbour; I ordered lieutenant, now captain, Grove, to proceed on a cruiſe about the place where the volcanic iſland had been ſeen. He continued there ſeveral days, and while under ſail frequently caſt the ſounding-lead, but could find no bottom, with a line of a hundred or

more

more fathoms, and had given up all hopes of making the defired difcovery. When he was on the point of returning, he, contrary to all expectation, obferved the waves breaking on a rock, whofe top was nearly on a level with the furface of the water: and now, no longer doubting that he had found what he had been in fearch of, he obferved its direction and diftance from the neareft coaft of Iceland.

When the object of my expedition was accomplifhed, and I, at the conclufion of fummer, was preparing to commence my voyage homewards; I determined before my departure to vifit this remarkable fpot myfelf, and to correct or confirm its true geographical fituation, as far as it can be afcertained by obfervations made at fea. I therefore took my point of departure from fome fmall iflands or rocks, which lie in front of Cape Reikianös, the moft fouth-weft promontory of Iceland, and of which the outermoft, called the Grenadier's Cap, is $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles diftant from the promontory, in the direction from fouth-weft to weft. The weather proving favourable, I was able to make a meridian obfervation for determining the latitude, as likewife obfervations of the longitude by means of time-keepers. Although the time-keepers I had with me were none of the beft; yet, as I had failed on the fame day from an Icelandic harbour, where I had obferved the longitude the relative error could not be very confiderable: I therefore determined the fituation of the rock, called the Grenadier's Cap, to be in 63° 43′ 40″ N. latitude, and 25° 35′ 40″ longitude, weft from Paris. This likewife tolerably well coincides with the obfervations of the French navigators, Verdun, De la Crenne-Borda, and Pingré; * the more, as I have good reafons for believing, that, from want of a fufficient knowledge of the coaft of Iceland, they made the latitude of Cape Reikianös three minutes too far north; for they ftated it to be 63° 55′. And as, from the moft accurate obfervations, I found that the rock lies in a direction from fouth to weft, according to the true meridian, and juft four miles from the above-mentioned Grenadier's Cap, it follows, that the fituation of this moft dangerous rock is in 63° 32′ 45″ of N. latitude, and 26° 2′ 50″ weft longitude from Paris.

While I was continuing my courfe, in order to get a view of the rock, and captain Grove, who was on board with me, concluded from his former obfervations, that we muft be near it, as the coaft of Iceland had totally vanifhed from our fight, and the outermoft of the abovenamed vifible rocks, which lie fouth-weft from Iceland, was, notwithftanding the clearnefs of the weather, fcarcely any longer perceivable; he faid, "Is it advifable to fail fo directly towards it?"—"Yes, my friend," was my anfwer; "for, on whichever fide we turn, we fhall have as great a chance of ftriking upon it, as of efcaping the danger: it is like looking for a needle in a load of hay." As we were thus converfing about it, the people on the watch called out.—The attention and eyes of all were directed towards it, and we faw directly a-head of us the waves breaking againft a rock. We in-

* See Voyage, *fait par Ordre du Roi, en* 1771, 1772.

ftantly

ſtantly tacked about, and, at the ſame time, hove the lead, which had been kept in readineſs. We found the depth to be 26 fathoms; immedately after, 40 fathoms; and ſhortly after we could not find the bottom with a line a hundred fathoms long. Tallow was, as uſual, applied to the plummet, that we might be able to judge of the nature of the ground from the particles that thus adhere to it. We obtained ſmall pieces of ſtone, which either wholly conſiſted of lava, or at leaſt were of the volcanic kind. The rock is not large, and appears from our ſoundings, ſurrounded by a ſteep abyſs. Its top is level with the ſurface of the ſea, or only a little beneath it: hence it cannot be perceived till we are very near it, or only when the waves break againſt it.

The origin of the volcanic iſland which was ſeen at this place in the year 1783, may be explained in the following manner:—The rock that ſtill remains, formed the crater from which an eruption at that time happened; the great quantity of lava that was ejected accumulated at the bottom of the ſea around the crater, till it roſe to a conſiderable height above the ſurface of the water. But as this volcano is ſituated in the wide ocean, where the largeſt and moſt violent waves ariſe, and tower one over another; it is probable that their force very ſoon deſtroyed a ſtructure that poſſeſſed yet ſo little ſolidity and ſtrength; eſpecially as round about there is an ingulfing abyſs, into which it might eaſily be precipitated. It is to be remembered likewiſe, that, in the ſame year, a conſiderable quantity of pumice, and the like volanic productions, whoſe ſpecific gravity is leſs than that of water, was driven on ſhore in Iceland, and by navigators found ſwimming in the ocean.

Had the eruption happened in a leſs tempeſtuous ſea, and the profundity around it been leſs ſteep and unfathomable, the ejected maſs would have been conſolidated by its own weight, and in time have become an iſland; of which we have ſeen ſeveral inſtances in the Archipelago, in the Eaſt Indies, and in other places of the ocean. Had this volcanic eruption taken place on the main land, or on an iſland, a mountain would have been formed by it. A volcano does not neceſſarily originate from a mountain; they have been ſeen to burſt forth from the plain: but a neceſſary conſequence is, that the ejected volcanic productions, which are heaped up upon the land, at laſt become a mountain. Now, as here the mighty waves of the ocean could eaſily waſh away the looſe accumulations around the crater, it is not abſurd to ſuppoſe, that, as the ſea raged over its mouth, the fire was at laſt overpowered, and the volcano extinguiſhed by the water guſhing down the opening.

The crater, formed of rock, remained ſtanding. It is an undoubted fact, that there exiſted here a rock even before the eruption of the volcano; and later obſervations evince, that it ſtill exiſts. There was before an obſcure tradition among the mariners who were wont to ſail to Iceland, that hereabout there was a blind rock, which they called Blind Fugle-Skiör (bird-rock.) This name I have retained in the chart, though many navigators deny its exiſtence, becauſe they have often ſailed paſt without obſerving it.—But in this caſe, and under ſuch circumſtances,

cumſtances, the aſſertion of one man that he has ſeen it, deſerves more credit than the reports of a hundred others, who deny its exiſtence becauſe they have not ſeen it. This confirms me in my opinion, that the crater was in the ſame ſtate long before the late eruption.

To conclude: it will not be deemed a ſuperfluous obſervation, to ſtrengthen this opinon, that in almoſt the ſame direction from the ſouth-weſt point of Iceland, as has been remarked above, lie five ſmall iſlands, or rocks, the outermoſt of which is $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles diſtance from the promontory Reikianös. Between theſe iſlands is deep water; and ſhips ſailing to or from the weſt ſide of Iceland commonly paſs that way, if they be ſufficiently acquainted with the ſituation of the land and rocks. The latter are called by the Daniſh mariners, Vogel-Klippen (Bird-rock,) on account of the numbers of ſea-fowl reſorting on them: but the natives of the country give them the name of Eld-Eyarne, that is Fire-Iſlands. May we not thence infer, that, in ancient times, they had volcanic eruptions? And, indeed, the volcano ſeen in 1783, may likewiſe have raged long before that period.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents granted in the Course of the Year 1799.

WILLIAM Aliſon, of Long-lane, Bermondſey, tanner; for manufacturing an article into leather, commonly called Spaniſh, or Morocco Leather. Dated January 4.

John Kent, of Southampton, architect and builder; for a method of applying power to the working of mills and other machinery, where power is required. Jan. 5.

James Edgell, of Frome Selwood, Somerſetſhire, gentleman; for the uſe and application of metal, of a peculiar quality, and great ſtrength, in the place of common iron, in all caſes where common iron hath hitherto been employed. Jan. 16.

Wilſon Fitzgerald, late of the Temple, London, eſq. for a ſignal trumpet, for increaſing the powers of ſound by ſea and land. Jan. 23.

Cater Rand, of Lewes, eſq. for an improved naval and military teleſcope. Jan. 26.

Thomas Cooke, of Red-Lion-ſquare, London, clerk; for an apparatus, which he calls *carbo frugaliſt*; being an effectual mode of applying fire to boilers, ovens, and other caldronic implements. January 29.

Joſeph Barton, of Old-ſtreet, London, chymiſt; for a medicine which he denominates, *compound concentrated fluid vital air*, of great uſe in the cure of putrid diſeaſes, &c. and another preparation which he calls *ærated preventive fluid*, as preventive from putrid infection, &c.; alſo, *ærated liquid balm*, for preſerving and beautifying the ſkin. Jan. 29.

Hezekiah Beers Pierpoint, of New York, in North America, merchant, at preſent reſiding in Surrey-ſtreet, in the Strand; for a new ſort of oil, produced or extracted from certain vegetable ſubſtances, not heretofore uſed in this kingdom for that purpoſe. Feb. 5.

Joſeph Watts, of Yeovil, Somerſet, tanner and glove-manufacturer; for tanning foreign and Engliſh kid, goat, ſheep, and lamb ſkins, (or other ſkins uſually tanned into gloves and mittens) into leather fit for gloves and mittens, without lime and bran, in a ſhorter ſpace of time, and with leſs expenſe and labour, than have yet been uſed. February 5.

Humphrey Jefferys, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, engineer; for an improvement applicable to bringing or conveying coals from the interior parts of coal-mines, or other mines; alſo for an improvement upon machinery for raiſing coals, ores, or other minerals, in

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the pit or ſhaft; alſo for an improvement in the manner of delivering coals, ores, or other minerals, at the mouth of the pit or ſhaft. February 12.

Joſeph Dale, of St. Mary-la-bonne, muſic-ſeller; for improvements on the tambourine. February 19.

Samuel Sandy Hickling, of Birmingham, gentleman; for improving and beautifying certain veſſels and utenſils uſed for chymical, culinary, and various other purpoſes. February 28.

John Luccock, of Morley, near Leeds, York, wool-ſtapler; for a machine, upon hydroſtatic principles, to produce a very conſiderable mechanical power, applicable to all the purpoſes of a ſteam-engine, but without the uſe of fire, ſteam, or water-wheel. February 28.

Joſeph Tidmarſh, of the pariſh of St. Luke, Cheſſea, glazier and painter; for an article which may be uſed alone, as a ſubſtitute for paint, or mixed with paints in general for the purpoſe of enlarging their quantity, and reducing their price. February 28.

George Medhurſt, of Battlebridge, in the pariſh of St. James, Clerkenwell, engineer; for a condenſing wind-engine, capable of being applied to all purpoſes in which either ſteam, wind, water, or horſes, are uſed. February 28.

David Hardie, of the pariſh of St. James, Weſtminſter, gentleman; for an improvement in and upon cranes for raiſing and lowering goods into and out of warehouſes, which will conſiderably leſſen the labour uſually required to work them. March 8.

Michael Loggan, of Paradiſe-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, engineer; for a centrifugal barrel-engine or central force, for raiſing water, &c. from great depths, applicable to all manufactories or ſyſtems of machinery requiring the action of circular motion, ſuch as, an effectual power in mill-work, water-works, and clock-work. March 8.

Robert Delap, of Banville, near Bambridge, Ireland, bleacher; for economical boilers, for ſundry uſeful purpoſes. April 6.

William Brodum, of the pariſh of Chriſt Church, Surry, doctor of phyſic; for a medicine denominated Botanical Syrup, for the cure of ſcorbutic and various other complaints; alſo for a medicine denominated Nervous Cordial, for the cure of conſumptive and many other complaints. April 10.

Samuel Rehe, of the pariſh of St. Bride, London, mechaniſt; for an engine or apparatus for giving motion to water, or other fluids, either for the purpoſe of conveying ſuch fluids from place to place, in any direction, or for mechanical purpoſes; which apparatus is alſo capable of being made the inſtrument for tranſmitting the force of water, or any other of the fluids hitherto uſed as firſt movers in mills and other machines. April 11.

George Davis, of Windſor, in the county of Berks, lockſmith; for a double chamber lock, with cylinders, to which pins are affixed, in different directions, inſtead of wards. April 11.

Mark Iſambard Brunel, of the pariſh of St. Mary, Newington, Surry, gentleman; for a writing and drawing machine, by which two or more writings or drawings, reſembling each other, may be made by the ſame perſon, at the ſame time. April 11.

Henry

Henry Wildey, of New Compton-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, ſmith, for an improved method of applying ſprings to the poles or ſhafts of two-wheeled carriages, which he calls an Antimobile, or deſtroyer of the diſagreeable ſenſation produced by the motion of the horſes. April 16.

Henry Wood, of Sloane-ſquare, in the pariſh of St. Luke, Chelſea, ſtatuary; for an inſtrument or machine to be called a Time Setter, whereby the poſſeſſor thereof is enabled to publiſh to every one, viewing the ſame, ſeveral various purpoſes intended to be performed by him, at any given future period of time, or within certain given intervals, with great eaſe and celerity, and without being ſubject to error. April 20.

Robert Simpſon, of the pariſh of St. John, Clerkenwell, ſurgeon's inſtrument-maker; for an inſtrument for extracting teeth in a perpendicular direction. April 23.

James Knowles, of the pariſh of St. Mary, Lambeth, leather-dreſſer; for a method of dreſſing or preparing ſkins, for the purpoſe of converting them into leather, whereby much trouble, labour, and expenſe is ſaved. April 27.

William Gilliſpie, of Anderſton, near Glaſgow, calico-printer; for a method of printing, colouring, or ſtaining, linens, calicos, or other cloths. April 30.

Charles Tennant, of Darnly, near Glaſgow, bleacher; for a method of preparing the oxygenated muriates of calcareous earths, ſtrontites, barytes, and magneſia; and for applying ſuch oxygenated muriates of the above earths to the purpoſe of bleaching, or removing colours from vegetable or animal ſubſtances. April 30.

John Daniel Belfour, of Elſineur, in the kingdom of Denmark; for improvements in his method of manufacturing cordage of all kinds, and for which he obtained former letters patent, dated reſpectively on or about the 16th day of March, 1793, and the 3d day of May, 1798, by means of which improvements the work is accelerated and ſimplified. April 30.

Stephen Wilkins, of the pariſh of St. Peter, Worceſter; for a new-invented compoſition of a gum to be uſed in calico-printing. May 25.

Henry Brown, of Derby, chymiſt; for a new-invented method of making and preparing extract of zinc, which he has frequently uſed and applied to various medicinal purpoſes. May 28.

John Wilkinſon, of Caſtle-head, Lancaſter, iron-maſter; for an improvement in boilers, applicable to ſalt-pans, or any other purpoſe, where a ſaving of fuel is an object. May 28.

Thomas Chapman, of Bermondſey, ſkinner and ſeal-wool manufacturer; for a new invented method of taking off the wool or fur from ſeal or other ſkins, in a more perfect ſtate than has hitherto been done, for the purpoſe of manufacturing the ſame into hats, or any other article of clothing. June 6.

William King, of the pariſh of St. Luke, Old-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, tin-plate-worker; for new-invented joints, on improved principles, and for applying the ſame to tea-pots, coffee-pots, coffee-biggins, tea-urns, coffee-urns, tea-caddies, and every other article that hath a lid or door to it, either in ſmall or looſe work. June 17.

Francis Brewin, of Bermondſey, tanner; for a new-invented method of tanning hides and ſkins. June 18.

John

John Hayes, of Wokingham, in the county of Wilts, gentleman; for new-invented machines or inſtruments for the cultivation or tillage of all kinds of land. June 18.

John Wilkinſon, of Caſtle-head, Lancaſter, iron-maſter; for a new-invented method of making ceruſe or white-lead. June 18.

Amos Whittemore, of Banner-ſtreet, Middleſex, cotton and wool card-maker, and Clement Sharp, of the ſame place, merchant; for a new method of making cards, for carding cotton, wool, ſilk, and other things. June 26.

Stephen Hooper, of Margate, in the Iſle of Thanet, in the county of Kent; for a machine for the purpoſe of cleanſing rivers, creeks, harbours, bars of harbours, and ſand-banks, or other ſhoals at ſea, by the power of the tide or current. June 26.

Joſeph Boyce, of the pariſh of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman; for a machine for cutting wheat, and all other corn. July 4.

John Eaton, of Nottingham, frame-work-knitter; for a new piece of machinery, to be added and affixed to a ſtocking-frame, for manufacturing, by a more ſimple, ſpeedy, and neat method, elaſtic croſs-ſtitch, plated hoſe-pieces, gloves, mitts, &c. July 4.

William Chapman, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, gentleman, and Edward Walton Chapman, of the ſame place, gentleman; for a method or methods of making cords, ropes, and cordage, both tarred and untarred, from the ſpinning of the yarn to the finiſhing of the rope or cordage. July 16.

Matthew Murray, of Leeds, York, engineer; for improvements in the ſteam-engine, for the purpoſe of ſaving fuel, leſſening the expenſe of erecting ſteam-engines, and producing a more ſteady motion therein than by any means at preſent practiſed. July 16.

John Aſhforth, of Oldfield, near Mancheſter, dyer; for a machine or apparatus for a ſpeedy and elegant method of ſtiffening, drying, and finiſhing dyed muſlins. July 16.

Paul Newham, of Melkſham, Wilts, clothier; for a method of figuring and ornamenting, by means of preſſure, emboſſment, or otherwiſe, cloths or ſtuffs of woollen, linen, cotton, velvet, ſilk, or ſatin, or any mixture of thoſe materials. July 16,

Wilſon Fitzgerald, of the Middle-Temple, London, eſquire; for a method of making or producing tallow or fat. July 16.

Samuel Gratrix, of Mancheſter, calico-printer and dyer; for a method of dying and ſtaining colours upon cotton-cloth, linen-cloth, and cotton and linen cloth mixed, much ſuperior to any method heretofore in uſe. July 17.

Thomas Bins, of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middleſex; for a movement producing a retrograde motion, capable of being applied to mangles and calandars. July 20.

James Mitchel, of the hamlet of Poplar and Blackwall, Middleſex, rope-maker; for a method of manufacturing cables, hawſers, or ſhroud-laid ropes, and other cordage, on a ſcientific principle. July 22.

James Lambie, of Paiſley, in North Britain, machine-maker; for a mode of applying additional power to various kinds of machinery, by which the force of a man is greatly increaſed. July 23.

John

John Grimſhaw, of Biſhop Wearmouth, Durham, rope-maker; for improvements in the method of manufacturing ropes and cordage. Auguſt 2.

William Hunt and Waſtel Cliffe, of the Brades, Stafford, ſteel manufacturers; for a method of grinding corn, malt, and other grain, with ſteel or iron hardened plates. Auguſt 8.

George Dodſon, of Blackfriers-road, Surry, cabinet-maker, and John Skidmore, of High-Holborn, Middleſex, iron-founder; for a method of making and caſting, with caſt-iron, braſs, or mixed metal, naves or ſtocks for all ſorts of wheels, to be uſed for all ſorts of carriages. Auguſt 8.

Edward Woods, of Parr, Lancaſter, gentleman; for machinery for the purpoſe of ſlitting, faſhioning, pointing, ſinking down, bottoming, and founding of ivory, bone, horn, tortoiſeſhell, and box-combs; and for cutting all kinds of fuſtian. Auguſt 13.

Joſeph Huddart, of Iſlington, eſq. for a method of regiſtering or forming the ſtrands in the machinery for manufacturing cordage. Auguſt 20.

William Murdock, of Redruth, Cornwell, engineer; for the method of conſtructing ſteam-engines. Auguſt 29.

John Biſhop, Newhaven, in the ſtate of Connecticut, in North America, at preſent reſiding in the pariſh of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middleſex; for a method of creating a power uſeful in moving machinery, and reducing labour, by means of fire, water, and ſteam, with or without condenſation. September 23.

John Crooks, of Edinburgh, chymiſt; for a method of making ſoap, and bleaching, by, means and uſe of volatile, mineral, and vegetable alkalies, either by joining them with each other, or uſing the volatile alkali by itſelf; and of killing vermin. September 23.

William Bolts, of Aldgate-ſtreet, London, gentleman; for a mode of improving the form, quality, and uſe of candles, and other lights made of tallow, wax, ſpermaceti, or any other inflammable ſubſtance. September 26.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Queen's Buildings, Knightſbridge, gentleman, F.R.S.; for a method of conſtructing and moving the back and bottom of fire-grates, combined with cheeks, on a new conſtruction, which is particularly adapted for kitchen-ranges, and can be applied to other grates; by which a great ſaving of coals will be obtained. October 3.

Joſeph Smith, of the pariſh of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman; for improvements in the internal bracings of piano-fortes, ſo as to admit the introduction of a drum, tambour, or tambourine, with ſticks or beaters thereunto belonging. October 3.

John Hotchkis, eſq. lieutenant in the royal navy; for a mechanical power, for the purpoſe of lifting weights, moving ſhips, weighing anchors, &c. October 3.

James Bell, of Chancery-lane, in the county of Middleſex, tailor; for a pocket faſtening, to prevent the loſs of property. November 4.

Thomas Foden, of the city of Coventry, woollen-manufacturer for a cryſtalline ſize or mixture, to be uſed in ſizing and dreſſing cotton, worſted, and linen yarn. November 4.

William

William Lonſdale, of Harrington, in the county of Cumberland, mariner; for an improvement in weighing anchors, ſteering ſhips, and other advantageous methods of weighing, raiſing, and uplifting any heavy burthen or weight, on board of ſhips. November 4.

Richard Hall Gower, of Leadenhall-ſtreet, in the city of London, mariner in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company; for a method of rigging veſſels upon an improved plan. November 4.

Ralph Gout, of Bunhill-row, in the pariſh of St. Luke, Old-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, watch-maker; for improvements on pedometers and pedometrical watches, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining more accurately, and with greater preciſion, the number of ſteps the wearer makes in walking; and, when affixed to a ſaddle, the number of paces the horſe makes; and alſo, when affixed to a curricle or other carriage, the number of revolutions of the wheel. November 4.

Thomas Binns, of Great Barlow-ſtreet, Marybone, water-cloſet-maker; for a machine anſwering the purpoſes of a portable water-cloſet, or bidet, and eaſy chair; compriſed in one third of the ſpace occupied by portable water-cloſets now in uſe. November 4.

Thomas Foden, of Coventry, cotton-manufacturer; for a loom for the purpoſe of warping, dreſſing, weaving, and piecing, ſilk, cotton, woollen, or any other yarn. November 4.

Edward Prior, of Brook-ſtreet, Holborn; for a method of painting and colouring all kinds of leather. November 4.

John and Joſeph Williams, of Holywell-ſtreet, Strand, ſtationers; for an improved method of binding all ſorts of books. November 4.

William Tunſtall, of Nidd, Yorkſhire, gentleman; for a portable hand-engine or machine, for thraſhing all kinds of grain. November 9.

William Lander, of Mere, Wiltſhire, braſs-founder; for a method of raiſing water, by pumps or other engines, by means of an apparatus for moving the piſton-rod. November 9.

James Burns, of Glaſgow, builder; for improvements applicable to fire-grates, ſtoves, furnaces, and chimnies. November 23.

James Fuſſell, of Mills, Somerſetſhire, iron-manufacturer, and James Druglaſs, of Church-ſtreet, Surry, engineer; for an apparatus, compoſed of chains, wheels, rollers, and conductors, for leſſening friction in raiſing, lowering, driving, and conducting, heavy bodies. November 28.

Edward Thomaſon, of Birmingham, manufacturer; for improvements in the cocks of gun-locks, applicable to all kinds of fire-arms. November 28.

John Foſter, of Oxford-ſtreet, breeches-maker; for a new-invented bracer or ſling, acting by means of a certain ſpring or ſprings, made of ſteel, calculated for the better and more convenient ſuſpending and keeping up breeches, pantaloons, or drawers. December 2.

John Palmer, of Maxſtock, Warwickſhire, gentleman; for improvements in machinery for clearing grain from the ear or ſtalk, and for breaking or cutting the ſtraw into provender for cattle, and other uſeful purpoſes. December 6.

William Reynolds, of Ketley, Shropſhire, iron-maſter; for a method of preparing iron for the con-

verſion thereof into ſteel, December 6.

John Frederick Chabannes, of Mary-la-bonne, eſq. for a machine for ſeparating coals, and a compoſition for making ſmall coals into cakes or bricks, to be uſed for fuel. December 16.

Edward Ludlow, of Walworth, and Ann Wilcox, of London; for their new-invented playing-cards, to be named *brilliant new-invented knights cards*. December 20.

William Looſemore, of Old-ſtreet, factor; for a method of making and manufacturing certain cloth, for general uſes, and purpoſes. December 20.

Experiments and Obſervations on various Kinds of Manure, by John Middleton, Eſq. From the Tranſactions of the Society, for the Encouragment of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

HAVING made experiments with various kinds of manure, on a farm of which I am the owner and occupier, ſituate at Merton, in Surry, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the moſt appropriate dreſſing for the ſoil which is a tenacious loam, on a ſubſtratum approaching towards yellow clay, I am induced, by the regard I feel for the ſucceſs of Britiſh agriculture, to lay the following obſervations on the ſeveral experiments before the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, for their conſideration. I hope and believe that they will be found not altogether unworthy their attention.

1. Peat aſhes, from Newbury, Berks. Of theſe aſhes I have ſpread, in various quantities, *per* acre, fifteen hundred buſhels, on wheat, tares, ſeeds, and meadow land, without being able to diſcern any beneficial effect from them.

2. Coal aſhes, ſpread on three or four acres of graſs land, in March, 1798, produced no viſible effect at mowing time, nor have I ſince obſerved any.

3. Wood aſhes, the produce of my own fires, when ſpread on the graſs, in February, or early in March, I have found to be of ſome though little ſervice.

4. Malt duſt, including the duſt from the malt-kilns, I uſed for two or three years, to an extent ſufficiently great to aſcertain that the benefits produced by the uſe of it are conſiderable. It may be applied in ſuch a quantity as to inſure one large crop; but, on meadow land, even when hay is at five pounds a ton, it only repays the prime coſt.

The quantity which I have uſually laid on, has been in the proportion of from fifty to ſixty buſhels *per* acre. The firſt coſt of kiln-duſt is ſix-pence, and of malt-duſt eight-pence, *per* buſhel: including the expenſe of carriage, and ſpreading this dreſſing on the land, it amounts to about two guineas *per* acre. The extra crop returned me this ſum, but without profit.

5. Soot. Of this manure I ſpread eight hundred buſhels over twenty acres of wheat, in one year; but I could not, from the ſubſequent appearance of the crop, diſcover whether the increaſe in quantity was equivalent to the additional expenſe. However, it was evidently of ſome uſe; but to what extent, would require more than bare inſpection to aſcertain. By way of compariſon, ſome of the ridges were left without ſoot: they were at harveſt ſcarcely

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to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt; but, where the ſoot lay in larger quantity than ordinary, as was the caſe in the places at which the loads had been ſhot from the carts, the ſuperior vegetation was very diſtinctly marked. I have, on the whole, formed the ſame opinion with reſpect to this ſpecies of manure, as I have already ſtated in regard to malt-duſt, namely, that it returns the coſt price, with very little profit.

6. Soap-maker's waſte. I have tried only one load of this manure, on a few rods of ground, in four of my meadows. It has not produced the leaſt effect, although it is now three years ſince it was laid on. Soap-maker's waſte, potaſh, and barilla, are probably held in too much eſteem, as preparers of the food of plants, by philoſophical chymiſts, of whom it might be wiſhed that a little practice were combined with their theoretical ideas on the ſcience of agriculture; and that they would try their ſpecious theories by the teſt of experiment, before they publiſh them to the world.

I am farther induced to conſider this kind of dreſſing for land as of much leſs utility than is generally imagined, from having been informed by Mr. Ruſſel, junior, that his father, who is a ſoap-maker of great reſpectability, at Paris-Garden, has uſed the waſte of his own manufactory on his farms in Eſſex and Kent, (in the latter on a clay ſoil,) without diſcovering that it was of any material benefit to the land; and that he has conſequently diſcontinued the uſe of it.

The experiments made by Major Velley, as reported in the eighth volume of papers publiſhed by the Bath ſociety of agriculture, ſeem alſo to prove, that Dr. Hunter's food of plants does not anſwer any of the purpoſes for which it has been ſo highly extolled; but, on the contrary, that it is really hurtful to corn crops.*

7. Sweepings of London ſtreets. I have uſed ſeveral hundred loads of this manure on graſs land, and have found it to be of conſiderable ſervice to the ſucceeding crops. I have uſually laid it in large heaps, and mixed with it a ſmall quantity of horſe-dung: in this ſtate it generates a little heat, though leſs than might be wiſhed, which helps to decompoſe or rot the mixture; when thus prepared, it has been ſpread on the land, in the proportion of ten or twelve loads *per* acre.

8. The ſoil of privies. Within the laſt four or five years, this manure has been ſpread on my land, to the expenſe of about 100*l.*; the proportion, from two to four loads *per* acre. The effect produced by it was aſtoniſhing fertility; ſo much ſo, as to induce me to be of opinion, that it exceeds every other kind of manure that can be brought into competition with it, at leaſt for the firſt year after it is laid on. In the ſecond, it is of ſome ſervice; but, in the third year, its effects very nearly or entirely ceaſe. From theſe premiſes I draw this concluſion, that, for land in good condition, the application of two loads *per* acre, *per* annum, will continue it in that ſtate for any length of time; and alſo, that land which has been much exhauſted, might be reſtored by laying on four or five loads *per* acre; after which, a repetition of two

* Major Velley's experiments are printed in our preſent volume, page 413.

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loads annually, would be found ſufficient to keep it in the higheſt degree of fertility.

9. Farm-yard dung. This, when it had been once turned, and become about three-fourths rotten, I have uſed in the proportion of about thirteen or fourteen loads *per* acre; and found it much leſs effective, for one year, than three loads of night-ſoil. I believe that even a load and a half of ſoil, would have been equal to the foregoing quantity of dung. In the ſecond year, I could not perceive any difference between the dung and the ſoil.

In the laſt volume of the tranſactions of the ſociety, page 168, a crop of wheat, amounting to 56 buſhels *per* acre, is ſaid to have been raiſed by Mr. Henry Harper, of Lancaſhire; which is ſo much above the general average, that Mr Harper was at a loſs how to account for it. I am inclined to think that the night-ſoil, contained in the mixture with which he dreſſed the cloſe, was the cauſe of this wonderful effect.

He mentions, that the quantity of manure (conſiſting of night-ſoil, coal-aſhes, ſweepings of ſtreets, &c.) was eighty tons, and that the cloſe contains eleven acres: the proportion *per* acre was therefore ſomething more than ſeven tons. He does not ſay what part of this proportion was night-ſoil, but it was probably not leſs than four tons; a quantity which, as I have before obſerved, is ſufficient of itſelf to produce one immenſe crop.

In ſhort, it appears to me that nature, following her general ſyſtem of re-production, prepares this matter in the moſt perfect manner for the purpoſe of feeding vegetables, and raiſing them to the very higheſt pitch of excellence; and it is certain, that herbage growing under theſe circumſtances, is capable of fattening the largeſt cattle in leſs time than any other.

The importance of this kind of manure being ſo evident, that I am ſure the ſociety will feel, equally with me, the moſt poignant regret, when they take into their conſideration, that ninety-nine parts in every hundred of this valuable article is conſtantly and moſt abſurdly carried by the ſewers and drains, into the rivers, and thereby totally loſt to the purpoſes of agriculture, for which it is ſo admirably adapted.

In Britain alone, the quantity of this manure, and of urine, which is annually thus waſted, is aſtoniſhingly great; probably not leſs than five millions of cart-loads, worth to the farmers two millions and a half, and to the community five millions of pounds ſterling, *per* annum.

This ſubject is, I think, well entitled to the attention of the ſociety; and it would add much to the credit which they have already acquired by their patriotic labours, if they could deviſe the means whereby the waſte of this article might be effectually prevented.

On preſerving Seeds in a State fit for Vegetation, by John Sneyd, Eſq. of Belmont, Staffordſhire; from the ſame.

MANY years ago, having obſerved ſome ſeeds which had got accidentally amongſt raiſins, and that they were ſuch as were generally attended with difficulty to raiſe in England, after coming, in the uſual way, from abroad, I ſowed them in pots, within a framing; and, as all of them grew, I commiſſioned my ſons, who were then abroad,

abroad, to pack up all ſorts of ſeeds they could procure, in abſorbent paper, and ſend ſome of them ſurrounded by raiſins, and others by brown moiſt ſugar, concluding, that the former ſeeds had been preſerved, by a peculiarly favourable ſtate of moiſture thus afforded them. It occured, likewiſe, that as many of our common ſeeds, ſuch as clover, charlock, &c. would lie dormant for years within the earth, well preſerved for vegetation, whenever they might happen to be thrown to the ſurface, and expoſed to the atmoſphere, ſo theſe foreign ſeeds might be equally preſerved, for many months at leaſt, by the kindly covering, and genial moiſture, that either raiſins or ſugar afforded them. This conjecture was really fulfilled; as not one in twenty of them failed to vegetate, when thoſe of the ſame kinds, that I ordered to be ſent lapped in common parcels, and forwarded with them, would not grow at all.

I obſerved, upon examining them all, before they were committed to the earth, that there was a prevailing dryneſs in the latter, and that the former looked freſh and healthy, and were not in the leaſt infeſted by inſects, as was the caſe with the others.

It has been tried, repeatedly, to convey ſeeds (of many plants difficult to raiſe) cloſed up in bottles, but without ſucceſs; ſome greater proportion of air, as well as a proper ſtate of moiſture, being perhaps neceſſary.

I ſhould obſerve, that no difference was made in the package of the ſeeds, reſpecting their being kept in huſks, pods, &c. ſo as to give thoſe in raiſins or ſugar any advantage over the others: all being ſent equally guarded by their natural teguments. Whether any experiments of this nature have been made by others, I am totally ignorant; but I think that, ſhould, this mode of conveyance be purſued ſtill more ſatisfactorily than I have done, very conſiderable advantages might reſult from it.

Deſcription of an eaſy Method of cleaning and bleaching Prints of all Kinds, by G. Fabbroni, of Florence; from Brugnatelli's Annali di Chimica.

THE means hitherto made uſe of for cleaning prints have conſiſted in waſhing them in clean water, or in a weak alkaline lixivium, and then expoſing them, for a conſiderable time, to the dew: ſometimes aquafortis has alſo been uſed for this purpoſe. The alkaline lixivium, at the ſame time that it removes the dirt, diſſolves a part of the ink with which the impreſſion is made; and aquafortis corrodes the vegetable fibres of which the paper is compoſed.

Soon after Scheele's diſcovery of the oxygenated muriatic acid, and the application of it, by Berthollet, to the bleaching of cloths, experiments were made to determine its effects in cleaning prints. Thoſe made by Mr. Chaptal, for this purpoſe, were completely ſucceſsful.

This method, however, is not ſo generally practiſed as it deſerves to be. The reaſons of which, Mr. Fabbroni ſuppoſes to be, the trouble attending the preparation of the oxygenated muriatic acid, and the difficulty of procuring it ready made. On theſe accounts, he has thought proper to publiſh the following pro-

ceſs: which is attended with little or no trouble, and is ſo ſimple, that any perſon may perform it with great eaſe.

Let a glaſs bottle be half filled with a mixture compoſed of one part of red-lead or minium, and three parts of common muriatic acid. Let the bottle be immediately cloſed with a glaſs ſtopper; and then ſet in a cool dark place. A certain degree of heat, which ſpontaneouſly takes place in the mixture, ſhows that new combinations are forming in it. The red-lead gives out a great part of its oxygen, which combines with the acid, cauſing it to acquire a beautiful gold colour, and the peculiar ſmell of oxygenated muriatic acid. A ſmall portion of lead is diſſolved in the acid; but this does not at all diminiſh its power. It ſhould be obſerved, that the bottle uſed for this purpoſe muſt be a very ſtrong one; otherwiſe the elaſtic vapour which ariſes might burſt it, eſpecially if the ſtopper is firmly fixed in, as it ought to be.

In order to make uſe of the liquor, prepared as above, take a large pane of glaſs, and fix upon its edge a ſort of border of wax, about an inch in height, and equally high all round. In this manner a kind of trough is made, in which the print is to be ſoaked, for three or four days, either in freſh urine, or in water mixed with a ſmall quantity of ox-gall. At the end of that time, the liquor is to be poured off, and its place ſupplied with warm water, which is to be changed every three or four hours, until it comes off quite clean. If there is any dirt of a reſinous nature upon the print, it may be removed by wetting it with a little alcohol.

When the print is thus cleaned, let all the moiſture drain from it; and (having placed it again upon the pane of glaſs) pour upon it a ſufficient quantity of the muriatic acid, oxygenated by the red-lead, to cover it. Another pane of glaſs, of the ſame ſize as the firſt, may be placed upon the border of wax, to prevent any inconvenience from the diſagreeable ſmell of the acid.—The moſt yellow print, by this treatment, will be ſeen gradually to reſume its original whiteneſs; and one or two hours will be ſufficient to produce all the effect that can be deſired. Nothing then remains, but to pour off the acid, to waſh the print, two or three times, in pure water, and to dry it in the ſun.

Deſcription of a Liquor for diſcovering, in Wines, the Preſence of ſuch Metals as are injurious to Health. By Dr. Hahneman; from the Journal de Phyſique.

THE property which liver of ſulphur and hepatic air poſſeſs, of precipitating lead of a black colour, has long been known, and this property has been made uſe of in the preparation of a liquor called *Liquor probatorius Wurtemburgicus*, by which it was ſuppoſed the purity of wines might be aſcertained.

But, in examining wines which are ſuſpected to be adulterated, this liquor can by no means be truſted to, becauſe it precipitates iron of the ſame colour as it does lead, which is ſo poiſonous a metal. For this reaſon, many reſpectable wine-merchants have been thought guilty of adulterating their wines, to the great injury of their character.

Conſequently there was ſtill wanting a teſt or re-agent that ſhould point

point out, in wines, the preſence of ſuch metals only as are injurious to health. This property the following liquor poſſeſſes, as it precipitates lead and copper of a black colour, arſenic of an orange colour, &c. It does not, however, precipitate iron, which frequently, by various means, gets unobſerved into wines, but which is generally harmleſs, and in many caſes ſalutary, to the human frame.

Preparation of the new probatory Liquor.

Mix together equal parts of oiſter-ſhells and crude brimſtone, both finely powdered: put the mixture into a crucible, and place the crucible in a wind-furnace. When it is heated, let the fire be ſuddenly increaſed, till the crucible becomes of a white heat, in which ſtate it is to be continued for about a quarter of an hour. The maſs, when cold, is to be reduced to powder, and kept in a bottle cloſely ſtopped.

In order to prepare the liquor, one hundred and twenty grains of the above powder, and one hundred and eighty grains of cream of tartar, are to be put into a very ſtrong bottle, which is to be filled up with common water, that has been previouſly boiled for about an hour and then ſuffered to cool. The bottle muſt be immediately corked, and afterwards ſhaken from time to time. When it has remained ſtill for a few hours, the clear liquor muſt be decanted into ſmall phials, capable of holding one ounce, into each of which, twenty drops of ſpirit of ſea-ſalt have been previouſly dropped. The mouths of the phials muſt then be well cloſed with ſtopples, compoſed of wax mixed with a ſmall quantity of turpentine.

If one part of the above liquor be mixed with three parts of the wine meant to be examined, the ſlighteſt impregnation of lead, copper, &c. will be immediately diſcovered, by a very perceptible black precipitate. But, if the wine contains iron, the liquor will have no effect upon that metal.

When the above precipitate has ſubſided to the bottom, we may find out whether the wine contains any iron, by decanting the clear liquor, and adding to it a little ſalt of tartar: if there is any iron in the wine, the liquor will immediately turn black.

Wines which are pure and unadulterated, remain clear after the addition of this liquor.

On the Art of cleaning Woollen and other Cloths. By M. Chaptal; from the Bulletin des Sciences.

THE art of cleaning cloths ſuppoſes, firſt, a knowledge of the various ſubſtances which can occaſion ſpots upon them. Secondly, That of the ſubſtances to which we muſt have recourſe in order to remove thoſe ſubſtances, when depoſited upon the cloth.—Thirdly, That of the manner in which the colours of the cloths will be affected, by the re-agents meant to be employed for the removal of the ſpots. Fourthly, That of the manner in which the cloth itſelf will be affected by the above re-agents. Fifthly, We ſhould know how to reſtore the colour of the cloth, when it is changed or rendered faint.

Of the ſubſtances which occaſion ſpots upon cloths, ſome are eaſily known by their appearance; for inſtance,

ſtance, greaſe of every kind. Others produce more complicated effects, ſuch are, acids, alkalies, perſpiration, fruits, urine.

The effects of acids upon blacks, purples, blues, (except thoſe produced by indigo or by Pruſſian blue) and ſome other colours, and upon all thoſe ſhades of colour which are produced by means of iron, archil, and aſtringent ſubſtances, is to turn them red. They render yellows more pale, except that produced by arnatto, which they turn to an orange colour.

Alkalies turn ſcarlet, and all reds produced by brazil or logwood, to a violet colour; they turn green (upon woollen cloths) to yellow; and they give a reddiſh caſt to the yellow produced by arnatto.

The effect of perſpiration is the ſame as that of alkalies.

Spots which are produced upon cloths by ſimple ſubſtances are eaſily removed by well-known means.

Greaſy ſubſtances are removed by alkalies, by ſoap, by yolk of egg, or by fat earths. Oxides of iron, by nitric or oxalic acid. Spots occaſioned by acids are removed by alkalies, and *vice verſa*.

Spots cauſed by fruit, upon white cloth, are removed by ſulphureous acid, or, what is ſtill better, by oxygenated muriatic acid.

But, when the ſpots are of a complicated nature, various means muſt be employed, ſucceſſively; thus, to remove a ſpot occaſioned by the coom of carriage-wheels, we muſt firſt diſſolve the alkali by ſome of the means above-mentioned, and then take away the oxide of iron by oxalic acid.

The colours of the cloths are often injured by the re-agents made uſe of; in order to reſtore them, we muſt thoroughly underſtand the art of dying, and know how to modify the means according to circumſtances. This is ſometimes difficult, becauſe it is neceſſary to produce a colour ſimilar to that of the reſt of the cloth, and to apply that colour to a particular part only; ſometimes alſo, the mordant which fixed the colour, or the baſis which heightened it, has alſo been deſtroyed, and muſt be reſtored. It is evident that, in this caſe, the means to be employed depend upon the nature of the colour, and that of the ingredients which produced it; for it is well known that the ſame colour may be obtained from very different ſubſtances.

Thus, when after having made uſe of an alkali, to remove an acid ſpot upon brown, violet, or blue cloth, &c. there remains a yellow ſpot, the original colour is again produced by means of a ſolution of tin. A ſolution of the ſulphate of iron reſtores the colour to thoſe brown cloths which have been dyed with galls. Acids give to yellow cloths, which have been rendered dull or brown by alkalies, their original brightneſs. When black cloths, dyed with logwood, have any reddiſh ſpots occaſioned by acids, alkalies turn ſuch ſpots to a yellow colour, and a little of the aſtringent principle makes them black again. A ſolution of one part of indigo in four parts of ſulphuric acid, properly diluted with water, may be ſucceſsfully employed to reſtore a faded blue colour upon wool or cotton. Red or ſcarlet colours may be reſtored by means of cochineal, and a ſolution of muriate of tin, &c.

The choice of re-agents is not a matter of indifference; vegetable acids are generally preferable to mineral

mineral ones. The ſulphureous acid, however, may be uſed for ſpots from fruit: it does not injure blue upon ſilk, or the colours produced by aſtringents; nor does it affect yellow upon cotton. The volatile alkali ſucceeds better than fixed alkalies in removing ſpots produced by acids: it is uſually made uſe of in the form of vapour, and acts quickly, ſeldom injuring the colour of the cloth.

The means of removing ſpots of greaſe are well known; namely, alkalies, Fuller's-earth, eſſential oils diſſolved in alcohol, a ſufficient degree of heat to render the greaſe volatile, &c.

Spots of ink, or any other occaſioned by yellow oxide of iron, may be removed by oxalic acid: the colour may be reſtored by alkalies, or by a ſolution of muriate of tin. Such ſpots may alſo be taken away by oxygenated muriatic acid, when they are upon white cloth, or upon paper.

The effects of alkalies and that of perſpiration is the ſame; their ſpots may be removed by acids, or even by a dilute ſolution of muriate of tin.

When the ſpots are owing to various unknown cauſes, we muſt have recourſe to compoſitions poſſeſſing various powers; of which the following may be conſidered as one of the moſt efficacious. Diſſolve ſome white ſoap in alcohol; mix with this ſolution four or five yolks of eggs; add gradually ſome ſpirit of turpentine, and then ſtir into the mixture ſuch a quantity of Fuller's earth as will enable it to be formed into balls. The manner of uſing theſe balls, is to rub the ſpots, previouſly wetted with water, with them; after which, the cloth is to be well rubbed and waſhed. By theſe means, all kinds of ſpots, except thoſe occaſioned by ink, or any other ſolution of iron, will be removed.

The waſhing of the cloth takes off its gloſs, and leaves a dull ſpot, diſagreeable to the eye. The gloſs may be reſtored by paſſing, in a proper direction, over the waſhed part of the cloth, a bruſh wetted with water in which a ſmall quantity of gum is diſſolved, and then laying upon the part a ſheet of paper, a piece of cloth, and a pretty conſiderable weight, which are to remain there until the cloth is quite dry.

Experiments and Obſervations on the glutinous Part of Wheat. By M. Teſſier; from the Memoires de l'Inſtitut National.

OF the conſtituent parts of wheat, that which appears to have moſt excited the attention of philoſophers, is the glutinous part, known alſo by the name of *vegeto-animal matter*.

Having been employed in examining the various ſpecies and varieties of this plant, and being deſirous to know every particularity concerning them, it was ſcarcely poſſible that I ſhould not ſeek to diſcover how much vegeto-animal matter each of them was capable of furniſhing; and whether any circumſtance contributed to increaſe its proportion.

I ſhould have carried my inquiries upon this ſubject (as well as upon many others) to a much greater extent, if ſome particular circumſtances had not ſtopped my progreſs. I can therefore offer only a few reſults; but, trifling and imperfect

fect as they are, they will not be totally uſeleſs, if they ſhould engage any other perſon to purſue the ſubject, and to fulfil, better than I have been able to do, the end I had in view.

After the harveſt of 1791, I cauſed to be ground twenty ſorts (ſpecies and varieties) of wheat; ſome of them were hard, the others ſoft. They were gathered from the ſame ſoil, which was of an inferior quality. A ſufficient quantity of each ſort was ground; and ſuch precautions were taken, as to prevent the poſſibility of a miſtake reſpecting the flour produced from each particular kind of wheat.

I ſhall not at preſent ſpeak either of the proportion of flour produced from theſe different wheats, or of the various kinds of bread I obtained from them; thoſe will furniſh matter for another memoir: in this, I ſhall confine myſelf to what concerns the glutinous part.

One pound of each ſort of flour was made into a thick paſte, and afterwards worked for a long time with the hands, (according to the uſual manner,) under a very thin ſtream of water, which ran, or rather dropped upon it; by this means, all the ſtarch was ſeparated from the glutinous part. The latter I weighed while wet, and then dried it gently upon the cover of a ſaucepan, filled with boiling water, and placed over the fire.

The reſult of theſe operations was, firſt, that two of the foremention ed kinds of wheat, one of which had ſmooth ears of a reddiſh colour, with diverging beards, and grains of the uſual yellow colour, and which ripened very early, and another kind which had white ears, alſo ſmooth, without beards, with grains of a white colour, and which came originally from Philadelphia, gave each of them five ounces of glutinous matter from a pound of wheat; whereas, another kind, which had ſmooth reddiſh ears, growing cloſe together, with beards, and which ſeemed to be a variety of that called *bled de miracles*, and another kind which had white ears, with ſtrait beards, and long glumes, with hard long grains, and which is particularly diſtinguiſhed by the name of Poliſh wheat, (*Triticum Polonicum, Linnæi*) gave, only, the firſt, two ounces, and the ſecond, two ounces and a half, of this ſubſtance, *per* pound. From another kind, with purpliſh ears, bearded, and pubeſcent, with hard ſpotted grains, and which came originally from Nice and the Canaries, I obtained only half an ounce of the above matter *per* pound. The other ſorts, produced from four ounces to four ounces and a half *per* pound.

Secondly that the flour of hard-grained wheats produced, in general, leſs glutinous matter than that of ſoft ones.

Thirdly, that the glutinous part of ſome kinds, after being dried, was more brittle than that of others; this was particularly the caſe with the hard-grained wheats.

Fourthly, that, according to the remarks of M. Parmentier, in his work upon the vegetables uſed for food, the glutinous part loſes much of its weight by being dried.*

Laſtly,

* Our colleague, M. Parmentier, expoſed ſome of the glutinous matter, divided into ſmall pieces, to a very gentle evaporation, till it could be reduced into powder. He found that it loſt three-fourths of its weight; and that the beſt grain contained only an eighth

Laſtly, that the loſs of weight is in the inverſe ratio of the quantity obtained.

The object of this memoir is merely a compariſon of the quantities of glutinous matter furniſhed by the different kinds of wheat; it is conſequently indifferent in what ſtate they are eſtimated, and alſo what proportion they bare to the weight of the flour. It is ſufficient for me to have ſhown, that the flour of twenty different ſorts of wheat, after being treated in the ſame manner, furniſhed a quantity of vegeto-animal matter which, whether it was weighed immediately after this extraction, or not until it was completely dried, was in very different proportions.

This comparative trial having informed me of a circumſtance I wiſhed to know I proceeded to the inveſtigation of another. It appeared to me important to determine, whether manures of any kind could contribute to the information of the glutinous part, and if ſo, what thoſe manures were. With this view, in the ſpring of the year 1792, I prepared, in a piece of land, the ſoil of which appeared to me all of the ſame nature, nine beds, each containing two perches, of twenty-two ſquare feet; they were exactly ſimilar in every reſpect, excepting in the manure made uſe of to them.

In one of theſe beds, I folded a flock of ſheep and goats, amounting in the whole to one hundred and forty; they remained on the bed about two hours; and the reſult of the folding appeared to me to be ſuch as commonly takes place from that operation in the departments of Seine-et-Oiſe, Seine-et-Marne, Loire, and Eure-et-Loir.

Another bed was manured with two ſacks of horſe-dung, in a rather rotten ſtate.

The third, with two ſacks of cow-dung, in the ſame ſtate.

The fourth, with ſixty-four quarts of human urine.

The fifth, with thirty ſix quarts of bullock's blood.

The ſixth, with the remains of plants, reduced into the ſtate of mould.

The ſeventh, with three buſhels of pigeon's dung.

The eighth, with human excrement in powder, prepared at Montfaucon.

The ninth was not manured at all.

I ſowed every one of theſe beds with the ſame kind of wheat; namely, that kind which has ſmooth white ears, without beards, the grain of the uſual colour, the ſtraw

eighth part. This aſſertion is not exaggerated; for, after having collected the glutinous part of different kinds of wheat, and deprived them as much as poſſible of their ſtarch, and of their water, and dried them thoroughly, I found, at the end of four years, a decreaſe of weight, amounting to two-thirds, to three-fourths, to four-fifths, and even to ſeven-eights, according to the ſpecies or variety of wheat made uſe of; and I very ſeldom obtained more than two ounces, in a ſtate of dryneſs, from a pound of wheat. It muſt be obſerved, however, that the weight of the glutinous part cannot be compared with that of flour in its uſual ſtate; becauſe a pound of flour, which did not appear to be wet, being put to dry gradually upon a warm ſtove, was, in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, reduced to fourteen ounces; that is to ſay, it loſt one-eighth part, without appearing burnt, or ſuffering any alteration in its colour. From which it follows, that, in order to eſtimate truly the loſs of weight in the glutinous part of a pound of flour, it muſt be extracted from a pound of flour, which has already been dried, or elſe be conſidered as the produce of only fourteen ounces of flour.

hollow,

hollow, and which is uſually ſown in the month of March.

Although a compariſon of the quantity of grain produced was not the principal object I had in view, yet I think it right to obſerve, that the bed manured with pigeon's dung was that which produced the greateſt quantity of grain. After that, I gathered the greateſt quantity from the two beds manured with human excrement, and with human urine. Next to theſe, the greateſt quantity was produced from thoſe manured with bullock's blood, and with horſe-dung. The beds manured with the remains of plants, and with cow-dung, were leſs productive. That which had no manure at all, produced little more than double the quantity which was ſown; whereas the others produced more than ſix times the quantity ſown.

With reſpect to the quantity of glutinous matter, which was the principal object in view, the reſult of the experiment was as follows: The wheat of the bed watered with urine, produced ſix ounces of glutinous part from a pound of flour, not dried. That of the bed in which the ſheep and goats were folded, and that of thoſe manured with horſe-dung, with cow-dung, with pigeon's dung, with bullock's blood, with the remains of plants, alſo that to which no manure was uſed, gave five ounces of glutinous part *per* pound. Laſtly, that which was manured with human excrement, gave only four ounces *per* pound.

It will, undoubtedly, be difficult to conceive, why the eight manured beds above-mentioned did not give an equal proportion of vegeto-animal matter; for the wheat was all produced from the ſame ſeed, was ſown in land which was the ſame in appearance, and the manure was applied in the uſual manner. It is evident that the manure was not the cauſe of this difference; becauſe from the wheat which grew in the bed not manured, I procured five ounces of glutinous matter *per* pound; that is, a quantity equal to that procured from the wheat of ſix other beds manured in various ways; a circumſtance which naturally leads us to ſeek elſewhere for the cauſe of the variation in the proportion of glutinous matter.

I ſhall here obſerve, that the wheat made uſe of for the above experiments in ſpring, was the ſame as one of thoſe on which I made the firſt-mentioned experiments in the autumn of 1791; and that, in the experiments of 1791, it produced only three ounces of glutinous matter *per* pound, inſtead of five or ſix. This would lead us to ſuppoſe, that wheat ſown in March contains more glutinous matter than that ſown in autumn; or at leaſt that the latter, notwithſtanding its longer vegetation, does not contain a greater proportion of it.

As a brief recapitulation of the preceding reſults, I ſhall ſtate, that different ſpecies and varieties of wheat produce various proportions of the glutinous part, which is more or leſs brittle, and which, before it is dried, ſometimes amounts to more than a third part of the flour; but, when dried, does not commonly exceed one-eighth. Manures do not appear to contribute to the formation of this ſingular ſubſtance.

Many intereſting circumſtances reſpecting this ſubſtance ſtill remain unknown; for, it may reaſonably be inquired, firſt, whether it is proved that no other grain contains

this

this glutinous part. It has, without doubt, been aſcertained, that it cannot be obtained from rye, from barley, or from oats; but, have experiments been made upon the flour produced from the ſeeds of other kinds of graſſes? Is it not probable, for inſtance, that it would be found in the grain of what is called manna-graſs, ſo much uſed in Poland?

Secondly. Rural economy would require that we ſhould examine, whether the wheats of one diſtrict always contain more glutinous part than thoſe of another; this examination would neceſſarily take up ſeveral years.

Thirdly. We ſhould alſo determine whether the expoſition of the land, and the nature of the ſoil, ought to be admitted among the cauſes which contribute to the formation of the glutinous part.* For this purpoſe, it appears neceſſary that we ſhould form an artificial ſoil, of which the ingredients were well known; a difficult taſk, and one which can only be undertaken by a zealous perſon, who reſides in the country.

Fourthly. Suppoſing that theſe inquiries ſhould produce merely negative proofs, and that only a concurrent or ſecondary cauſe ſhould be diſcovered, it will then remain to be known, why, of the various grains which ſerve us for nouriſhment, wheat is the only one that appears to contain this vegeto-animal matter, or at leaſt that contains ſo much of it. We muſt not be too ſanguine in expecting to diſcover this laſt truth; becauſe it may depend upon the particular organization of the vegetable, which organization we cannot inveſtigate. But, it will be a great deal to have diſcovered in what conſiſts, or upon what depends, in the various ſpecies or varieties of wheat, the greater or leſs quantity of this glutinous matter, which is of ſo much conſequence in the proceſs of making bread.

Experiments made with a View to aſcertain the Truth and Importance of Dr. Hunter's Opinions reſpecting the Food of Plants, by Major Thomas Velley; from the Letters and Papers of the Bath and Weſt of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, &c.

THE laudable exertions of the Board of Agriculture having called forth various expedients, both from the practical and theoretical improvers of land, for the advancement of cultivation in general, I ſelected, from among ſundry tracts recommended by the board, the one intituled, "The Outlines of Agriculture," publiſhed by Dr. Hunter, the learned editor of Evelyn's Sylva; in which work the above-mentioned tract made its firſt appearance, in the form of a note. In the ſeventh page of the pamphlet, the ingenious author thus ex-

* M. Parmentier, in the work already quoted ſays, that there are ſome kinds of wheat, particularly thoſe which grow in wet places, or in poor ſoils, whoſe product of glutinous matter ſcarcely amounts to one ounce *per* pound; and that, on the contrary, there are others which contain near two ounces. I ſhall not contradict this aſſertion, for the fact is certain; I ſhall only obſerve, that if by poor ſoils M. Parmentier means dry and ſtony ones, it appears to me more natural to ſuppoſe, that as the wheat which grows in ſuch ſoils is of good quality, it ſhould contain a greater quantity of glutinous part. This, however, requires to be more carefully examined.

preſſes himſelf; "I lay it down as a fundamental maxim, that all plants receive their principal nouriſhment from oily particles incorporated with water, by means of an alkaline ſalt, or abſorbent earth." Having ſupported this hypotheſis by various arguments, he notices a preparation as follows:

"One drachm of Ruſſia potaſh diſſolved in two ounces of water, then add two ſpoonfuls of oil; p. 19."

This mixture, the author aſſerts, "is adapted to all the purpoſes of vegetation."

Pleaſed with the information, I determined to give the faireſt trial to the experiment, and choſe a piece of ground which was freſh, and had not received any manure: in this I made ſix contiguous beds. I then marked out, in each bed, 128 ſpots, four inches aſunder every way. In the firſt bed planted the ſame number of barley ſeeds, which had been ſteeped three days in the above mixture. After this, I planted, in the ſame manner, and in the adjoining bed, the ſame quantity of ſeeds, dry, and not ſteeped; but, before the ſoil was cloſed upon them, I poured into every hole two-thirds of a drachm of the ſaid compoſition; a quantity ſo ſmall as ſcarcely to fill a tea-ſpoon, and which could not have been ſuppoſed to produce any viſible effect. I then planted, in the third bed, the ſame number of ſeeds in their natural ſtate, unprepared, and without any compoſition.

The following obſervations I made with great accuracy. The ſeeds which had been ſteeped did not make their appearance ſo ſoon, by eight or nine days, as the grain which had been planted without any preparation. Thoſe ſeeds upon which the mixture had been poured continued ſtill longer in the ground, inſomuch that I thought they had been entirely deſtroyed; at laſt, however, they came up, though but ſparingly, and leſs in quantity than thoſe which had been ſteeped; but both ſorts were far leſs productive than thoſe which had been totally unprepared. The laſt produced nearly double the quantity to the next beſt; as will appear from the annexed accounts of the relative productions of the different beds.

I repeated the ſame experiment with oats, in the ſame manner as before ſtated, in every reſpect, and planted them in the three adjoining beds; and it was ſingular enough to obſerve the ſame effects preciſely, as to the time of their coming up, and of their ripening, as well as with regard to their produce, which I had before remarked in the barley. In both inſtances, the unprepared grain was much more forward in its appearance and ſtate of maturity, as alſo much more abundant, than either of the other two.

All the ſeeds were planted with the Norfolk dibble, exactly at the ſame depth, at the ſame time, and in adjoining beds, under the ſame aſpect, in an open though rather loomy ſoil, which had not been manured.

Table of the relative Productions of Grain, as noticed in the above Account.

	Ears:
Barley, ſteeped, eight or nine days more backward than the dry grain, produced	465
Barley, not ſteeped, but having a ſmall quantity of the mixture	

	Ears.
mixture poured into the hole with it, was ſtill longer in the ground than the former, and produced	236
Barley, unprepared, came up eight or nine days ſooner than the firſt, and produced	750
Oats, ſteeped, were ſeven or eight days more backward than the dry grain, and produced	159
Oats, not ſteeped, but having a ſmall quantity of the mixture poured into the hole with them, were longer in the ground than the former, and produced	103
Oats, unprepared, came up ſeven or eight days ſooner than the firſt, and produced . .	238

An objection may poſſibly be made to the ſmall ſcale upon which the eſſay has been brought forward: yet, as the effects produced by the compoſition, and by the varied modes of applying it, were remarkably ſimilar in the different ſorts of grain, planted at the ſame time, and in the ſame ſoil, I think ſuch an objection cannot reaſonably invalidate an experiment of this nature; more eſpecially when it is conſidered, that a greater degree of accuracy and preciſion can accompany ſimilar attempts upon a ſmaller ſcale, than when extended to a greater ſcope; and, if I am not greatly miſtaken, ſome of the very ingenious obſervations which the learned chymiſt, Dr. Ingenhouſz has lately given to the world, with reſpect to the nutriment and ſupport of vegetable life, have been found upon experiments even more confined in their extent, though not leſs worthy of attention on that account, than thoſe above cited.

ANTIQUITIES.

Temple of Dendera, in Egypt; from Sonnini's Travels in Egypt.

IT was not in their architecture alone that the Egyptians diſplayed that affection for poſterity, that love of immortality which preſides in all their works; they wiſhed alſo that the painting they employed ſhould be equally durable. The colours of which they made uſe, the two-edged tool ſerving to incorporate them cloſely and for ever with bodies as hard and as ſolid as ſtone, are ſo many proofs of their profound knowledge in the arts, and ſo many ſecrets, which our reſearches have not yet been able to diſcover. The ceiling of the temple of Dendera is painted in freſco, of the brilliant colours of azure blue, with which the vault of the firmament ſhines in fine weather: the figures in relief ſtrewed along its bottom, are painted of a beautiful yellow; and theſe paintings, at the expiration of ſome thouſands of years, poſſeſs ſtill a brilliancy to which our freſheſt colours do not approach, and they are ſtill as lively as if they had been newly laid on.

I have ſaid that the front of this temple, an admirable and but little known work of the genius and the patience which, among the ancient peoples of Egypt, produced wonders, was a hundred and thirty-two feet, and ſome inches in length. I took its other dimenſions with the ſame exactneſs. The depth of the periſtyle is a hundred and fifteen feet three inches, and its breadth ſixty feet eleven inches. The two ſides of the edifice are two hundred and fifty-four feet nine inches and a half in length; finally, the depth is a hundred and ten feet eleven inches. The ſummit of the temple is flattened, and formed of very large ſtones, which are laid from one pillar to another, or on two walls of ſeparation. Several of theſe maſſes are eighteen feet long and ſix broad. Rubbiſh heaped up, and the ſand which collects there, have raiſed the ſoil to a level with the roof of the building, and you eaſily aſcend it from behind, although the front is ſtill elevated ſeventy feet above ground. The inhabitants of this canton had availed themſelves of this diſpoſition; they had built a village on the very ſummit of the temple, as on a baſis more firm than the inconſtant ſands or marſhy earth, upon which they generally erect their dwellings. When I was at Dendera, this modern village was deſolated and overthrown; its ruins of hardened mud formed a ſingular contraſt with the magnificent remains of the ancient city of Tentyris. We beheld there with ſorrow the moſt complete proof

proof of the total annihilation of the arts, in a country which had given birth and such an astonishing perfection to them, and the still more deplorable decline of the human mind.

Singular Tenure of the Manor of Wichnor, in Staffordshire, granted by John of Gaunt to Philip de Somerville; from Shaw's History of Staffordshire.

NEVERTHELESS, the said sir Philip shall fynd, meyntienge and sustaigne one bacon flyke hanging in his halle at Wichnore redy arrayde all times of the yere bott in Lent to be given to everyche mane or womane married after the daye and yere of there mariage be passed; and to be gyven to everyche mane of religion, archbishop, bishop, prior, or other religious; and to everyche prieste after the yere and daye of their profession finished or of their dignity reseyved, in forme following: whensoever that ony such byfore named wyll come for to enquire for the baconne, in theire owne persone or by ony other for them, they shall come to the bayliffe or to the porter of the lordship of Wichnovre; and shall say to them in the mannere as enshewethe—"Bayliffe, or porter, I do you too knowe that I come for myselfe (or, if he be come for ony other, shewing for whome he demaunde) to demaunde one baconne flyke hanging in the halle of the lord of Whichnovre, after the forme thereunto belonging;" after which relacioun, the bayliffe or porter shall assigne a daye unto him upon promise by his feythe to retourne and with him to bring tweyne of his neighbours. And in the meyn time, the said bayliffe shall take with him tweyne of the freeholders of the lordshipe of Whichenovre, and they three shall go to the manour of Rudlowe belonging to Robert Knyghtleye; and there shall somon the preseid Knyghtleye, or his bayliffe, commanding him to be ready at Whichenovre, the day appoynted, at pryme of the day wythe his caryage; that is to saye a horse and a saddylle, a sakke and a pryke, for to convey and carye the said baconne and corne a journee owtt of the countee of Stafford at his costages. And then the said bayliffe shall, with the sayd freeholders, somon all the tennants of the sayd manoir to be redy at the day appoynted at Whichenovre, for to doo and perform the services which they owe to the baconne. And at the day assygned all such as oue services to the baconne shall be redy at the gate of the manoir of Whichenovre from the sonne rysinge to none, attending and awatyng for the comyng of hym that fetcheth the baconne. And when he is comyn, there shall be delivered to hym and hys fellowys, chapeletts, and to all those whych shall be there to do their services dew to the baconne. And they shall lede the seid demandant wythe trompes and tabours and other manner of mynstralseye to the halle door, where he shall synde the lord of Whichenovre, or his steward, redy to deliver the baconne in this manner—

He shall enquere of hym whiche demandeth the baconne, yf he have brought tweyne of hys neghbors with hym. Whyche must answer "they be here ready," and then the steward shall cause theese two neighbours to swere, yf the said

demandaunt be a weddyt man, or have been a man weddyt, and yf fythe hys mariage one yere and a day be paſſed; and yf he be a freeman or villeyn. And if his ſeid neghbours make othe that he hath for hym all thies three poynts reherſed, then ſhall the baconne be taken down, and broughte to the halle-dore; and ſhall there be layed uponne half a quarter of wheate, and uponne one other of rye. And he that demandeth the baconne ſhall kneele upon his knee, and ſhall hold his right hande uponne a boke, which boke ſhall be layed above the baconne and the corne, and ſhall make othe in this manere—

Here ye, ſir Philip de Somerville, lord of Whichenovre, mayntener and gyver of this baconne, that I. A. ſithe I wedded B. my wyfe, and fythe I had her in my keeping, and at my wille, by a yere and a day after our mariage, I wod not have chaunged for none other, farer ne fowler, rycher ne powrer, ne for none other deſcended of greater lynage, ſlepyng ne wakyng, at noo tyme. And yf the ſayd B. were ſole, and I ſole, I wolde take her to be my wyfe, before all the women in the worlde of what condicions ſoever they be, good or evylle, as help me God and hys ſeynts and thys fleſhe and all fleſhes—

And hys neghbors ſhall make othe that they truſt verily he hath ſaid truly; and yff it be founde by his neighbors, beforenamed, that he be a freeman, there ſhall be delyvered hym half a quarter of wheate and a cheeſe; and yf he be a villeyn, he ſhall have half a quarter of rye without cheeſe. And then ſhall Knyghtleye, the lord of Rudlowe be called for to carry all theis thynges afore-reherſed; and the ſeid corn ſhall be layed uponne horſe and the baconne above ytt; and he to whom the baconne apperteigneth ſhall aſſend upon his horſe, and ſhall take the cheeſe before hym, if he have a horſe; and yf he have none, the lord of Wichenovre ſhall cauſe hym to have one horſe and ſadyll to ſuch tyme as he be paſſed hys lordſhippe; and ſo ſhalle they depart the manoir of Whichnovre with the corne and the baconne, to fore him that hath won it, with trompetts, tabouretts, and other maner of mynſtralce; and all the free-tenants of Whichenovre ſhall conduct hym to be paſſed the lordſhipe of Whichenovre, and then ſhall they all retorne except hym to whom apperteigneth to make the carryage and journey without the countye of Stafford at the coſtys of his lord of Whichenovre.

And yf the ſeid Robert Knyghtleye do not cauſe the baconne and corne to be conveyed as is reherſed, the lord of Wychnovre ſhall do it to be caryed, and ſhall diſtreigne the ſaid Robert Knyghtley for his default for one hundred ſhillings, in his manoir of Rudlowe, and ſhall kepe the diſtreſs ſo takyn yrreplevyſable.

Inquiry whether Herodotus was acquainted with the River Joliba. By Profeſſor Heeren, of Gottingen.

FROM the general attention directed in ſo many reſpects towards Africa, and from the many attempts undertaken to explore that quarter of the globe, we may confidently hope, that, after the lapſe of a few years, it will no longer be to us a *terra ignota*. The departing century delivers over to the ſucceeding

ceeding at leaſt the key to the diſcovery, if it does not tranſmit the diſcovery itſelf. The preſent, then, is the proper point of time, to collect, put in order, and compare all the information we already poſſeſs, for the purpoſe of furniſhing a clue to, and facilitating future diſcoveries. And, indeed, the maſs we already know, or might know, is very great, certainly greater than moſt people imagine. Africa was never unknown: in ancient times, and in the middle ages, its northern coaſts, were inhabited by poliſhed and enlightened nations: the Carthagenians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Arabians, who, either as merchants or conquerors, penetrated far into the continent, and one way or other brought back with them a variety of knowledge, as ſtrikingly appears from the writings of the Greek geographers. But what may in an eſſential manner excite wonder, how rich a treaſure of accounts has not Herodotus, the father of hiſtory and geography, left us concerning this quarter of the globe! Many of them *e. g.* his deſcription of the caravan-tracks, by which the Carthagenians and Egyptians travelled through North Africa, have only become clearly intelligible ſince the moſt recent diſcoveries; almoſt every one of which is likewiſe illuſtrated and confirmed by ſome paſſage in Herodotus. Another ſtriking example of this is furniſhed by the accounts which Mungo Park, partly as eye witneſs, partly from inquiries, has lately brought back with him concerning the river Joliba, which flows in the very heart of Africa, in a direction from weſt to eaſt. Every reader, who has a taſte for ſuch reſearches, will be agreeably ſurpriſed to find, that Herodotus not only knew this moſt recent geographical diſcovery; but that he likewiſe was able to give us very clear information concerning things, which the greateſt geographers of the eighteenth century only conjecture, or which are even altogether unknown. I ſhall here tranſlate the paſſage of his hiſtory, book ii. chap. 32, 33, which relates to this ſubject; and endeavour to illuſtrate it from the "Proceedings of the African Aſſociation," lately publiſhed, and from Rennel's excellent new map of North Africa, annexed to that work.

"What I have hitherto related," ſays Herodotus (he had given an accurate deſcription of the courſe of the Nile, higher up than Egypt, as far as Sennaar, and even as far as Gojam) "I learned from men of Cyrene, who told me that they had been at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and converſed with Etearchos, the king of the Ammonians. Among other topics of converſation, they had likewiſe chanced to diſcourſe of the Nile and the remarkable circumſtance that no one was acquainted with its ſources. Etearchos had then ſaid, that ſome men belonging to the Naſamones had viſited him (theſe Naſamones are a nation of Libyan origin, and dwell on the borders of the Syrtis, and in the next adjoining region, to the eaſt, but not far); and when he had inquired of them, whether they could not give him ſome information concerning the deſerts of the interior of Africa, they had communicated to him the following particulars: Among their countrymen ſome bold young men, ſons of their chiefs, who had executed many daring enterpriſes; had choſen twelve from among them, by lot,

who should undertake a journey of discovery into the desert part of Africa, and endeavour to explore more of it than those who had penetrated the farthest before them. The young men then had set out, abundantly provided with water, and provisions; and first had travelled through the inhabited country (coast of Barbary); after which, they had arrived at the part of Africa that abounds with wild beasts *(Biledulgerid)*; but thence they had continued their journey through the desert, proceeding in a south-west direction. After they had, during many days, wandered through an extensive sandy region, they had, at last, espied some trees in a field, had made towards them, and plucked the fruit from the trees. Men of a smaller stature than common had then come to them, had received them kindly, and became their guides. But they understood not their language, nor their conductors, the language of the Nasamones. But they led them through very extensive marshy regions; and after they had travelled through these, they had arrived in a city, whose inhabitants were all of the same stature as their conductors, and of a colour completely black. By the city flowed a large river, and that river ran in a direction from west towards the rising of the sun; and in it there were likewise crocodiles. Thus far I give the narrative of Etearchos the Ammonian: I shall only add, that he moreover said, as the Cyreneans told me, that the Nasamones had returned; and that the men, in whose country they had been, were all magicians. With regard to the river, Etearchos conjectured that it was the Nile; and this is the most probable opinion concerning it.

Thus far Herodotus. According to his own account, he had his information from the third hand, viz. from Cyrenean Greeks, who had heard it in *Ammonium* from Etearchos, the king of the Ammonians, to whom it was related by some Nasamones, countrymen of the adventurers. To give to these authorities their due value, it is necessary to be previously acquainted with the following particulars. The oracle of Jupiter Ammon was not merely the temple: there was there likewise a small state, whose constitution was hierocratical, after the form of the ancient Egyptian states, and at the head of the government was a king. The same place was likewise the centre of inland commerce, because through it the caravan road passed from Egypt to Carthage and Cyrene, and likewise from Egypt to Nigritia, both which have been described by Herodotus. Temples and sanctuaries have, in the southern part of the world, been, in all ages, the centre of commerce, as the *Kaaba* of the prophet at Mecca, still is; for where could this friendly conflux of different nations take place with greater security, than under the immediate protection of the gods, and near their sanctuaries? The Grecian commercial republic, Cyrene, on the northern coast of Africa, was certainly so intimately connected, and carried on so great a commercial intercourse, with the Ammonians, that the head of Jupiter Ammon was the common impress on their coin. Hence it is evident, that the temple of Jupiter Ammon was the place where there was the greatest probability of acquiring

quiring information concerning the interior of Africa; and certainly Herodotus could not apply to fitter perſons for intelligence, than to the Cyreneans, who came from that place; probably merchants, with whom he converſed in Egypt.

But the authority of theſe accounts acquires additional ſtrength, when we become acquainted with the people, to whom the travellers belonged, who had met with the above adventures, and from whom the accounts originated. The Naſamones were, as Herodotus informs us in another place,* a numerous nomadical nation, who derived their ſubſiſtance from their flocks of ſheep. They dwelt on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, in the eaſtern part of the *Regio Syrtica*, or the preſent kingdom of Tripoli, about what was called the great *Syrtis*, or the preſent bay of *Sidra*, nearly then in 30° north latitude, and 35′ longitude eaſt from Ferro. The whole of this Syrtic land, from 28° to 35° eaſtern longitude is a ſand-land, which was therefore always inhabited by nomadical tribes, who were tributary to the Carthagenians. And of them principally were the caravans compoſed, which traverſed the deſerts, and were the means of keeping up the intercourſe of the Carthagenians with the countries in the interior of Africa. For this reaſon the expedition of the Naſamones is not deſcribed as a journey into a country altogether unknown: They had, ſays Herodotus, before undertaken many other bold enterpriſes; the object of their journey was only to try whether they might not penetrate farther than had hitherto been done by preceding travellers. And, although the real adventurers amounted to no more than five, yet it is very probable that their retinue was more numerous, ſo that they formed a ſmall caravan; for they were ſons of the chief men of the nation, and they carried along with them a great quantity of water and proviſions.

They traverſed, ſays Herodotus, firſt the inhabited part of Africa, and then the region abounding with wild beaſts: after which, they came into the ſandy deſert. For Herodotus divides North Africa into three regions; the moſt northen, on the Mediterranean, which we now call the coaſt of Barbary; the region abounding with wild beaſts, or the middle region, by the Arabs called *Biledulgerid*, or the land of dates; and the ſouthern region, or the deſert. To arrive at the laſt, they were obliged to croſs the two former obliquely from north to ſouth.

On reaching the deſert, they proceeded in a ſouth-weſt direction; for ſo I tranſlate the πρὸς ζέφυρον of Herodotus.—Among the later writers, indeed, who expreſs themſelves with ſcientific preciſion, the zephyr is properly the weſt wind; but Herodotus, who knows only the four principal winds, denotes by it a weſtern direction in general. That he could not here mean the weſt properly ſo called, is evident from the ſlighteſt inſpection of the map of the country; becauſe they muſt otherwiſe have remained on the northern border of the deſert, and never could have traverſed it. The great caravan road from the country of the Naſamones, as Herodotus elſewhere informs us, went in a direction exactly ſouth: it ſhould

* Herod. iv. 172.

ſeem then, that they purpoſely took another, namely a weſtern, direction, with a view of thus penetrating through the great deſert of Weſtern Africa, through which probably at that time no caravan road paſſed.

They travelled, ſays Herodotus, through a great deſert during many days journeys, (unfortunately he does not tell us their number, and certainly it had not been told him.) On the other ſide of the deſert, they again reached a cultivated country, where fruit-trees grew, and black men dwelt, who were of a ſtature ſmaller than common; not dwarfs, however, for that our author certainly does not aſſert. Theſe negroes gave the Naſamones a hoſpitable reception, and became their conductors. They led them through great marſhy regions, to a city, by which flowed a large river in a direction from weſt to eaſt. The inhabitants of the city all reſembled their guides, and were much addicted to magic.

The queſtion now is, whither had theſe adventurers come? It is evident, methinks, that they were arrived in the country of the negroes, and among a negroe nation, who received them with the ſame hoſpitality which yet ſo honourably diſtinguiſhes this race of men from their barbarous neighbours, the Moors. This we learn not only from their black colour and their whole exterior appearance, by which they at firſt ſight immediately preſented themſelves to the eyes of the North Africans as a quite different race of men; but likewiſe particularly from the circumſtance, that they were all magicians; when we recollect what Mungo Park, who, as it were, conjured his way, through theſe people with the aid of his amulets, ſays concerning the belief in magic generally prevalent among them. Concerning their diminutive ſtature, I cannot immediately adduce any farther corroborating teſtimony: but to maintain that, in that burning clime, in the vicinity of the equator, no ſuch people may be diſcovered, would ſurely be hazarding a very precipitate deciſion.

But the phenomenon moſt worthy of attention undoubtedly is the river which flowed by the city in an eaſtern direction. Is this river the Joliba? Were theſe bold adventurers the firſt diſcoverers of it? And did the tradition concerning it, though its name was loſt in the deſerts, nevertheleſs by a ſeries of the moſt ſingular accidents, reach the ears of the father of hiſtory, that he might record it, to be one day, at the cloſe of the eighteenth century, again rendered intelligible?

Herodotus does not name the river, and thus far every thing remains mere conjecture. But this conjecture from ſo many quarters gains confirmation, that, at laſt, it is almoſt impoſſible to doubt.

Firſt, if we attend to the direction of the route of our travellers, the queſtion is, whither muſt they neceſſarily have come? If from their native land, on the bay of Sydra, or the great *Syrtis*, they traverſed the deſert in a ſouth-weſt direction, and thus reached the country of the negroes; this muſt have happened between 15 and 35° eaſt longitude, which is about the length of the courſe of the Joliba, as will appear from a ſingle glance at major Rennel's map. Proceeding as they did, they could not fail to arrive at the Joliba. It will however be perhaps objected, that there may poſſibly be

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ſome other river; for who knows how many ſuch rivers exiſt in thoſe regions of the interior of Africa? But with a perſon who, from the relations of traveller, has acquired a knowledge of thoſe parts, this objection can have no weight. Herodotus expreſſly ſays, that it was a great river, running from weſt to eaſt. According to the beſt accounts we poſſeſs of the weſtern half of North Africa, not only is there in thoſe regions no ſuch river flowing in that direction; but from the very nature of the country, as far as we are acquainted with it, there cannot well exiſt any. To the north of the Joliba is the ſandy deſert, which contains no river; to the ſouth, a chain of mountains, at the foot of which the Joliba flows, and which muſt, therefore, have been the firſt large river the Naſamones met with.

Beſides, Herodotus gives us likewiſe the following indications: Firſt, they were obliged to paſs through large marſhy regions, before they reached the river; ſecondly, a city ſtood on its banks: and laſtly, crocodiles were found in the river.

The firſt-mentioned of theſe three circumſtances is highly important. According to major Rennel's neweſt inveſtigations, the ſandy region of Africa has a ſloping declination towards the ſouth; ſo that to it ſucceeds a low marſhy tract, bounded to the north by the ſandy deſert, but to the ſouth by a chain of mountains. Here the Joliba flows, receiving in its courſe a number of ſmaller mountain rivers from the ſouth; but not one from the north. Like other tropical rivers, it has its annual inundations, when it, more or leſs, fills the valley through which it paſſes. The Joliba is at laſt loſt, as far as our information yet reaches, in inland lakes and marſhes, which major Rennel looks for in the diſtricts of Wangara and Ghana (or Caſhna). We are told of one ſuch lake in Ghana, and of three in Wangara. Theſe obſervations throw a clear light on the circumſtance related by Herodotus, that the Naſamones had been conducted through great marſhy tracts (ἑλη μεγιστα). Without paſſing through ſuch tracts, they could not poſſibly reach the Joliba. Major Rennel has, therefore, marked Wangara and Ghana as marſhy countries: they lie, however, too far to the eaſt, for us, with any degree of probability, to ſuppoſe that the adventurous Naſamones had come thither. But then we are yet wholly ignorant how far theſe marſhes extend to the weſt: from the nature and ſituation of the country we may reaſonably conclude, that they ſtretch along the greater part of the river. All that major Rennel has ſaid concerning the lower or eaſtern half of the Joliba, whither no European has yet penetrated, is no more than conjecture drawn from ingenious combinations; and it certainly is a ſurpriſing phenomenon, that what the greateſt geographer at the end of the eighteenth century ſo happily conjectures, the earlieſt of hiſtorians and geographers was already enabled to deſcribe in expreſs terms and to relate on good authority.

It cannot now be determined with certainty which was the city to which the Naſamones came: however, we probably ought to look for it between *Tombuctu* and *Caſhna*. That beſides theſe cities, there are at preſent ſeveral others on the

banks of the *Joliba*, ſuch as *Huſſar*, *Tocrur*, &c. we know: the exiſtence, therefore, of a city here, even in thoſe ancient times, would not ſeem to be any thing ſtrange or incredible.

A third indication given by Herodotus, is, that the river contains crocodiles. Here the father of hiſtory knows more than even our lateſt travellers, in none of whoſe works I recollect to have ſeen any information relative to this circumſtance. It is probable that theſe creatures inſeſt only the lower part of the Joliba: and the narrations of Herodotus, which have ſo often and ſo ſtrikingly been illuſtrated and confirmed by new diſcoveries, will, without doubt, be found true, with reſpect to the exiſtence of crocodiles in the Joliba, whenever another traveller ſhall be able to penetrate into thoſe diſtant regions.

The conjecture which Herodotus adds at the end, and in which he coincides with the king of the Ammonians, (but which, however, is merely a ſuppoſition), that the river he had been treating of was the Nile, is connected with his hypotheſis of the courſe of the latter. It is, namely, one of the moſt ſingular of phenomena, that Herodotus deſcribes the courſe and ſtate of the Nile above Egypt to near its ſources, with an accuracy which has hardly been attained by any ſucceeding writer: only that he is miſtaken with reſpect to the direction of this river; as he believes, that, until its entrance into Egypt, it flows obliquely through Libya from weſt to eaſt. This error cannot be otherwiſe well accounted for, except by ſuppoſing that Herodotus had confounded the (either really, or only in imagination exiſting) weſtern branch of the Nile, or the Nile of the Negroes, with the main ſtream flowing from the ſouth. The belief of the exiſtence of ſuch a weſtern branch, as appears from the narrative of Herodotus, was then already generally prevalent in Africa. That the Joliba, however, is not this river, and that conſequently Herodotus was miſtaken in his conjecture, ſeems at preſent, no longer to admit of a doubt. But the non-exiſtence of ſuch a ſtream is yet far from being proved: on the contrary, the belief of its exiſtence has ſo conſtantly and invariably prevailed throughout all antiquity and the middle ages, that here too we muſt wait for farther diſcoveries, before we can venture to give a final deciſion.

Preparations made by the French for invading England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries; from Seward's Biographiana, Vol. 2.

IN the tenth year of the reign of Richard II. and in the year 1388, the ancient chronicles tell us, "that the young French king Charles, and his uncle the duke of Burgoyne and conſtable of France, had great deſire and affection to go with an army into England, and all knights and ſquires of France did very well agree thereto, ſaying—'Why ſhould we not once go to England to ſee the countrye, and to learne the pathes of the ſame, as they have done in France?' So that forthwith great proviſion and furnyture for that voyage was made in France on all ſydes, and taxes and tallages ſet and aſſeſſed upon the cities, towns, and burgeſſes of the ſame, and in the plaine countries, that in an hundreth years before

before there had been none ſuch ſene nor heard of; and alſo great proviſion made by ſea all the ſommer-time until the month of September." *

"The conſtable of France his ſhip was apparayled and furniſhed at Lenterginer in Bretagne. Alſo the conſtable of France cauſed to be made in Bretagne, of timber, a cloſure for a towne, made like a parke, that when they had taken lande in England to cloſe in their fielde, to lodge therein with more eaſe and ſafetie: and whenſoever they ſhould remove their fielde, the cloſure was ſo made that they might take it aſunder in pieces; and a great number of carpenters and others were retained on wages to attend thereon.

"And, as it is before ſaid, all that had been rehearſed, and whatever elſe was done in France concerning the advancement of this journey, was well known in England, which brought ſome feare among them, and therefore they cauſed dyvers general proceſſions to be made in every good towne and citie, and three times in the weeke, wherein prayer was made with fervent ſpirite and devotion to Almighty God, to be their protector and ſhield againſt their enemie and the perill that the realme was then in. And yet, notwithſtanding, there were in England at that time more than a hundred thouſand that heartily wiſhed and deſyred that the Frenchmen might arryve in England. And thoſe luſtie young ladies, † as triumphing among themſelves and their companions, would ſay, 'Let theſe Frenchmen come, there ſhall not one tayle of them returne againe unto France.' And ſuch as were in debt, and cared not for the payment thereof, they rejoicing greatly at the coming of the Frenchmen, would ſay to their creditors when they demanded their debt of them, 'Sirs, be you pacient a little, and beare with us, for they forge in France new floreyns wherewith ye ſhall be payde.' And in truſt thereof they lyved and ſpent very largely."

"The earle of Saliſbury, who was a right valiant and prudent knight, ſayde before the kinge and his uncles, and before all the lords and prelates of England that were preſent in counſeyle, 'Sir, my ſovereign lord, and all ye my lords and and others, it ought not to be marvelled if our adverſary the French king doe come and runne upon us; for ſithen the death of our late ſovereign, king Edward, this noble realme of England hath beene in great hazard and adventure to have been loſt and deſtroyed, even with the lewde and naughtie people *brought up and nouriſhed in the ſame;* which thinge is not holden from France; and that which is worſe, it is well knowne that we amongſt ourſelves are not in perfecte love and unity, and that maketh our enemy ſo bold And hereunto I will ſpecially directe my ſpeeche, to move and exhort that peace, unitie, and love, may be had amongſt ourſelves; and that being firſt had, and faithfully and lovingly

* "The Frenchmen," ſays Holingſhed, "never ſhewed more vanitie than they did this year ſince the lineage of Capetes began to rule in France. All the ſhippes they could provide, from the confines of Spaine unto the mouth of the Rhine, all along the coaſt, they aſſembled at Sluis."

† "Verilie the luſtie lads be in England," ſays Roger Aſcham.

lowingly granted of every of us, we ſhall the better devyſe the reſiſtaunce and withſtanding of our foreign enemies.' Now when the earl of Saliſbury had ended his tale, there was no replie made, but with one voice they conſented to enter into deviſes for defence. And whereas the taxes and tailliages * were great in France, in like wiſe at that time they were great in Englande, ſo that the realme felt great grief thereof. Now there were at that time ready in England for defence, of good fighting men a hundred thouſand archers, and ten thouſand men of armes.

"Then the French king came to Arras, and daily there came down people from all partes in ſuch great numbers that the countrie was almoſt eaten up; and to ſay truth, nothing remayned in the countrie but it was taken from them, without making any payment for them. And when the poor people called upon them for ſome amends they anſwered, 'As now we have no ſilver to pay, but *when we returne* we will bring you enough, and then every thing ſhall be fully anſwered and payd.' But when the poor people ſawe their goodes thus taken away and ſpent, and they durſt not complain thereof, they curſed them between the teeth, ſaying, 'Get ye unto England, or to the devil, and God grant ye never returne agayne.'"

"Nowe the French king came down to Liſle to ſhewe that the journey pleaſed him, and to come nearer to the paſſage; and yet at this time the duke of Berry was behinde, and came fayre and ſoftly, for he had no great appetite to this journey of going into England."

"The conſtable of France departed from Lenterginer, ſtanding on the ſea ſide in Bretagne. He had ſeventy-two great ſhippes, and he had with him the cloſure of the field, made of timber, and they had good wynde at the beginning, but when they approached neare to England the winde roſe ſo fiercely, and was ſo tempeſtuous about the entrie of Margate and the Thamys mouth, that their ſhippes were ſcattered, ſo that they kept not together, and ſome were driven perforce into Thamys, and taken by the Engliſhmen; and ſpecially there was taken two or three ſhippes laden with part of the cloſure of tymber that was ordeyned to cloſe in the fielde, and certain maſter carpenters and artificers with them, and ſo they were brought to London, whereat the king had great joy, and all the Londoners."

"The king of France returns to Paris; and ſo broke up this moſt wonderful voyage for this time," adds the Chronicle, "which coſt the realme of France a hundred thouſand franks thirtie times told, which of Engliſh money was 333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* after nine frankes to the pounde. And ſuch an end have every ſimilar attempt."

The particulars of the expedition are taken from an elaborate extract made from the chronicles of the time, by Craven Ord, eſq. F. R. S. and A. S.

* "Many a man," ſays Froyſſart, "ſorrowed long after; but by cauſe the commons ſawe it was *needful*, they ſaid, it is not againſt reaſon that we be taxed now, and ſo give of our goods to knightes and ſquyres to defend their herytages and ours."

Account.

Account of the Theatre of Saguntum, tranſlated from the Latin. Emmanuel Martini to the moſt Illuſtrious and Honourable Antony Felix Zondadari, Archbiſhop of Damaſcus, and Pontifical Legate to the Catholic King.

WHEN we lately converſed together upon various ſubjects, and one thing drawing out another as uſual in converſation, mention happened to be made of the theatre at Saguntum; which, when I ſaid I had in every particular deſcribed in a draught thereof taken by me, you expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing it, together with certain ſhort notes or obſervations added by me, not ſo much for the ſake of ſhewing my learning, as explaining of a very obſcure matter. Behold it, therefore, moſt honoured ſir, reſtored and brought to light from the darkneſs of oblivion, although in tattered and obſolete clothing. The true and priſtine ſtructure whereof, traced out by all its veſtiges, I ſhall conſecrate to late poſterity in as brief a manner as I can.

The theatre of Saguntum is ſituate in a moſt fit and healthy place; for it opens itſelf againſt the north and the riſing ſun, adjacent to a moſt pleaſant valley, which a river flows beſide, and has the eaſtern ſea in proſpect. It is defended from ſouthern and weſtern blaſts by the interpoſition of a mountain, by which it is ſurrounded, and, as it were, embraced in its boſom: wherefore it admits only the northern and eaſtern vital breezes to breathe upon it; the reſt, that are hurtful to human health, being entirely excluded; which Vitruvius admoniſhes, in the firſt place, to be taken care of in building theatres; for when the minds of the ſpectators are overflowing there with the greateſt pleaſure, their bodies, being unmoved and captivated, and allured by delight, have gaping paſſages, and open pores, into which the ſurrounding winds eaſily enter, which, if they be noxious and unhealthy, or any ways infected, may bring deſtruction by their blaſt; therefore their force from the ſouth is to be avoided: for when the ſun fills the curvity of the theatre with its ſcorching heat, the air ſhut in the hemicycle, and having no power of getting out, grows hot with its continual turning, circumaction, and whirling rotation. From whence it comes to paſs, that the bodies being exhauſted of their natural moiſture, are burnt up, and being overheated, fall into diſeaſes. Moreover, our theatre is, by the diſpoſition and nature of the place, prepared for ſounding, which is very neceſſary therein; for the voice being collected by that curvity and embrace of the mountain, climbing with increaſe up the ſummit, ſtrike ſtronger upon the ear with a diſtinct termination of words, which I myſelf experienced; for Emmanuel Mignana, a moſt worthy gentleman, and moſt near to me in all friendly offices, recited to me ſome verſes of Aſinius, out of the ſcene in Amphitryon, which I heard very well from the top gallery or cavea, which, as I live, filled me with incredible pleaſure; for thoſe rocks are vocal, nor that only, but five times ſounding: and thus much for the poſition of the theatre. Now as to the ſtructure—The ambit then of its hemicycle, which the Greeks call Primetron, has 564 of our palms or ſpans, or three quarters of a Roman foot; and, meaſuring its diameter,

the line being drawn from each horn, it has 330 and a half of the like palms or ſpans: The height of the theatre, from the orcheſtra to the top gallery is 133 palms and an half; but, to the top of the remaining ſummit of the decayed party wall, 144 palms and an half: alſo the diameter of the orcheſtra hath 96 palms; from which it is certain the deſcription of the whole theatre ariſes, as it were, from a centre; therefore the name orcheſtra was allotted by the Greeks, becauſe in the Greek theatre it had been a place deſtined for dancing and geſticulations; yet among the Romans it had quite another uſe, at leaſt from what C. Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius Libodid; who, being the Curule Ædiles, following the ſentence of the ſuperior Africanus, aſſigned the orcheſtra for the ſeats of the ſenators: in that therefore, in the moſt honourable place, ſat the prince or prætor in his ſtall, the veſtiges whereof remain in the middle of the orcheſtra to the podium; afterwards were placed the veſtals, prieſts, ambaſſadors, ſenators; and, leſt the proſpect of the ſtage ſhould be taken away by any objects ſtanding before them, it was very carefully contrived to a nicety that the pavement of the orcheſtra, from the prince's ſtall, ſhould ariſe gently and by degrees into an acclivity up to the loweſt ſtep of the equeſtrians, the pavement being lowered and cut away by degrees into a circle, in the manner of a belt, by placing and fixing the ſeats: a ſpace being left between the orders of the ſeats a little more advanced that it might afford the coming in and going out, which I believe no one has hitherto taken notice of; and indeed it had ſlipped me, unleſs, having called for diggers, I had not bid them remove the earth with which the whole orcheſtra was buried. From the bottom of the orcheſtra the equeſtry broke forth, or 14 ſteps ſet apart for the equeſtrian order, by the Roſcian and Julian theatric laws, to the ſeventh of which ſteps two vomitories afford paſſage, which therefore is wider, leſt by the ſtraitneſs of the place the equeſtrian multitude ſhould be preſſed, but might pour themſelves into their ſeats with free paſſage. And becauſe this theatre is founded in the hardeſt ſtone, whoſe ſtubbornneſs deludes the attempts and induſtry of art, the equeſtry has only two doors in it, which, when they are not ſufficient to admit the number of the knights, there are added from thence a double ladder, in the open and ſpreading place of which the bottom ſteps go under the arch in the proſcene itſelf. A precinction or incloſure reſerves the higheſt ſtep of the equeſtrian order, by which name the ancients called the ſtep that was doubly higher and broader than the reſt, which as it were begirt and incloſed the reſt that were ſmaller, which the Greeks called Diazomata, for they were a ſort of tranſverſe girdles, from whence they are by ſome called belts, that is, they are breaks and little beds of ſteps running circular; which are ſo inſerted, that the diſtinctions of the ſenatorian, equeſtrian, and plebeian orders might appear manifeſt to the eyes by that diviſion, nor any communication be between them; afterwards follow twelve ſteps of the populace in a higher and more remote place, in which ſat ſpectators of the plebeian order, which they call the upper gallery or cavea. Into theſe ſeats very many paſſages lead, and thence to the inner arches

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or neſt of chambers; alſo the upper portico, whoſe uſe was twofold, that it might have where the people might retire themſelves if any ſudden ſtorm or ſhower ſhould interrupt the plays; and that the theatre beneath might be defended from the injury of waters and filth. That portico hath eight fore doors, and as many back doors oppoſite, yet oblique, and which mutually face each other; that by the wind admitted through them the theatre might be refreſhed, nor the air unmoved grow torpid and ſtagnant.—Into theſe doors a flight of ſeven ſteps afford aſcent, breaking out from the lower ſtep of the equeſtrians at the orcheſtra, not indeed interſected therefrom and varying, as in moſt amphitheatres, but in a direct leading and continuity; by which it comes to paſs that they form wedges very long, from the loweſt ſeats to the top, very pleaſant to the eyes of the ſpectators; and theſe ſtairs were ways between the wedges to aſcend or deſcend; for whereas thoſe degrees or ſteps of ſeats were higher than a man's ſtep, and not without the greateſt difficulty to be climbed, theſe ſtairs are contrived nicely for the purpoſe, by placing a third ſtep between every two, unleſs where the precinctions or incloſures intervene, for there four are inſerted.—The breadth of the higheſt of theſe is three palms and a half, and the height of the ſteps a palm and an inch, which twofold meaſure the degrees of ſeats exhibit. Theſe ſtairs are ſo made that the multitude, ſo ſeated, might have an eaſy exit, and as it were at hand where to turn themſelves, left, being there incloſed, they might be driven to undergo the neceſſities of the body. Moreover, thoſe that were ſhut out of the wedge, or excuneated, to uſe a theatric expreſſion, beheld the ſhows ſtanding.—There is that difference between the inner doors and outer, that the inner are ſquare and open wider, and the outer are arched and leſs. There is beſides an upper portico 15 palms broad and a quarter, and twelve palms and a ſpan high, therefore the breadth is greater than the height. Wherefore? For this reaſon, that left while they are crowding in or going out, they ſhould labour in the ſtrait of the portico. Which portico does not reach to the angles of the theatre, but ſtands much before, cut off from both by an interval of 35 palms, which the quatern ſteps filled, ſeparated by that only from the cavea or gallery placed under it, becauſe the top of the popular or place of the common people exceeded the reſt in breadth, and was, as it were, a certain boundary or little ſpace diſtinguiſhing the ſuperior order from the inferior: from whence it may be gueſſed the lictors, tipſtaves, ſummoners, and other attendants of the magiſtrates, ſat in that place, as well to be ready at call, as to deter the cavea or gallery beneath from contention and ſtriſe, and break off the inſolence of quarrelſome fellows, which I find to have been the cuſtom at Athens from the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes's Eirenes, to which opinion I am the more inclined, becauſe certain ſecret ladders lead from thoſe very ſteps through hidden meanders into dungeons, one of which remains hitherto, and fetters or iron rings fixed in that wall to bind malefactors; add to this, that this very portico is broke in the middle, and a ſpace left

left of 22 palms, in which both the quatern ſtairs reach out ſeven palms and a half, which I judge were built to the end that the officers might overlook the ſeats every where, and keep the peace. In the middle ſpace of which ſome veſtiges, although decaying and almoſt obliterated, inform us that there was a ſtatue, for its baſe indicates as much; becauſe even the ratio itſelf of the ſtructure and the proper modulation of the work required it, to deſign the middle of the hemicycle. The ſides of this baſe are ſix palms and a ſpan. Upon the top ſtep of the cavea or gallery, at each angle of the theatre, open ſix arched windows, three in each. What to let in air? Truly I follow no one, if any one can tell me their uſe, I ſhould be very much obliged to him. Upon the portico alſo four ſteps are placed. But to what order? Truly the ſenatorian ſat in the orcheſtra, the equeſtrian in the fourteen, the plebeian in the cavea. What is left beſides? When I revolve the ſteps in my mind, I am almoſt caſt down from my ſtep. Yet if in an affair ſo obſcure I may conjecture, I ſhall have believed that the ſervants, freedmen, courtezans, and others of that ſort of ſhameleſs vulgar rabble, were ſpectators from thoſe diſtant ſteps, to the end that filth of that ſort might not be joined with the more honeſt order of the plebeians. The ſtructure of the upper degree helps my opinion, for it is the wideſt of all, although you bring in to the reckoning the precinctions themſelves, which I think was done for this reaſon, that there might be a place in the plain for ſetting forms for the ſeat of the women: for, by the decree of Auguſtus, it was not lawful for them to be ſpectators but from the upper place, where alſo the moſt deſpicable men ſtood leaning upon the wall, and

> The rabble mob, in ſordid veſtments, ſtood
> Among the wenches' ſeats, and paſtimes view'd,

as Calpurnius ſays. From the lictors' ſeats into this top gradation, certain riſes afford aſcent as well to the two horns of the theatre, as in the middle, that by them the officers might run in time, if by chance their help ſhould be wanted, into thoſe ſeats of the rabble. What aſcent and what entrances were theſe? The beſt truly, and diſpoſed with a certain proper deſign; for there are certain ladders behind the top portico thrown backward and forward, ſtanding againſt the mountain, which lead to certain little arched doors in the wall's extremity, of which only one remains. In the back part of this mutilated wall certain of them are prominent, ſeparate from one another by the ſpace of ten palms and a half in a ſquare form, two palms on every ſide. To the explanation of which you ought to know, that formerly umbrellas were wont to be ſuperinduced as well to theatres as amphitheatres, for keeping off the heat and ſun, which were bound to poles, ſet up under them extending tranſverſe with ropes, that they might not flutter by hanging looſe: therefore thoſe poles being thrown acroſs through round holes excavated in the upper ſtones, or tied with ropes, for both uſed to be done, they were received by thoſe ſtays, in the middle of which, for the ſake of firmneſs, certain little grooves were dug, leſt by the ſlipperineſs of the ſtone, the cords ſlipping and unfirm ſhould give way.

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The party wall rising over these steps is by the injury of time destroyed, and a very little part of it remaining, and that indeed without ridge or coping. The degrees of seats are higher than master workmen allow for a model; for they have two palms and a quarter, far otherwise than Vitruvius has prescribed. The breadth answers exactly to Vitruvius's rule, for it is of three palms and a quarter: you would wonder at such an effuse breadth, nothing truly more of use to the sitters; to wit, lest the spectators in the next seat above should be troubled with the continual compression and retraction of their legs, or those beneath them be offended with their feet: perhaps also that the passage behind might open, if any should rise up or enter late.— The height of the precinction or partition is twofold, according to prescription of art, for it is of four palms and a span. Also the breadth six palms and a quarter. Into these seats a passage opens through many doors, which the vulgar called vomitories; from whence men entering in a crowd, pour themselves into the seats as though they were vomited. Into these porticos two passages lead: one above and uncovered, of which we have said enough: the other beneath, creeping through the hidden bowels of the mountain, in the manner of a coney burrow, and receiving light from those very doors; unless you had rather call this a vault than a portico, which is nine palms and a quarter broad and twelve high; a preposterous structure, when indeed the breadth ought to exceed the height for that reason which we alleged when we treated of the dimension of the other portico: but what could the architect do, the mountain resisting? He was driven by a certain necessity of the place to that strait. For lest you should be ignorant, this work was wrought from the caved rock: from whence it runs not in equal breadth, but in bending form, and on both sides is by degrees narrowed and straitned. In each horn of the theatre there remain many vestiges, but which have suffered much by the injury of so many ages, but which abundantly testify the majesty of the work. In which various arches are to be seen, some half ruined, some still remaining, which sustained the co-operture of the scene, to make use of Vitruvius's expression, by a certain malignant fate destroyed, nor in any place appearing. The whole gradation of this theatre (at a moderate computation, not reckoning man by man and span by span, and excluding all the stairs and passages which were vacant for ascent and descent) was capable of containing seven thousand four hundred and twenty-six men; to which ought to be added those who sat in the upper degree over the portico, or in chairs placed there, or who were standing spectators leaning upon the party wall, which I judge to be about a thousand.— Also there was very ample order in the orchestra, the ambit of the hemicycle whereof seemed to me to admit six hundred seats in its embrace, which, being collected together, renders the sum total of men nine thousand and twenty-six; and these particulars for explaining the aspect of the theatre at this day, I thought was proper for me to take notice of in the most brief and exact manner, passing by those things which seemed to pertain rather to ornament and show of learning than

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my purpoſe. Now then let us ſpeak of the front of the theatre. In that is the proſcene, ſtage, and ſcene: they call that ſpace the proſcene which is extended before the ſcene in which the ſtage was raiſed, whereon the actors of the play came forth. Nothing in our theatre is left of the ſtage, beſides the foundation of the wall, which is diſtant about twelve palms from the orcheſtra; the height of which wall, according to the architect rule, ſeems to have been only five feet or ſix palms of our * meaſure, and two-thirds; ſo that thoſe who ſat in the orcheſtra might ſee the geſture of the actors: therefore the ſtage was lower than the ſcene, which is alſo to be found in our theatre. They called all that by the way of ſcene which ſpread out from the bounds of the theatre between its two horns; the length whereof to the diameter of the orcheſtra was double, as appears by the writings of the ancients. That in our theatre is almoſt totally fallen, except only the running out party wall, which was the limit between the ſcene and the ſtage, and reached to the angles of the theatre. From the orcheſtra to the ſcene are 28 palms and a half, twelve of which were vacant for the proſcene, the reſt aſſigned to the ſtage: therefore the breadth of the ſtage was ſixteen palms and a half, which ſpace ſeemed convenient for the ſcenical actions. In the middle of this party wall, which reſpects the centre of the orcheſtra, remains a ſemicircular plain, from whoſe teſtudinary or convex bending ariſes a wall, which is hollowed in manner of a ſhell, that they called the royal valves from its ornament and amplitude; on both were ſeveral doors of the ſame form, but the leſſer, which they called the ſtrangers' doors, becauſe they were deſtined for gueſts and ſtrangers coming into the ſcene, certain veſtiges of which are remaining in the ſcene; eſpecially thoſe on the left of it, as may be ſeen by its rotundity: that on the right has entirely periſhed; unleſs that the relics of each wall ſhews ſome marks at the angles of a lateral opening. In each of their little areas were placed triangular machines turning on axles, on the fronts of which were depicted occaſionally the plays which they acted, to wit, a comic ſcene for comedies, a tragic for tragedies, a ſatiric for ſatire; which ſorts of ſcenes were ornamented to a nicety by a different and various deſign; to wit, the tragic with columns, enſigns, head-pieces, and other things raiſed with royal magnificence; but the comic with private buildings and walls and windows, ſhewing the ſpecies of common houſes; and the ſatiric had trees, caves, mountains, and other things of that ruſtic ſort, drawn in arbour-work; therefore thoſe machines were ſuddenly turned round for the argument of the play, and thereupon ſhewed another face of picture.—From theſe machines the gods ſpoke. Behind the ſcene remain many walls half ruined, of which that which ſupports the little areas exhibit certain grooves or furrows, in which I judge were inſerted ductile beams to be drawn upward to the ſcaffolds. In the reſt of the party walls I judge were built thoſe places from whence the gods appeared to

* Spaniſh.

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ſpeak from on high over the ſcene. There was a high turning machine like a watch tower, from whence Jupiter fulminated. Another place was behind the ſcene, in which with bladders filled with pebbles, and turned by the air, they imitated the breaking of thunders. Add to theſe the dreſſing rooms, in which there was chiefly need of room and ſpace when they prepared for the choruſſes, and there were kept the ſcenical dreſſes, and the reſt of the inſtruments and furniture of the ſcene; for, from thence were brought forth all neceſſaries for the plays: even at this day we enjoy a remaining part of theſe dreſſing rooms at the left ſide of the ſcene; and the reaſon why this theatre is ſituated on the declivity of the mountain is, becauſe it had ſtreams of water running down, by the torrent and force of the fall whereof it would have grown old in a ſhort time. There are walls placed higher, extending in the manner of wings, which to this edifice were as a bank, and, as I may ſay, hedged and defended it againſt the incurſions of the waters, by the repulſe of which the ſtreams of water being broken and ſeparated, were turned off with a harmleſs fall through the broken precipices of the mountain; but thoſe waters which rained in ſhowers, falling into the ſewer of the orcheſtra, went under through the proſcene ſtage, beneath what was their privy, which received all that flood, and remains ſtill. The inveſtigation whereof I willingly underwent, together with Vincentius Turreſius, a moſt accompliſhed youth, and in ſtricteſt friendſhip with me, who alſo was my helper in meaſuring this work, and in bringing out the truth from its ruins and veſtiges almoſt aboliſhed.

Theſe are what from my poor ſtore you, worthy ſir, are welcome to for illuſtrating the veſtiges of the theatre of Saguntum. In which I doubt not there may be many things which may little pleaſe your clear judgement, which I pray and beſeech you earneſtly you would render more correct; for I know how knowing your countrymen are of this ſort of antiquities; neither am I ignorant how much you are bent upon thoſe ſtudies: from whence I have held the city and Italy to be the miſtreſs of all things: Italy the nurſe of literature and ſtudies, the top column of learning, and the moſt fertile of all countries in the production of wits.—Farewell.

From my Study,
6th January, 1709.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Of the Proſe ſtyle introduced by Addiſon and his Contemporaries; extracted from an Eſſay on the Variations of Engliſh Proſe, from the Revolution to the preſent time, by Thomas Wallace; from the Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy.

WITH Addiſon and his contemporaries, ſays Mr. Wallace, originated the firſt variation that occurred, ſubſequent to the revolution, in the compoſition of Engliſh proſe. Though the diffuſe ſtyle ſtill continued to prevail, it was no longer the looſe, inaccurate and clumſy ſtyle by which the compoſitions of his predeceſſors were diſgraced. So great, indeed, was the improvement, and ſo ſtriking the variation introduced by Addiſon, that he who compares the productions of this elegant writer with thoſe of the beſt writers of 1688, will find it difficult to avoid ſurpriſe, how, with ſuch precedents before him, he could have riſen at once to a degree of excellence in ſtyle, which conſtitutes him a model for imitation. The forced metaphor, the dragging clauſe, the harſh cadence, and the abrupt cloſe, are all of them ſtrangers to the works of Addiſon. In the ſtructure of his ſentences, though we may ſometimes meet marks of negligence, yet we can ſeldom find the unity of a ſentence violated by ideas crowded together, or the ſenſe obſcured by an improper connection of clauſes. Though, like his predeceſſors, he frequently uſes two words to expreſs one idea, yet, in this inſtance, he is leſs faulty than they; and, among the variations introduced by him, we muſt reckon a more ſtrict attention to the choice of words, and more preciſion in the uſe of them.

Of figurative language, Addiſon has always been acknowledged the moſt happy model. He was, indeed, the firſt of the Engliſh proſe writers who were equally excellent in the choice and in the management of their figures. Of thoſe who preceded him, it has been obſerved that they were frequently unhappy in both inſtances; that their metaphors either were ſuch as tended rather to degrade their ſubject than to give it dignity and elevation; or that when they were well choſen, they were ſpoiled by the manner in which they were conducted, being detained under the pen until their ſpirit evaporated, or traced until the likeneſs vaniſhed. Addiſon avoided both faults: his metaphors are ſelected with care and taſte, or rather ſeem to ſpring ſpontaneouſly from his ſubject; they are exhibited to the mind but for a moment, that

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the leading traits of ſimilitude may be obſerved while minute likeneſſes are diſregarded—like thoſe flaſhes of electric fire which often illumine a ſummer's night, they ſhed a vivid, though a tranſient luſtre, over the ſcene, and pleaſe rather by the brightneſs with which they gild the proſpect than the accuracy with which they ſhew its beauties.

Should it be doubted, whether the improvement of ſtyle, which took place in the time of Addiſon—that variation which ſubſtituted uniform and correct neatneſs in compoſition, for what was looſe, inaccurate and capricious,—be juſtly attributed to him—the doubt will vaniſh when it is remembered that in no work prior to his time is an equal degree of accuracy or neatneſs to be found, and even among thoſe periodical papers to which the moſt eminent of his contemporary writers contributed, the Clio of Addiſon ſtands eminently conſpicuous. It was, indeed, from the productions of that claſſic and copious mind that the public ſeems to have caught the taſte for fine writing which has operated from that time to the preſent, and which has given to our language perhaps the greateſt degree of elegance and accuracy of which it is ſuſceptible; for if any thing is yet to be added to the improvement of the Engliſh ſtyle, it muſt be more nerve and muſcle, not a nicer modification of form or feature.

——ſectantem levia, nervi
Deficiunt animique:

While Addiſon was communicating to Engliſh proſe a degree of correctneſs with which it had been, till his time, unacquainted, Swift was exemplifying its preciſion and giving a ſtandard for its purity. Swift was the firſt writer who attempted to expreſs his meaning without ſubſidiary words and corroborating phraſes. He nearly laid aſide the uſe of ſynonimes in which even Addiſon had a little indulged, and without being very ſolicitous about the ſtructure or harmony of his periods, ſeemed to devote all his attention to illuſtrate the force of individual words. Swift hewed the ſtones, and fitted the materials for thoſe who built after him; Addiſon left the neateſt and moſt finiſhed models of ornamental architecture.

Of the character which is here given of theſe two writers it is unneceſſary to give proof by quoting paſſages from their works, for two reaſons; the one is, that their works are in the hands of every body; the other, that the qualities which we attribute to their ſtyle are ſo obvious that it were ſuperfluous to illuſtrate them.

Beſides thoſe firſt reformers of the ſtyle of 1688, there were others, contemporary with them, who contributed to promote the work which they did not begin. Bolingbroke and Shaftſbury, like Addiſon, were elegant and correct, and ſeem from him to have derived their correctneſs and elegance. Of this, ſo far as it concerns Shaftſbury, there is a moſt remarkable proof.* His tract, entitled "An Enquiry concerning Virtue," was in the hands of the public in 1699, in a ſtate very different indeed from that in which his lordſhip publiſhed it, in the year 1726. It partook of all the faults which were prevalent in the ſtyle of that

* See Blair's Lectures.

day, but particularly in the length of its periods, and the inartificial connection of them. In the edition of 1726 those errors were in a great measure corrected; the sentences are broken down, and molded with much elegance into others less prolix; and sharing in some degree all the beauties of Addison's style, except those which perhaps his lordship could not copy, its ease and simplicity. Indeed Shaftsbury, in the form in which we now have him, appears to be more attentive than Addison to the harmony of his cadence, and the regular construction of his sentences; and certainly if he has less simplicity has more strength. Bolingbroke, too, participating in correctness with Addison, has some topics of peculiar praise; he has more force than Addison, and, what may appear strange, when we consider how much more vehement and copious he is, has more precision. The nature of the subjects on which Bolingbroke and Shaftsbury wrote naturally tended to make them more attentive to precision than Addison. These subjects were principally abstract morality and metaphysics—subjects of which no knowledge can be attained but by close and steady thinking, or communicated but by words of definite and constant meaning. The language of Addison, however elegant in itself, or however admirably adapted by its easy flow to those familiar topics which are generally the subject of diurnal essays, was too weak for the weight of abstract moral disquisition, and too vague for the niceties of metaphysical distinction. It was fitted for him whose object was to catch what floated on the surface of life; but it could not serve him who was to enter into the depths of the human mind, to watch the progress of intellectual operation, and embody to the vulgar eye those ever fleeting forms under which the passions vary.

Propriety in Females. From Mrs. Mores Strictures on Female Education.

PROPRIETY is to a woman what the great Roman critic says action is to an orator: it is the first, the second, and the third, requisite. A woman may be knowing, active, witty, and amusing; but without propriety she cannot be amiable. Propriety is the centre in which all the lines of duty and of agreeableness meet. It is to character what proportion is to figure, and grace to attitude. It does not depend on any one perfection; but it is the result of general excellence. It shows itself by a regular, orderly, undeviating course; and never starts from its sober orbit into any splendid eccentricities; for it would be ashamed of such praise as it might extort by any aberrations from its proper path. It renounces all commendation but what is characteristic; and I would make it the criterion of true taste, right principle, and genuine feeling, in a woman, whether she would be less touched with all the flattery of romantic and exaggerated panegyric, than with that beautiful picture of correct and elegant propriety, which Milton draws of our first mother, when he delineates

"Those thousand *decencies* which daily flow
From all her words and actions."

To place a just remark, hazarded by the diffident, in the most advantageous

tageous point of view; to call the attention of the inattentive to the obſervation of one, who, though of much worth, is perhaps of little note: theſe are requiſites for converſation, leſs brilliant, but far more valuable, than the power of exciting burſts of laughter by the brighteſt wit, or of extorting admiration by the moſt poignant ſallies.

For wit is of all the qualities of the female mind that which requires the ſevereſt caſtigation; yet the temperate exerciſe of this faſcinating quality throws an additional luſtre round the character of an amiable woman; for to manage with diſcreet modeſty a dangerous talent, conſers a higher praiſe than can be claimed by thoſe in whom the abſence of the talent takes away the temptation to miſemploy it. But to women, wit is a peculiarly perilous poſſeſſion, which nothing ſhort of the ſobermindedneſs of Chriſtianity can keep in order. Intemperate wit craves admiration as its natural aliment; it lives on flattery as its daily bread. The profeſſed wit is a hungry beggar that ſubſiſts on the extorted alms of perpetual panegyric; and, like the vulture in the Grecian fable, its appetite increaſes by indulgence. Simple truth and ſober approbation become taſteleſs and inſipid to the palate, daily vitiated by the delicious poignancies of exaggerated commendation.

But if it be true that ſome women are too apt to affect brilliancy and diſplay in their own diſcourſe, and to undervalue the more humble pretenſions of leſs ſhowy characters; it muſt be confeſſed alſo, that ſome of more ordinary abilities are now and then guilty of the oppoſite error, and fooliſhly affect to value themſelves on not making uſe of the underſtanding they really poſſeſs. They exhibit no ſmall ſatisfaction in ridiculing women of high intellectual endowments, while they exclaim with much affected humility, and much real envy, that "they are thankful they are not geniuſes." Now, though one is glad to hear gratitude expreſſed on any occaſion, yet the want of ſenſe is really no ſuch great mercy to be thankful for; and it would indicate a better ſpirit, were they to pray to be enabled to make a right uſe of the moderate underſtanding they poſſeſs, than to expoſe with a too viſible pleaſure the imaginary or real defects of their more ſhining acquaintance. Women of the brighteſt faculties ſhould not only "bear thoſe faculties meekly," but conſider it as no derogation, cheerfully to fulfil thoſe humbler duties which make up the buſineſs of common life, always taking into the account the higher reſponſibility attached to higher gifts. While women of lower attainments ſhould exert to the utmoſt ſuch abilities as providence has aſſigned them; and while they ſhould not deride excellencies which are above their reach, they ſhould not deſpond at an inferiority which did not depend on themſelves; nor, becauſe God has denied them ten talents, ſhould they forget that they are equally reſponſible for the one he has allotted them, but ſet about devoting that one with humble diligence to the glory of the giver.

Female Senſibility. From the ſame.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the fine theories in proſe and verſe to which this topic has given

birth, it will be found that very exquisite sensibility contributes so little to happiness, and may yet be made to contribute so much to usefulness, that it may, perhaps, be considered as bestowed for an exercise to the possessor's own virtue, and as a keen instrument with which he may better work for the good of others.

Women of this cast of mind are less careful to avoid the charge of unbounded extremes, than to escape at all events the imputation of insensibility. They are little alarmed at the danger of exceeding, though terrified at the suspicion of coming short of what they take to be the extreme point of feeling. They will even resolve to prove the warmth of their sensibility, though at the expense of their judgement, and sometimes also of their justice. Even when they earnestly desire to be and to do right, they are apt to employ the wrong instrument to accomplish the right end. They employ the passions to do the work of the judgement; forgetting, or not knowing, that the passions were not given us to be used in the search and discovery of truth, which is the office of a cooler and more discriminating faculty; but that they were given to animate us to warmer zeal in the pursuit and practice of truth, when the judgement shall have pointed out what is truth.

Through this natural warmth, which they have been justly told is so pleasing, but which, perhaps, they have not been told will be continually exposing them to peril and to suffering, their joys and sorrows are excessive. Of this extreme irritability, as was before remarked, the ill-educated learn to boast as if it were an indication of superiority of soul instead of labouring to restrain it as the excess of a temper which ceases to be interesting when it is no longer under the control of the governing faculty. It is misfortune enough to be born more liable to suffer and to sin, from this conformation of mind; it is too much to allow its unrestrained indulgence; it is still worse to be proud of so misleading a quality.

Flippancy, impetuosity, resentment, and violence of spirit, grow out of this disposition, which will be rather promoted than corrected, by the system of education on which we have been animadverting; in which system, emotions are too early and too much excited, and tastes and feelings are considered as too exclusively making up the whole of the female character; in which the judgement is little exercised, the reasoning powers are seldom brought into action, and self-knowledge and self-denial scarcely included.

The propensity of the mind which we are considering, if unchecked, lays its possessors open to unjust prepossessions, and exposes them to all the danger of unfounded attachments. In early youth, not only love, but friendship, at first sight, grows out of an ill-directed sensibility; and in after-life, women under the powerful influence of this temper, conscious that they have much to be borne with are too readily inclined to select for their confidential connections, flexible and flattering companions, who will indulge and perhaps admire their faults, rather than firm and honest friends, who will reprove and would assist in curing them. We may adopt it as a general maxim, that an

an obliging, weak, yielding, complaiſant friend, full of ſmall attentions, with little religion, little judgement, and much natural acquieſcence and civility, is a moſt dangerous, though generally a too much deſired confidant: ſhe ſooths the indolence, and gratifies the vanity of her friend, by reconciling her own faults, while ſhe neither keeps the underſtanding nor the virtues of that friend in exerciſe. Theſe obſequious qualities are the "ſoft green" on which the ſoul loves to repoſe itſelf. But it is not a refreſhing or a wholeſome repoſe: we ſhould not ſelect, for the ſake of preſent eaſe, a ſoothing flatterer, who will lull us into a pleaſing oblivion of our failings, but a friend, who valuing our ſoul's health above our immediate comfort, will rouſe us from torpid indulgence to animation, vigilance, and virtue.

Miſcellaneous Thoughts, by Monteſquieu; tranſlated from his Poſthumous Works, juſt publiſhed at Paris.

TO take delight in reading, is to have the power of changing thoſe moments of laſſitude that viſit every man, for the moſt delicious moments of life.

What an unfortunate neceſſity is it in the conſtitution of man, that his underſtanding is ſcarcely matured when the organs of his body begin to fail!

A celebrated phyſician was aſked—If the commerce of the ſexes was prejudicial to health—"No," ſaid he, "if provocatives are not uſed." But I ſhould rank variety among provocatives.

It is a proof that merit is of the higheſt kind, when it continues to ſhine with accuſtomed luſtre, although merit of as high a rank is in its preſence.

I call genius a ſecret gift of the Deity, which the poſſeſſor diſplays unknown to himſelf.

He who runs after wit is apt to embrace folly.

I once ſaid to Madam du Châtelet—"You poſtpone your ſleep to read the philoſophers; you ſhould read the philoſophers, to haſten your ſlumbers."

Hope is the link that unites all our pleaſures.

The interval is too ſhort between the time of our being too young and too old.

It demands a great deal of ſtudy to acquire moderate knowledge.

Of thoſe who make companions of their ſervants, I have only to ſay, that vice is its own puniſhment.

Men of talents govern fools; and ſome fool or other often governs a man of talent.

When I reflect on our diſcoveries in natural philoſophy, I think we have gone very far for human beings.

Idleneſs ought to have been ranked among the puniſhments of hell; and moſt people place it among the joys of heaven.

On friends that are tyrannical though uſeful to us, my obſervation is—that love has compenſations which friendſhip has not.

Ordinary graces loſe part of their beauty by being ſet in competition with each other: graces of the higheſt rank acquire a brighter luſtre when oppoſed to each other.

Moſt virtues are relative to individuals, or to parts of the whole: ſuch are friendſhip, love of one's

country, compaſſion. But juſtice is relative to the whole; and when any action interferes with that, it is vice, though ranked among the virtues.

The ſucceſs of moſt enterpriſes depends upon knowing how much time is neceſſary to their ſucceſs.

That ought never to be attempted by the laws, which can be effected by the cuſtoms and manners of a people.

I have remarked that, to ſucceed in the world, one muſt have a vacant air with a ſubtle head.

One's dreſs ſhould be a little inferior to one's condition.

Supper deſtroys one half of Paris, and dinner the other.

I hate Verſailles, becauſe every body is little and mean there; but Paris I love, for there one finds great men.

If we were content to be happy, that would not be difficult; but we are ambitious to be more happy than others, and that is difficult, becauſe others appear to be happier than they really are.

Some people hate digreſſions; but I think he who underſtands their uſe is like one with long arms: he has more objects within his reach.

Men are of two ſorts: thoſe who think, and thoſe who amuſe themſelves.

A fine action is one that is beneficial to man, and whoſe accompliſhment requires talent.

The common people have generally good intentions and vicious manners.

Hiſtories are romances founded on facts.

A work gives celebrity to a man's name, and after that, his name gives celebrity to his works.

It is a nice point to know when to quit a company: an accurate knowledge of the world gives a readineſs in perceiving it.

Bravery and a love of glory are declining among us: it is of little moment to our happineſs to belong to one maſter or to another; but formerly, defeat in the field, or the reduction of a man's country, was the loſs of all that was dear to him, his country, family, and friends.

We ſhall never arrive at principles in finance, becauſe we never know more than that we do ſomething, and never what it is we do.

We do not now call a miniſter great, when he is an intelligent adminiſtrator of the public revenue, but when he is fertile in expedients to increaſe the revenues, and indefatigable in their application.

People love their grand-children better than their children, and it is becauſe they can eſtimate tolerably well the worth of the latter; but their knowledge of the former being leſs perfect, they flatter themſelves with vain hopes reſpecting them.

The reaſon why fools ſo often ſucceed in their plans is, that never diſtruſting themſelves, they always perſevere.

It is worthy to be obſerved, that the greater part of our pleaſures are unreaſonable.

Old men, who have ſtudied in youth, need only reſort to the memory for pleaſure or uſe, when others are obliged to begin to ſtudy.

Merit is a conſolation in every affliction.

A figurative ſtyle is ſo far from difficult, that a nation emerging from ignorance firſt employs the figurative and ſwelling ſtyle, and afterwards acquires the ſimple.

The

The difficulty of ſimplicity is, that it borders on the mean, although in itſelf moſt expreſſive and beautiful; while there is a wide diſtance between a figurative ſtyle and bombaſt.

There is very little vanity in feeling a neceſſity for rank or important ſtation to attract notice.

The heroiſm that reſults from juſt morals intereſts few; the heroiſm that is moſt deſtructive, is the admiration of the multitude.

Ariſtotle and Horace have told us of the virtues of their forefathers, and the degeneracy of their own times; and authors, from age to age, have done the ſame; but if they had ſpoken the truth, men at this day would be degenerated into brute animals.

Raillery is a panegyric on the ſpeaker's wit, at the expenſe of his humanity.

People whoſe minds are never profoundly occupied, are generally great talkers.

Obſcure people, who are ambitious of making a large fortune, are only preparing for the moment when they will be in deſpair for their want of birth.

A greater number of vices are occaſioned by our not ſufficiently eſteeming ourſelves, than from a too high opinion of our merit.

In the whole courſe of my life, I never ſaw any perſons univerſally deſpiſed but ſuch as univerſally kept bad company.

Experiments make the hiſtory of phyſics, and theories its fables.

Every nation and every man ought to be civilized; but every nation and man ought alſo to be free.

Modeſty becomes every one; but though we ſhould give it a place in our minds, we ſhould keep it in ſubjection to greater qualities.

Be ſingular, if you will; but let it be in the elevation of your thoughts. He that can diſtinguiſh himſelf no otherwiſe than by his dreſs, is a deſpicable creature in every country.

I once had the curioſity to keep an account of the number of times I heard a ſtory repeated, that never deſerved to have been related; during three weeks that it occupied the polite world, I heard it told two hundred and twenty-five times, which I thought quite ſufficient.

Modeſty is a ſpecies of fund that brings its owner great intereſt.

I viſited the galleys, and ſaw not one unhappy face; here, I ſee many unhappy faces, whoſe owners are ſeeking to be happy in the purſuit of blue ribbands.

This is a fine ſaying of Seneca—"*Sic præſentibus utaris voluptatibus, ut futuris non noceas.*"—"Enjoy the preſent hours, ſo as not to injure thoſe that follow."

There is an error which pervades the whole of the Greek philoſophy; its phyſics, morals, and metaphyſics, were incorrect for want of the diſtinction between poſitive and relative qualities. Thus Ariſtotle falls into miſtakes, ſpeaking of heat and of cold; and Plato and Socrates, of the beautiful, the good, the great, and the perfect. It is a great diſcovery, that there are no poſitive qualities. The terms, beautiful, good, great, &c. are attributes of objects relative only to the beings that contemplate them. This principle is a ſponge to wipe away almoſt every prejudice. The dialogues of Plato are a tiſſue of ſophiſms, wove through ignorance of this principle. Malebranche committed

mitted a thouſand miſtakes from the ſame cauſe.

Never did a philoſopher make men more perfectly feel the ſweetneſs of virtue, and the dignity of their nature, than Marcus Antoninus; he touches the heart, elevates the mind, enlarges the ſoul!

We muſt read the politics of Ariſtotle, and the two republics of Plato, to have a juſt idea of the laws and manners of the ancient Greeks. To look for thoſe in their hiſtorians, is as fruitleſs as to look for French laws and cuſtoms in the hiſtory of Lewis the Fourteenth's wars.

The republic of Plato is not more chimerical than that of Sparta.

To judge juſtly of men, we muſt overlook the prejudices of their times.

Our comedies begin to degenerate, becauſe our writers are in ſearch of the ridiculous in the paſſions, inſtead of the ridiculous in manners: the paſſions are not ridiculous in themſelves.

If I were to give the character of our poets, I would compare Corneille to Michael Angelo; Racine to Raphael; Marat to Correggio; La Fontaine to Titian; Deſpreaux to Dominichino; Crebillon to Guerchino; Voltaire to Guido; Fontenelle to Bernini; and La Motte to Rembrandt.

I have ſeldom given my opinion of any authors but thoſe I admire, having as ſeldom as poſſible read any authors but the beſt.

Fanaticiſm will find reaſons to juſtify a bad action, that an honeſt man could not find.

Prieſts are the ſycophants of princes when they cannot be their maſters.

The Engliſh eſteem but two things —wealth and merit.

The Engliſh are too much employed to be poliſhed.

The pride of ordinary people is quite as well founded as that betrayed by the cardinal de Polignac one day that I dined with him. He took the hand of the duke d'Elbœuf, heir of the houſe of Lorraine; and when the prince had retired, he gave me his hand. When he gave me his hand, it was a mark of his ſuperiority; when he took the hand of the prince, it was an expreſſion of his eſteem. It is in the ſame ſpirit that princes are familiar with their inferiors: theſe think it a proof of their regard; it is connected with no idea but of their condeſcention.

I confeſs my partiality for the ancients. I am ready to ſay with Pliny—"You are going to Athens, once the reſidence of the gods."

Thoughts on Education, by Michael de Montagne and others; from Seward's Biographiana.

THERE is not, perhaps, a country in Europe where education coſts ſo much as in England, and where it is attended with ſo little advantage to thoſe on whoſe account the money is expended. The plan of it is indeed excellent, but it is not ſuited to every diſpoſition of mind. The claſſical page is in vain opened, the thoughts and the actions of the Greek and Romans are in vain inculcated, to thoſe who have no reliſh for their energies and their grandeur; and there occaſionally appear minds upon which the moſt excellent inſtruction is thrown away, as there are ſoils upon which the higheſt culture has no operation.

tion.* "Montagne, in his 'Eſſay upon the Education of Children,' addreſſed to the counteſs of Foix, ſays very forcibly, "If your pupil be of ſo perverſe a diſpoſition, that he had rather hear one of Mother Gooſe's Tales, than the relation of an intereſting voyage, or a wiſe ſaying; if, at the ſound of the drum, which animates his young companions to arms, he flies off to that which anounces the tricks of a merry andrew; if in his heart he is not better pleaſed returning home covered with duſt, and victorious, from a battle with the trophy of his ſucceſs, than if he had gained the prize at a tennis match, or at a ball, there ſeems to be nothing better to do with him, than to make him a paſtry-cook in ſome provincial town (even if he was the ſon of a duke); according to that excellent obſervation of Plato, that children ſhould be educated, not according to the ſituation of their father, but according to their own degree of underſtanding."

"It is now," adds he, "an opinion commonly received, that it is a fooliſh thing to bring up a child at his mother's† apron-ſtring. Her natural affection (however wiſe ſhe may be) renders her too tender of her ſon, and makes her cocker him too much. She is incapable of correcting his faults, and cannot bear to ſee him fed hardly, and by chance, as he ought to be. She cannot bear to ſee him ſweating and covered with duſt after his exerciſe; ſometimes drinking hot, ſometimes drinking cold; nor to ſee him ride a horſe without a ſaddle; nor to attack a ſtrong fencer with his foil in his hand, nor let off his firſt gun. There is, indeed, no remedy for this; and whoever wiſhes to have his ſon ſpirited and manly muſt ſpare him in nothing, and often run counter to the rules of medicine.

Vitamque ſub dio & trepidis agat
In rebus:

Teach him fatigue and labour to deſpiſe,
Nor heed or boiſterous winds or frowning ſkies.

"You muſt not ſtiffen his mind, but his muſcles. The mind is too hard preſſed if it is not aſſiſted, and has too much to do if it alone is to ſupply the duty of both. I know but too well how much my mind ſuffers by keeping company with a body ſo tender, ſo ſuſceptible, and that poſſeſſes ſo little power of reſiſtance."

The education of Montagne was ſo well conducted in the opinion of Buchanan himſelf, who aſſiſted in it, that when he ſaw his old pupil many years after, he told him, "that he was writing on education, and ſhould make that of Montagne his model."

"Greek and Latin," adds Montagne, "are great ornaments to the underſtanding, but you may buy them too dear. I will mention my

* Doctor Johnſon ſaid one day, in talking of the difference between Engliſh and Scotch education, "that if from the firſt he did not come out a ſcholar, he was fit for nothing at all; whereas," added he, "in the laſt, a boy is always taught ſomething that may be of uſe to him; and he who is not able to read a page of Tully, will be able to become a ſurveyor, or to lay out a garden."

† "An infancy of indulgence," ſays the learned maſter of an Engliſh great ſchool, "produces a youth of diſſipation, a manhood of inſignificance, and an old age of contempt." Dr. Vincent's Sermon before the Philanthropic Society.

manner

manner of getting them at a cheaper rate, for the ſake of thoſe who may wiſh to make uſe of it. My father, having made all the inquiries that a man could poſſibly make of men of ſenſe and learning, reſpecting the beſt method of education, was well apprized of the inconvenience of the common method, and was told that the length of time which we take to learn the languages of the ancients (that coſt them hardly any pains) was the only reaſon why we did not obtain the greatneſs of mind and extent of knowledge which they poſſeſſed. (In my opinion, however, it is not the only reaſon). The firſt expedient my father made uſe of was when I was in the nurſe's arms, and almoſt before my tongue was cut, was to intruſt me to the care of a German, who is ſince dead, a famous phyſician in France, entirely ignorant of the French language, and an excellent Latin ſcholar.

"This perſon, who was hired on purpoſe, and at a great expenſe, had me continually in his arms. He had two perſons of leſs learning than himſelf to attend upon me, and to aſſiſt him, who underſtood no other language but Latin. With reſpect to the reſt of the family, it was an invariable rule that neither my father nor my mother, nor any of the lacqueys, or the chambermaids, ever ſpoke in my preſence any other words than a few Latin ones, which they had got by heart. It is aſtoniſhing what a progreſs every one made in that language. My father and my mother learned Latin enough to underſtand it, and acquired it ſufficiently to make uſe of it upon occaſion, as did all the ſervants who came more particularly in my way.* In fact, among us we Latiniſed every thing ſo much, that words in that language had even reached the neighbouring villages (where they ſtill remain), and where many Latin names of trades and of tools have gained ground. With reſpect to myſelf, I was more than ſix years of age before I underſtood any more French, or the *patois* of my country (that of Perigord), than I did of Arabic; and without pains, without reading any books, without grammar, without rules, without a rod, and without tears, I learned Latin as well as my ſchool-maſter could teach me; for I had no opportunity of changing it or of mixing it with any other language. Whenever I had a theme ſet me (as they do in colleges, where it is given in French), to me they gave it in bad Latin to turn it into good;

* "Montagne," ſays M. D'Argenſon (dans les Loiſirs d'un Miniſtre,) "had been taught Latin, if not entirely without a maſter, yet without the grammar, by practice and by uſe. In my time, the Jeſuits obliged their pupils to ſpeak Latin to the ſervants and the attendants of their colleges, when they wanted any of them. The Latin indeed that was gabbled upon theſe occaſions was very bad, it went by the name of Latin de Cuiſine (Scullion Latin); but ſuch as it was, it begot a habit of ſpeaking that language. They have ſince left off this cuſtom, under a pretence that it taught young folks to ſpeak Latin ill and ungrammatically. I have, however, often obſerved how uſeful this habit of ſpeaking Latin was to thoſe perſons, who, having occaſion to travel in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, were obliged to have recourſe to it to make themſelves underſtood. The habit they had acquired from their childhood made it very eaſy to them, whilſt thoſe perſons in our times who have been at college, however well they have been able to tranſlate, and though they have made rhymes and verſes in that language, have been very much embarraſſed when they attempted to ſpeak it."

and

and Nicolas Gronchi, who wrote de Comitiis Romanorum; William Gronchi, one of the commentators upon Ariſtotle; George Buchanan, that great Scotch poet; Marc Antony Muret, (that both France and Italy eſteemed the moſt eloquent men of our times), my private tutors, have often aſſured me, that in my infancy I had Latin ſo readily and ſo fluently, that they were afraid to ſpeak to me in that language. With reſpect to the Greek language (of which I knew little or nothing), my father intended that I ſhould learn it by art, by a new method, as a matter of ſport and paſtime. We uſed to toſs about our declenſions like thoſe who learn arithmetic and geometry by a backgammon table. For, beſides other things, he had been adviſed to make me have a taſte for knowledge and for my duty, by my own free will and my own deſire, and to cultivate my underſtanding without conſtraint, and with perfect freedom. Indeed, he carried this ſo very far, that becauſe ſome perſons have ſuppoſed that it hurts the tender brains of children to wake them in a morning haſtily and to drag them out of their ſleep (into which they are more deeply plunged than we are) of a ſudden and by violence, he cauſed me to be awakened by the ſound of ſome muſical inſtrument, and was never without a perſon for that purpoſe. This one example will ſuffice for the reſt, and will evince the providence and the affection which my kind father ever ſhewed to me".

Montagne, as a man who thought more than he acted, was ſubject to that affection of the ſtomach which is known by the name of the hypochondriacal diſeaſe; he therefore ſays feelingly, that he was never ſo well as when he was on horſeback.*

Montagne, like our doctor Johnſon, ſeems to have had the extremeſt horror of that contemptible and pernicious vice, lying.

"Lying," ſays he, "is indeed a ſcoundrel vice. We are men only, and we are connected one with the other only by the gift of ſpeech. If we did but conſider the enormity and the pernicious effects of this vice, we ſhould condemn a liar to death oftner than moſt other criminals.

"One is ſorry to ſee how often fooliſh parents correct their children for innocent errors, and that they chaſtiſe them for raſh actions that are of no conſequence, and are attended with no ill effects. Lying alone, and perhaps in a certain degree obſtinacy, ſeem to me to be two vices of which we ought in every inſtance to withſtand the birth and the progreſs. They are continually on the increaſe; and it is aſtoniſhing when the tongue has acquired a habit of lying, how impoſſible it is for it to break it off.—Indeed it often happens that men, whom you obſerve men of honour

* The great obſerver of nature Sydenham ſays, "That were a man poſſeſſed of a remedy that would do equal good to the human body as riding ſlowly on horſeback twice a day, he would be in poſſeſſion of the philoſophers ſtone. Yet how is this ſalutary remedy abuſed! How many hectical perſons are ſent out of the world by the uſe of it in their particular complaints by the ignorance of thoſe who do not know that every thing in this world is relative, and that there is nothing ſo dangerous, as well in medicine as in every thing elſe, as the improper application of excellence itſelf."

in every other reſpect, become ſubjected and enſlaved to this vice. If, indeed, like truth, a lie had but one face, we ſhould be upon better terms with it, for we ſhould then take for certain the direct contrary of what the liar ſaid. But the reverſe of truth has a hundred thouſand faces, and is indefinite. The Pythagoreans tell us that good is certain and finite, evil infinite and uncertain. A thouſand roads divert from the right way, one only can reach it. I really do not think that I could bring myſelf to tell a formal and an impudent lie to procure my deliverance from a great and imminent danger. One of the ancient fathers of the church tells us, that we are more pleaſed with the company of a dog with whom we are acquainted, than with that of a man whoſe language we do not underſtand; and how leſs agreeable to the nature of man is an untruth than abſolute ſilence?" *

Montague, ſpeaking rather what he thought than what he read, has an energy of thought, and a racineſs and force of expreſſion that we but rarely meet with in any of our eſſay writers, except Jeremy Collier. His eſſays would well bear another tranſlation than that which Cotton made of them, in whoſe flimſy language the ſpirit and nerve of the honeſt and ſpirited Gaſcon loſe all their ſtrength and effect.

Account of Elizabeth Woodcock, who remained buried in the Snow, without Food, for eight Days; from Annals of Medicine.

A Remarkable and well-authenticated caſe, of a woman ſurviving nearly eight days buried in the ſnow, without food, has occurred this ſpring, near Impington, in Cambridgeſhire. An account of it has been publiſhed by Mr. Okes, ſurgeon, from which we extract the following particulars: Elizabeth Woodcock, aged forty-two, of a ſlender delicate make, on her return from Cambridge, on the evening of the 2d of February, being fatigued and exhauſted with running after her horſe, which had ſtarted from her, and becoming incapable of proceeding, from the numneſs of her hands and feet, ſat down on the ground. At that time but a ſmall quantity of the ſnow had driſted

* The following account of the miſchiefs of telling an untruth was given to the compiler by Daniel Braithwaite, eſq. of the poſt-office:

A bank note had been ſtolen out of a letter; it was traced to the Bank, the clerks of which ſaid they had paid it to a young man that very much reſembled a perſon who was obſerved to have been preſent when the letter was delivered at the General Poſt-office. This was ſtrong preſumption; to make it, however, much ſtronger, the character of the young man was inquired into, and it appeared by the evidence of his brother clerks at the office, that he lived in a manner ſuperior to what they could afford, and that he had often told them that they did not live well enough for him. This had great weight with the jury; he was convicted and executed. It appeared unfortunately ſoon after his execution, that the young man had lived in the moſt frugal manner to ſupport his aged and diſtreſſed mother; and that, to prevent his being teazed by his young friends for not living in the way they did (which would have completely put a ſtop to his pious exertions in favour of his mother), he had recourſe to an untruth, which terminated ſo fatally and ſo diſgracefully a virtuous, uſeful, and benevolent life, tainted only by a little fooliſh vanity.

near

near her, but it began to accumulate very rapidly; and when Chesterton bells rang, at eight o'clock, she was completely inclosed and hemmed in by it. To the best of her recollection, she slept very little during the first night, or indeed any of the succeeding nights or days, except Friday the 8th.

On the morning of the 3d, the first after her imprisonment, observing before her a circular hole in the snow, about two feet in length, and half a foot in diameter, running obliquely upwards through the mass, and closed with a thin covering of ice or snow, she broke off a branch of a bush that was close to her, and with it thrust her handkerchief through the hole as a signal of distress.

In consequence of this, the external air being admitted, she felt herself very cold. On the second morning, the hole was again closed up, and continued so till the third day, after which time it remained open. She heard distinctly the ringing of the village-bells, noises on the high-way, and even the conversation of some gypsies who passed near her, but could not make herself heard. She easily distinguished day and night, and could even read an almanack she took from her pocket. The sensation of hunger ceased almost entirely after the first day. Thirst was throughout her predominant feeling; and this she had the plentiful means of allaying, by sucking the surrounding snow. She felt no gratification from the use of her snuff.

On Friday the 8th, when a thaw took place, she felt uncommonly faint and languid, her clothes were wet quite through by the melted snow, and the aperture became enlarged, and tempted her in vain to attempt to disengage herself.

On Sunday, the 10th, a little after mid-day, she was discovered. A piece of biscuit and a small quantity of brandy were given her, from which she found herself greatly recruited; but she was so much exhausted, that on being lifted into the chaise, she fainted.

Mr. Okes saw her that day on her way home. He found her hands and arms sodden, but not very cold, and her pulse did not indicate the great debility which might have been expected. Her legs were cold and her feet in a great measure mortified. She was directed to be put into bed without delay, and to take some weak broth occasionally, but no strong liquors, and not to be brought near the fire. Next day she was affected with symptoms of fever, her pulse was rising, her face was flushed, and her breathing short, occasioned probably by having taken too much food, and being incommoded by the crowd of visitors. Her feet were also in a complete state of mortification, her ancles cold and benumbed, and the integuments puffy. Cloths wetted with brandy were applied to her feet, some antisebrile remedies and a little opium were given her. The mortification, however, proceeded; and on the 17th of March, all her toes were removed, and both ossa calcis were bare in many parts. On the 17th of April, the date of the last report, the sores were free from sloughs, and diminishing daily in size; her appetite was become tolerably good; and her health was improving. Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, we find her death announced in the public prints of September, 1799.

Defence of the City.

Mr. Editor,

AS I find by the papers that one of our corps has written a letter, in which he complains that no two corps belonging to the city have been drilled in the ſame manner; and propoſes therefore, that we ſhould be incorporated into one grand body under the ſame diſcipline, you will permit me, I hope, to make ſome remarks on the ſcheme which ſtrikes at the independence of the city corps, as well as at their uſefulneſs.

It is very certain, ſir, that no two companies or aſſociations have been drilled in the ſame manner; but this letter-writer ought to have known that no two companies have the ſame duty to perform. Does he really think that the gentleman-like tactics neceſſary for the preſervation of Broad-ſtreet Ward, the emporium of Ruſſia merchants and bankers, would anſwer any purpoſe in the narrow defiles of Thames-ſtreet, or among the tortuoſities of Dowgate or St. Mary Hill? Does he imagine that the changes of poſition neceſſary in Cripplegate could be effected by the hollow ſquare in Walbrook; or that, though an oblique alinement may be wanted in Crooked-lane, the ſame motion would be expedient in the heights of Caſtle Baynard?

Believe me, ſir, this gentleman has very ſtrangely miſtaken the matter. Each of our corps has a certain property to defend of a certain ſpecies, and has accordingly been drilled for that purpoſe, and no other. It would have been perfectly unneceſſary for thoſe who are to defend the grain in Mark-lane to be taught the ſame manœvres that will be practiſed in defending the Tower. And undoubtedly thoſe brave men who may be poſted in the narrow paſſes of Watling-ſtreet may perform the duty intruſted to them, although they have not been taught the more roomy manœuvres of Threadneedle-ſtreet.

The burthen, as we ſay in the city, is fitted to the back; and, if each ward and pariſh is defended in its own way, of what conſequence is it that the whole corps have not been taught the ſame diſcipline? Surely, if it were neceſſary to multiply inſtances, I might aſk whether the ſame ſkill that might be ſucceſsfully employed againſt the enemy in Cheapſide would be any protection in 'Change-alley? or, whether thoſe who had gained vaſt credit on the Royal Exchange might not be in danger of tarniſhing their glories in Leadenhall-ſtreet?

It is impoſſible, Mr. Editor, that one ſet of manœuvres would anſwer for the whole city. You might as well endeavour to raiſe a corps of one height, one age, or one face. The great advantage of the variety of our diſcipline is, that every corps defends that in which it is moſt intereſted, and which it beſt underſtands. The ſame diſcipline that would ſuit a ſquare would be loſt in an alley; and a thoroughfare would require a degree of military experience ſuperior to a halfpenny-hatch. Beſides, ſir, let us only conſider the vaſt advantage we have over the enemy by knowing exactly every inch of the ground. Hence it will be found that the oldeſt inhabitants of every pariſh have been moſt diſtinguiſhed for their ſkill in poſitions; ſome recommending to fortify the veſtry, and others

others to keep a ſtrong detachment in the public houſe.

I hope therefore, ſir, that we ſhall hear no more of this grand incorporation plan. We might thereby be all taught alike; but I ſhrewdly ſuſpect we ſhould be all alike ignorant of our more immediate duties. Love of our country is, I grant, a general principle; but it is too general for actual ſervice. It gives way to love of our city, and that to love of our ward, of our pariſh, and laſtly, of our houſe and ſhop. Now, ſir, in tracing this backwards, we cannot go farther than our ward; and there, I preſume, for all neceſſary purpoſes, we ought to ſtop.

Not that I would have you to ſuppoſe that our diſcipline is ſo very diſcordant that we have nothing in common. I wiſh to obviate this prejudice. On the contrary, our ſhoulders are all equally ſquare—our heels are all in a line and cloſed—our knees ſtrait without ſtiffneſs—the like hath not been ſeen in London before! our toes are turned out, ſo that the feet of every pariſhioner (who is a houſe-keeper) forms an angle of 60 degrees; our arms hang near the body; the flat of our hands (where we uſed to take the money) touches the thigh; and our thumbs are all as far back as the ſeams of our ſmall-clothes. To this let me add, ſir, that our heads are erect, and neither turned to the right nor left; and, when you conſider that this is the caſe with every man paying ſcot and lot, you muſt allow we have made no ſmall proficiency in uniformity of diſcipline.

I have only to add one argument in favour of our being differently drilled; and it is this, that the more various our manœuvres are, the more chance there is that ſome of them are right. I am, ſir,

Your humble ſervant,

Orderly-room, St. Magnus. Capt. Shandy.

A Letter from the Pepper-box to the Salt-box; from the Gentleman's Magazine.

Kitchen-dreſſer, Sept. 12, 1798.

My dear Sal,

NOT having an opportunity of approaching near enough yeſterday, during either dinner or ſupper, to ſpeak to you, I have prevailed upon the coal-box, who has formed a coal-ition with the grate, and is now going to mend the parlour fire, to deliver this letter into your ſaline hands. Its purpoſe is to congratulate you on your promotion from this ſcene of drudgery and peſtilence to the exalted ſtation you now hold on the chimney-piece, whence you can look down upon the fire-ſhovel, tongs, and poker, lolling at their eaſe on the back of the fender with all the contempt that ſuch iron-ical ſloth and luxury can inſpire, proceeding generally from ſuch poliſhed perſons. As to my own part, I feel a ſad reverſe: clad in my humble ſuit of tin, I ſtand upon the kitchen ſhelf with my hand upon my ſide, ſubſervient to the will of every menial ſervant; and, although I ſtare at them with all my eyes (which you know are pretty numerous), and very frequently ſhake my head at them in a very violent and ſignificant manner, yet they regard me not, but rattle me about, till I am almoſt induced to cry out, 'Seven's the main.' Theſe inſults generally commence about one o'clock, and continue un-

til four, when I am dreſſed in a tranſparent ſuit of cloths with a ſilver cap, and put to ſtand round a maypole with five or ſix people of known taſte, clad in like manner, but of various properties and diſpoſitions. The firſt is a Mr. Muſtard, who, though eſteemed rather thick and clumſy, and ſomewhat difficult of acceſs, is nevertheleſs a ſharp pungent ſort of fellow at bottom, ſo much ſo, that he has been known to take people by the noſe who were not well-bread to it. One day, on his return from the dinner-table, he preſumed to bung up ſeven or eight of my eyes with the dirt of his coat, upon which I ſneezed in his face, and muſtered up courage, and challenged him to box (for I was then at all in the ring); but he thought fit to ſend an apology the next morning by the ſpoon. The latter is one of his chief leaders, and his mother's name was Pearl. The next to him is a Mr. Vinegar, a ſharp crabbed fellow; I wiſh he was mum. The next is a gentleman I know little about, though I hear he is connected with my family, as well as that of the latter gentleman. He poſſeſſes two very extraordinary qualities, that of being hot and chilly at the ſame time. The next is a Mr. Sugar-caſter (not Pollux), a hypocritical coxcomb, having a powdered head, with his eyes placed on the top, and generally bowing to ladies and children; of an apparently ſweet diſpoſition, but in reality acid at bottom, and one who, vinegar-like, ſometimes creates inteſtine diviſions.

Miſs Oil, the laſt in rotation, is of a quiet gentle diſpoſition, and no ways related to the family of the Caſtors, being derived from a branch of the Olives, who I wiſh were better known in Europe. Thus, my dear Sal, have I endeavoured to deſcribe to you my ſituation; and cannot help admiring you, who are reſorted to by all perſons of taſte, and without whoſe aſſiſtance every thing is inſipid. To be ſure, the tax laid upon you lately was rather a partial and *Pitti*-ful meaſure; but you may be aſſured that it will only ſerve to make you more dear to the farmer as well as the public in general. Adieu, my once cryſtalized love! I hope we ſhall ſoon mingle over the blade-bone of a ſhoulder of mutton, and, making a devil of the cares of this life, crackle many an hour together on the gridiron of felicity. Mr. Black and Mr. Cayenne ſent their redhot loves; and I remain yours, with the greateſt warmth, and at all ſeaſons,

Pepper-box.

The Univerſality of Genius; from the St. James's Chronicle, Feb. 11.

Mr. Editor,

HOW fortunate muſt it be, that, ſurrounded as we are by "wars and rumours of wars," we have leiſure to contemplate the vaſt increaſe of genius, which is obvious in every company and ſociety with which we may happen to mix. For my own part, I am almoſt tired of ſeeing ſo many geniuſes, and heartily wiſh we had a peace on the continent, that I might retire to ſome quarter where I could meet with a few plain, dull fellows like myſelf, and not run the riſk of being knocked down by a genius in every turning.

It was but the other day that I happened to call at my ſhoemaker's for a pair of liſt ſhoes, to preſerve my old bones. "Pray," ſays I,

"Mr.

"Mr. Solem, what do you intend to do with your ſon there? He is old enough now for ſome buſineſs." —"Why, maſter, I means to bind him to my own trade, for he has a great genus for it."

I have likewiſe the honour to employ a carpenter, who was recommended to me as a great genius in fitting up a room; and he very naturally introduced a painter, another prodigious genius at a varniſh.

Do we look at the fine arts, how immenſe the concourſe for geniuſes at one exhibition of paintings! The papers, indeed, do not treat them all with equal reſpect; but what does that ſignify? If a boy can daub ſomething like a blue boar, or a red cow, or a golden lion, do not all his friends ſet him down for a genius; and does he not commence gentleman on the ſtrength?—As to muſic, the whole nation may be deemed geniuſes, from the blind fiddler at the corner of the ſtreet, up to Cramer. What immenſe numbers of geniuſes may be heard piping, fiddling, and fluting, every night, in hopes that one day or other, they may *preſide** at their own benefit with tickets ten ſhillings and ſixpence each! I have a neighbour who had the honour of two muſical ſons, both eminent vocal performers; the one took his degrees in muſic at the Horſeſhoe, and the other at the Gooſe and Gridiron. Flattered by the encouragement of ſuch reputable academies, and having received diplomas from the "Odd Fellows," the Free and Eaſy, and the Jolly Friers," they commenced their career as geniuſes, and undoubtedly would have riſen to envied ſtations in our moſt faſhionable orcheſtra's, had not the eldeſt been murdered one morning, as he was ſtepping out of Mr. Kirby's houſe, in the Old Bailey, by a gang of twelve fellows, who had conſpired together for that purpoſe; and the youngeſt, I know not why, went twice over to America, where he remained on the firſt viſit ſeven years, and on the ſecond fourteen; after which, his parents received no tidings of this genius.

If we proceed to the ſiſter art, poetry, I am certain we ſhall find the proportion conſiderably increaſed, eſpecially as it unfortunately happens, that it is much eaſier to handle the pen than the bow or the bruſh, as poets are a kind of a people who do not wait until others call them geniuſes, but conſider themſelves in that light from the moment they have tagged two lines together.

I heartily wiſh that ſomething could be done to reduce the number of geniuſes, otherwiſe we ſhall certainly be very ſoon in want of artificers and handicraftſmen of all deſcriptions. It is wonderful how much genius ſtands in the way of trade. I am obliged to ſend three or four ſtreets off for my rolls in a morning, becauſe my baker has a genius for agriculture; and I ſeldom get a ſuit of clothes from my tailor, without perceiving that he has been employing his genius upon metaphyſics. My worthy oppoſite neighbour, an eminent merchant, is perpetually complaining of having an enlightened counting-houſe.—

* *Opus eſt interprete.* *Preſide* is the word now applied—not to the leader of the band, but to ſome diſtinguiſhed performer—as, "Mr. —— will *preſide* at the harpſichord." Dr. Johnſon did not live long enough to inſert this meaning of the word, or to inquire whether it had any?

"I have not a clerk," ſays he, "who is not fit for every thing but what I employ him on. I am in perpetual danger of having my invoices written in rhyme; my anſwers to foreign correſpondents would do credit to the Univerſity of Oxford; my book-keeper enters a room as if he were to ſpeak a prologue; and I have a clever young dog, who collects bills, but who is ſo intent upon your anſwers to correſpondents, that I can ſeldom get any to mine."

And laſtly, Mr. Editor, even in domeſtic matters, we have the advantage of being attended by geniuſes. My dame is always telling me what a genius our daughter is at mince-meat—and perſuaded me to allow my ſon to venture his neck on the Serpentine canal laſt froſt, becauſe he was a genius at ſkaiting. Pray, ſir, let your correſpondents take this matter into conſideration, and propoſe ſome ſcheme for the reduction of genius, that buſineſs may not ſtand ſtill.

Yours, &c.

No Genius.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1799. *By* Henry James Pye, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

THOUGH the dun miſt and driving rack
Awhile may hide the orb of day,
Aloft he keeps his radiant track,
Burning with undiminiſh'd ray;
And ſoon before his gorgeous fire
The evaneſcent clouds retire,
Then burſting forth, to mortal ſight
His glories flaſh with keener blaze,
Dim with their force the dazzled gaze,
Sowing with flame divine the empyreal fields of light.

II.

So while the lowering clouds of fate
O'er Europe's torpid regions ſpread,
They ſeem'd enthron'd in gloomy ſtate,
To hang o'er Albion's drooping head;
Supreme in glory yet ſhe ſtood
Superior to the vapoury flood.
And ſoon, before her kindling eye,
The ſcatter'd clouds diſperſing fly,
In awful glory while appear,
Red with vindictive flame, the terrors of her ſpear.

III.

Around her coaſt, fenc'd by her guardian main,
Around Ierne's kindred ſhores
Hark! loud invaſion to her baffled train
In yells of deſperation roars.
Along the hoſtile deep they vainly try
From Britain's thundering barks to fly;
Their fleets, the victor's trophy, captur'd ride,
In future battles doom'd to combat on our ſide.

IV.

Seas where deathleſs bards of yore,
Singing to the ſilver tide,
Wafted loud from ſhore to ſhore
Grecian art and Roman pride.
Say, when Carthage learn'd to vail,
To mightier foes her lofty ſail;
Say when the man of Athens broke,
With daring prow the Median tyrant's yoke,
Saw ye ſo bold, ſo free a band,
As Nelſon led by Nilus' ſtrand;
What time, at George's high beheſt,
Dread in terrific vengeance dreſs'd,
Fierce as the whirlwind's ſtormy courſe
They pour'd on Gallia's guilty force;
And Egypt ſaw Britannia's flag unfurl'd,
Wave high its victor croſs, deliverer of the world!

V.

See floating friendly in the wind,
The Ruſſian eagle with the creſcent join'd,
And ſhall on earth Rome's cowering eagle lie
With ruffled plumage and with languid eye?
Imperial Auſtria rouſe! While Albion's fleet
Sweeps ſtern Oppreſſion from the main,
Send forth thy legions on the embattled plain,
Till ſavage inroad turn to foul defeat;
Strike with united arm the blow,
Lay the gigantic boaſter low;
O'er your aſtoniſh'd fields who trod,
Deforming nature, and defying God!
So ſhall returning peace again
Delight the renovated plain;
Peace, on the baſis firm of faith reſtor'd,
Wrung from Oppreſſion's arm by Valour's conquering ſword.

ODE *for his Majeſty's* BIRTH-DAY, *June* 4, 1799. *By* Henry James Pye, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

STILL ſhall the brazen tongue of war
Drown every ſofter ſound!
Still ſhall Ambition's iron car
Its crimſon axles whirl around!
Shall the ſweet lyre and flute no more
With gentle deſcant ſooth the ſhore;
Pour in melodious ſtrain the votive lay,
And hail, in notes of peace, our monarch's natal day?

O!

O! ſeraph peace! to thee the eye
Looks onward with delighted gaze,
For thee, the nation breathes the ſigh,
To thee their vows the virgins raiſe;
For thee the warrior cuts his courſe
Through armies rang'd in martial force.
Though diſtant far, thy holy form is ſeen,
And mountains riſe, and oceans roll between;
Yet every ſword that war unſheathes,
And every ſhout that conqueſt breathes,
Serve but to make thy bleſt return more ſure,
Thy glorious form more bright, thy empire more ſecure.

When northward from his wintry gaol
Returns the radiant god of day,
And, climbing from th' antarctick pole,
Pours every hour a ſtronger ray;
Yet as he mounts through vernal ſigns,
Oft with diminiſhed beams he ſhines,
Arm'd with the whirlwind's ſtormy force,
Rude March arreſts his fiery courſe,
Sweeps o'er the bended wood, and roars
Infuriate round the wave-worn ſhores.
O'er the young bud while April pours
The pearly hail's ungenial ſhow'rs,
Yet balmy gales and cloudleſs ſkies
Shall hence in bright ſucceſſion riſe.
Hence Maia's flowers the brow of Spring adorn,
Hence Summer's waving fields, and Autumn's plenteous horn.

From climes where Hyperborean rigours frown,
See his bold hands the warlike veteran bring,
Rous'd by the royal youth's renown,
Loud Auſtria's eagle claps his vigorous wing;
Mid fair Heſperia's ravag'd dales
The ſhouts of war the Gallic plunderers hear,
The avenging arm of juſtice learn to fear,
And low his creſt the inſulting deſpot veils.
While their collected navy's force
Spreads o'er the wave its deſultory courſe,
From Britain's guardian fleet receding far,
Their proudeſt wreath to 'ſcape, nor meet the ſhock of war.

HORACE's ODE *to* THALIARCHUS, *by* Anna Seward.

IN dazzling whiteneſs, lo, Soracte towers,
As all the mountain were one heap of ſnow;
Ruſh from the loaded woods the glitt'ring ſhow'rs—
The froſt-bound waters can no longer flow!

Let plenteous billets on the glowing hearth
Diſſolve the ice-dart ere it reach thy veins;
Bring mellow wines, to prompt convivial mirth—
Nor heed th' arreſted ſtreams or ſlipp'ry plains!

High heav'n, reſiſtleſs in his varied ſway,
Speaks!—The wild elements contend no more;
Nor then, from raging ſeas, the foamy ſpray
Climbs the dark rock, or curls upon the ſhore!

And peaceful then yon aged aſh ſhall ſtand,
In breathleſs calm the duſky Cypreſs riſe:
To-morrow's deſtiny the gods command;
To-day is thine—enjoy it, and be wiſe.

Youth's radiant tide too ſwiftly rolls away!—
Now, in its flow, let pleaſures round thee bloom;
Join the gay dance, awake the melting lay
Ere hoary treſſes bloſſom for the tomb!

Spears, and the ſteed, in buſy camps impel;
And, when the early darkneſs veils the grove,
Amid the leafleſs boughs let whiſpers ſteal,
While frolic beauty ſeeks the near alcove.

Soft as thy tip-toe ſtep the mazes rove:
A laugh half-ſmother'd thy pleas'd ear ſhall meet,
And ſportive in the charming wiles of love,
Betray the artifice of coy retreat!

And then the ring, or from her ſnowy arm
The promis'd bracelet, may thy force employ:
Her feign'd reluctance, height'ning ev'ry charm,
Shall add new value to the raviſh'd toy!

A PER-

A PERSIAN KING *to his* SON; *from a Proſe Tranſlation in* Sir William Jones's *Eſſay on the Poetry of the Eaſtern Nations.*

By Anna Seward.

GUARD thou, my ſon, the helpleſs and the poor;
Nor in the chains of thine own indolence
Slumber enervate, while the joys of ſenſe
Engroſs thee, and thou ſay'ſt—" I aſk no more."
Wiſe men the ſhepherd's ſlumber will deplore,
When the rapacious wolf has leap'd the fence—
And ranges through the fold! My ſon, diſpenſe
Thoſe laws that juſtice to the wrong'd reſtore.

The common-weal ſhould be the firſt purſuit
Of the crown'd warrior; for the royal brows
The people firſt enwreath'd——they are the root,
The King the tree. Aloft he ſpreads his boughs
Glorious:—but learn, impetuous youth, at length,
Trees from the *root* alone derive their ſtrength.

VERSES *on his own* BIRTH-DAY, *written by the Hon.* Charles James Fox, *addreſſed to a Lady.*

OF years I have now half a century paſt,
And none of the fifty ſo bleſs'd as the laſt,
How it happens my troubles thus daily ſhould ceaſe,
And my happineſs ſtill with my years ſhould increaſe,
In defiance of Nature's more general laws
You alone can explain, who alone are the cauſe.

A NEGRO SONG; *from an Event that occurred in* Mr. Mungo Park's *Travels in Africa. The Words by the Ducheſs of* Devonſhire.

THE loud wind roar'd, the rain fell faſt,
The white man yielded to the blaſt:
He ſat him down, beneath our tree,
For weary, ſad, and faint, was he;
And ah, no wife, or mother's care,
For him the milk or corn prepare.

Chorus.

Chorus.

The white man ſhall our pity ſhare;
Alas, no wife or mother's care,
For him the milk or corn prepare.

The ſtorm is o'er, the tempeſt paſt;
And Mercy's voice has huſh'd the blaſt.
The wind is heard in whiſpers low;
The white man far away muſt go;—
But ever in his heart will bear
Remembrance of the negro's care.

Chorus.

Go, white man, go;—but with thee bear
The negro's wiſh, the negro's pray'r;
Remembrance of the negro's care.

EPILOGUE *to the Play of* PIZARRO; *written by the Hon.* Mr. Lambe.

ERE yet ſuſpenſe has ſtill'd its throbbing fear,
Or melancholy wip'd the graceful tear,
" While e'en the miſeries of a ſinking ſtate,
" A monarch's danger and a nation's fate,
" Command not now your eyes with grief to flow,
" Loſt in a trembling mother's nearer woe;"
What moral lay ſhall poetry rehearſe,
Or how ſhall elocution pour the verſe
So ſweetly, that its muſic ſhall repay
The lov'd illuſion which it drives away?
Mine is the taſk, to rigid cuſtom due,
To me ungrateful, as 'tis harſh to you,
To mar the work the tragic ſcene has wrought,
To rouſe the mind that broods in penſive thought,
To ſcare reflection, which in abſent dreams
Still lingers muſing on the recent themes,
" Attention, ere with contemplation tir'd,
" To turn from all that pleas'd, from all that fir'd,
" To weaken leſſons ſtrongly now impreſt,
" And chill the intereſt glowing in the breaſt—
" Mine is the taſk; and be it mine to ſpare
" The ſouls that pant the griefs they ſee to ſhare;"
Let me with no unhallow'd jeſt deride
The ſigh that ſweet compaſſion owns with pride—

The ſigh of comfort, to Affliction dear,
That Kindneſs heaves, and Virtue loves to hear.
E'en gay Thalia will not now refuſe
This gentle homage to her ſiſter-muſe.
O! ye, who liſten to the plaintive ſtrain,
With ſtrange enjoyment, and with rapturous pain,
Who 'erſt have felt the Stranger's lone deſpair,
And Haller's ſettled, ſad, remorſeful care,
Does Rolla's pure affection leſs excite
The inexpreſſive anguiſh of delight?
Do Cora's fears, which beat without controul,
With leſs ſolicitude engroſs the ſoul?
Ah, no! your minds with kindred zeal approve
Maternal feeling, and heroic love.
" You muſt approve;—where man exiſts below,
" In temperate climes, or midſt drear waſtes of ſnow,
" Or where the ſolar fires inceſſant flame,
" Thy laws, all-powerful Nature, are the ſame—
" Vainly the ſophiſt boaſts he can explain
" The cauſes of thy univerſal reign—
" More vainly would his vain preſumptuous art,
" Diſprove thy general empire o'er the heart."
A voice proclaims thee, that we muſt believe,
A voice that ſurely ſpeaks not to deceive;
That voice poor Cora heard, and cloſely preſt
Her darling infant to her fearful breaſt;
Diſtracted dared the bloody field to tread,
And ſought Alonzo through the heaps of dead,
" Eager to catch the muſic of his breath,
" Though faultering in the agonies of death,
" To touch his lips, though pale and cold, once more,
" And claſp his boſom, though it ſtream with gore;"
That voice too Rolla heard, and, greatly brave,
His Cora's deareſt treaſure died to ſave,
Gave to the hopeleſs parent's arms her child,
Beheld her tranſports and expiring ſmil'd.
That voice ye hear—O! be its will obey'd,
'Tis Valour's impulſe, as 'tis Virtue's aid—
It prompts to all benevolence admires,
To all that heav'nly piety inſpires,
To all that praiſe repeats through lengthen'd years,
That honour ſanctifies, and time reveres.

N. B. For the Prologue to Pizarro, we refer our readers to the firſt thirty lines of that to the " Miniature Picture" which we gave in our Regiſter for the year 1780.

SONG

SONG *in* PIZARRO, *Sung by* Mrs. Jordan, *in the character of Cora: the Words by* Mr. Sheridan.

YES, yes, be mercileſs thou tempeſt dire,
Unaw'd, unſhelter'd I thy fury brave,
I'll bear my boſom to thy forked fire,
Let it but guide me to Alonzo's grave.

O'er his pale corſe then while thy lightnings glare,
I'll preſs his clay cold lips and periſh there.

But thou will't wake again my boy,
Again thoul't riſe to life and joy,
Thy Father never!
Thy laughing eyes will meet the light,
Unconſcious that eternal night,
Veils his for ever!

On yon green bed of moſs there lies my child,
O ſafer lies from theſe chill'd arms apart;
He ſleeps, ſweet lamb, nor heeds the tempeſt wild,
O ſweeter ſleeps than near this breaking heart!

Alas, my babe, if thou would'ſt peaceful reſt,
Thy cradle muſt not be thy mother's breaſt;

Yet thou will't wake again my boy
Again thoul't riſe to life and joy,
Thy Father never!
Thy laughing eyes will meet the light,
Unconſcious that *eternal* night
Veils his for *ever!*

PIZARRO: *An excellent New Song.*

AS I walk'd through the Strand ſo careleſs and gay
I met a young girl who was wheeling a barrow:
"Choice fruit, ſir," ſaid ſhe—"and a bill of the play?"
So my apples I bought, and ſet off for Pizarro.

When I got to the door I was ſqueez'd, and cried "dear me
"I wonder they made the entrance ſo narrow!"
At laſt I got in, and found every one near me
Was buſily talking of Mr. Pizarro!

Lo, the hero appears (what a ſtrut and a ſtride!):
He might eaſily paſs for Marſhal Suwarrow!
And Elvira ſo tall, neither virgin nor bride—
The loving companion of gallant Pizarro!

But Elvira, alas, turn'd ſo dull and ſo proſy,
That I long'd for a hornpipe by little Del Caro;
Had I been 'mong the gods, I had ſurely cried—"*Noſy,*"
"Come play up a jig; and a fig for Pizarro!"

On his wife and his child his affection to pay,
Alonzo ſtood gazing, as ſtraight as an arrow:
Of him I have only this little to ſay—
His boots were much neater than thoſe of Pizarro!

Then the prieſteſs and virgins, in robes white and flowing
Walk'd ſolemnly on—like a ſow and her farrow,
And politely inform'd the whole houſe they were going
To entreat heav'n's curſes on noble Pizarro!

Then at it they went. How they made us all ſtare!—
One growl'd like a bear, and one chirp'd like a ſparrow
I liſten'd; but all I could learn, I declare,
Was, that vengeance would certainly fall on Pizarro!

Rolla made a fine ſpeech, with ſuch *logic* and *grammar*
As muſt ſure rouſe the envy of *Counſellor Garrow*—
It would ſell for five pounds, were it brought to the hammer;
For it rais'd all Peru againſt valiant Pizarro!

Four acts are tol lol—but the fifth's my delight,
Where hiſt'ry's trac'd with the pen of a Varro;
And Elvira in black and Alonzo in white
Put an end to the piece, by killing Pizarro!

I have finiſh'd my ſong. If it had but a tune
(*Nancy Dawſon* won't do, nor the ſweet *Braes of Yarrow,*)
I vow I would ſing it from morning to noon—
So much am I charm'd with the play of Pizarro!

ODE *to the* GERMAN DRAMA; *by the late* Mr. Seward.

I.

DAUGHTER of night, chaotic queen!
Thou fruitful ſource of modern lays;
Whoſe ſubtle plot, and tedious ſcene
The monarch ſpurn, the robber raiſe—
Bound in thy necromantic ſpell,
The audience taſte the joys of hell;
And Britain's ſons indignant groan
With pangs unfelt before, at crimes before unknown.

II.

When firſt, to make the nations ſtare,
Folly her painted maſk diſplay'd,
Schiller ſublimely mad was there,
And Kotz'bue lent his mighty aid—
Gigantic pair! their lofty ſoul,
Diſdaining Reaſon's weak controul,
On changeful Britain ſped the blow,
Who, thoughtleſs of her own, embrac'd fictitious woe.

III.

Aw'd by the ſcowl tremendous, fly
Fair Comedy's theatric brood;
Light ſatire, wit, and harmleſs joy,
And leave us, dungeons, chains, and blood;
Swift they diſperſe, and with them go
Mild Otway, ſentimental Rowe,
Congreve averts the indignant eye,
And Shakſpeare mourns to view th' exotic prodigy.

IV.

Ruffians in regal mantle dight,
Maidens immers'd in thought profound,
Spectres that haunt the ſhades of night,
And ſpread a waſte of ruin round:
Theſe form thy never-varying theme,
While buried in thy Stygian ſtream,
Religion mourns her waſted fires,
And Hymen's ſacred torch low hiſſes and expires.

O mildly

V.

O mildly o'er the Britiſh ſtage,
Great Anarch, ſpread thy ſable wings;
Not fired with all the frantic rage,
With which thou hurl'ſt thy darts at kings,
(As thou in native garb art ſeen)
With ſcatter'd treſſes, haggard mien,
Sepulchral chains, and hideous cry,
By deſpot arts immur'd in ghaſtly poverty.

VI.

In ſpecious form, dread queen, appear,
Let falſehood fill the dreary waſte,
Thy democratic rant be here,
To fire the brain, corrupt the taſte.
The fair, by vicious love miſled,
Teach me to cheriſh, and to wed,
To low born arrogance to bend,
Eſtabliſh'd order ſpurn, and call each outcaſt friend.

Extract from the PLEASURES *of* HOPE, *a Poem; by* Thomas Campbell.

DEPARTED ſpirits of the mighty dead!
Ye that at Marathon and Leuctra bled!
Friends of the world! reſtore your ſwords to man,
Fight in his ſacred cauſe, and lead the van!
Yet for Sarmatia's tears of blood atone,
And make her arm puiſſant as your own:—
Oh! once again to Freedom's cauſe return
The patriot Tell—the Bruce of Bannockburn!

Yes! thy proud lords, unpitied land! ſhall ſee
That man hath yet a ſoul—and dare be free!
A little while, along thy ſaddening plains,
The ſtarleſs night of deſolation reigns;
Truth ſhall reſtore the light by nature giv'n,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heav'n!
Prone to the duſt oppreſſion ſhall be hurl'd,
Her name, her nature, wither'd from the world!

Ye that the riſing morn invidious mark,
And hate the light—becauſe your deeds are dark;
Ye that expanding truth invidious view,
And think, or wiſh the ſong of Hope untrue;

Perhaps

Perhaps your little hands preſume to ſpan
The march of genius, and the pow'rs of man;
Perhaps ye watch, at Pride's unhallow'd ſhrine,
Her victims, newly ſlain, and thus divine:—
"Here ſhall thy triumph, Genius, ceaſe, and here
Truth, Science, Virtue, cloſe your ſhort career."

Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring;
In vain ye limit mind's unwearied ſpring:
What! can ye lull the winged winds aſleep,
Arreſt the rolling world, or chain the deep?
No:—the wild wave contemns your ſcepter'd hand;—
It roll'd not back when Canute gave command!

Man! can thy doom no brighter ſoil allow?
Still muſt thou live a blot on Nature's brow?
Shall War's polluted banner ne'er be furl'd?
Shall crimes and tyrants ceaſe but with the world?
What! are thy triumphs, ſacred Truth, belied?
Why then hath Plato liv'd—or Sydney died?

Ye fond adorers of departed fame,
Who warm at Scipio's worth, or Tully's name!
Ye that, in fancied viſion, can admire
The ſword of Brutus, and the Theban lyre!
Wrapt in hiſtoric ardour, who adore
Each claſſic haunt and well-remember'd ſhore,
Where Valour tun'd, amid her choſen throng,
The Thracian trumpet and the Spartan ſong;
Or, wand'ring thence, behold the later charms
Of England's glory, and Helvetia's arms!
See Roman fire in Hampden's boſom ſwell,
And fate and freedom in the ſhaft of Tell!
Say, ye fond zealots to the worth of yore,
Hath Valour left the world—to live no more?
No more ſhall Brutus bid a tyrant die,
And ſternly ſmile with vengeance in his eye?
Hampden no more, when ſuffering Freedom calls,
Encounter fate, and triumph as he falls?
Nor Tell diſcloſe, through peril and alarm,
The might that ſlumbers in a peaſant's arm?

Yes! in that generous cauſe, for ever ſtrong,
The patriot's virtue and the poet's ſong
Still, as the tide of ages rolls away,
Shall charm the world, unconſcious of decay!

Yes!

Yes! there are hearts, prophetic hope may truſt,
That ſlumber yet in uncreated duſt,
Ordain'd to fire th' adoring ſons of earth
With every charm of wiſdom and of worth;
Ordain'd to light, with intellectual day,
The mazy wheels of nature as they play,
Or, warm with Fancy's energy, to glow,
And rival all but Shakſpeare's name below!

The HOPES *of* LOVE; *from the ſame Poem.*

WHO that would aſk a heart to dulneſs wed,
The waveleſs calm, the ſlumber of the dead?
No; the wild bliſs of nature needs alloy,
And fear and ſorrow fan the fire of joy!
And ſay, without our hopes, without our fears,
Without the home that plighted love endears,
Without the ſmile from partial beauty won,
Oh! what were man?—a world without a ſun!

Till Hymen brought his love-delighted hour,
There dwelt no joy in Eden's roſy bow'r!
In vain the viewleſs ſeraph ling'ring there,
At ſtarry midnight, charm'd the ſilent air;
In vain the wild-bird carol'd on the ſteep,
To hail the ſun, ſlow-wheeling from the deep;
In vain, to ſoothe the ſolitary ſhade,
Aerial notes in mingling meaſure play'd;
The ſummer wind that ſhook the ſpangled tree,
The whiſpering wave, the murmur of the bee—
Still ſlowly paſs'd the melancholy day,
And ſtill the ſtranger wiſt not where to ſtray—
The world was ſad!—the garden was a wild!—
And man, the hermit, ſigh'd—till woman ſmil'd!

True! the ſad power to generous hearts may bring
Delirious anguiſh on his fiery wing!
Barr'd from delight by Fate's untimely hand,
By wealthleſs lot, or pitileſs command:
Or doom'd to gaze on beauties that adorn
The ſmile of triumph, or the frown of ſcorn;
While memory watches o'er the ſad review
Of joys that faded like the morning dew;
Peace may depart—and life and nature ſeem
A barren path—a wildneſs, and a dream!

But, can the noble mind for ever brood,
The willing victim of a weary mood,
On heartleſs cares that ſquander life away,
And cloud young genius bright'ning into day!—
Shame to the coward thought that e'er betray'd
The noon of manhood to a myrtle ſhade!—
If hope's creative ſpirit cannot raiſe
One trophy ſacred to thy future days,
Scorn the dull crowd that haunt the gloomy ſhrine
Of hopeleſs love, to murmur and repine!
But, ſhould a ſigh of milder mood expreſs
Thy heart-warm wiſhes true to happineſs,
Should heav'n's fair harbinger delight to pour
Her bliſsful viſions on thy penſive hour,
No tear to blot thy memory's pictur'd page,
No fears but ſuch as fancy can aſſuage;
Though thy wild heart ſome hapleſs hour may miſs
The peaceful tenor of unvaried bliſs,
(For love purſues an ever devious race,
True to the winding lineaments of grace);
Yet ſtill may hope her taliſman employ
To ſnatch from heaven anticipated joy,
And all her kindred energies impart
That burn the brighteſt in the pureſt heart!

Apoſtrophe to the Poets of the Age. From the ANTIJACOBIN *Newſpaper.*

BUT ſay,—indignant does the muſe retire,
Her ſhrine deſerted, and extinct its fire?
No pious hand to feed the ſacred flame,
No raptur'd ſoul a poet's charge to claim?
Bethink thee, Gifford, when ſome future age
Shall trace the promiſe of thy playful page;
'* The hand which bruſh'd a ſwarm of fools away
Should rouſe to graſp a more reluctant prey!'
Think then, will pleaded indolence excuſe
The tame receſſion of thy languid muſe?
Ah! where is now that promiſe? why ſo long
Sleep the keen ſhafts of ſatire and of ſong?
Oh! come, with taſte and virtue at thy ſide,
With ardent zeal inflam'd, and patriot pride;
With keen poetic glance direct the blow,
And empty all thy quiver on the foe:—

* See the motto prefixed to "The Baviad," a poem, by W. Gifford, eſq.

No

No pauſe—no reſt—'till weltering on the ground
The poiſonous hydra lies, and pierc'd with many a wound.
Thou too!—the * nameleſs Bard, whoſe honeſt zeal
For law, for morals, for the public weal,
Pours down impetuous on thy country's foes
The ſtream of verſe, and many languaged proſe;
Thou too!—though oft thy ill-advis'd diſlike
The guiltleſs head with random cenſure ſtrike,—
Though quaint alluſions, vague and undefin'd,
Play faintly round the ear, but mock the mind;
Through the mix'd maſs yet truth and learning ſhine,
And manly vigour ſtamps the nervous line;
And patriot warmth the generous rage inſpires,
And wakes and points the deſultory fires!
Yet more remain unknown:—for who can tell
What bathful genius, in ſome rural cell,
As year to year, and day ſucceeds to day,
In joyleſs leiſure waſtes his life away?
In him the flame of early fancy ſhone;
His genuine worth his old companions own;
In childhood and in youth their chief confeſs'd,
His maſter's pride, his pattern to the reſt, †
Now, far aloof retiring from the ſtrife
Of buſy talents, and of active life,
As, from the loop-holes of retreat, he views
Our ſtage, verſe, pamphlets, politics, and news,
He loaths the world, or with reflection ſad
Concludes it irrecoverably mad;
Of taſte, of learning, morals, all bereft,
No hope, no proſpect, to redeem it left.
Awake! for ſhame! or e'er thy nobler ſenſe
Sink in th' oblivious pool of indolence!
Muſt wit be found alone on Falſehood's ſide,
Unknown to Truth, to Virtue unallied?
Ariſe! nor ſcorn thy country's juſt alarms;
Wield in her cauſe thy long-neglected arms:
Of lofty ſatire pour th' indignant ſtrain,
Leagued with her friends, and ardent to maintain,
'Gainſt Learning's, Virtue's, Truth's, Religion's foes,
A kingdom's ſafety, and the world's repoſe.
If vice appal thee, if thou view with awe
Inſults that brave, and crimes that 'ſcape the law;
Yet may the ſpecious baſtard brood, which claim
A ſpurious homage under Virtue's name,

* Author of "Purſuits of Literature."
† Some particular perſon is evidently here alluded to.

Sprung from that parent of ten thouſand crimes,
The *new philoſophy* of modern times;
Yet, theſe may rouſe thee!—with unſparing hand
Oh, laſh the vile impoſtures from the land!
First, ſtern philanthropy:—not ſhe, who dries
The orphan's tears, and wipes the widow's eyes;
Not ſhe, who, fainted charity her guide,
Of Britiſh bounty pours the annual tide:—
But French philanthropy;—whoſe boundleſs mind
Glows with the general love of all mankind;—
Philanthropy, beneath whoſe baneful ſway
Each patriot paſſion ſinks, and dies away.
Taught in her ſchool t' imbibe the mawkiſh ſtrain,
Condorcet, filter'd through the dregs of Paine,
Each pert adept diſowns a Briton's part,
And plucks the name of England from his heart.
What, ſhall a name, a word, a ſound controul
Th' aſpiring thought, and cramp th' expanſive ſoul?
Shall one half-peopled iſland's rocky round
A love, that glows for all creation, bound?
And ſocial charities contract the plan
Fram'd for thy freedom, *univerſal* man?
—No—through th' extended globe his feelings run,
As broad and general as th' unbounded ſun!
No narrow bigot *he*;—*his* reaſon'd view
Thy intereſts, England, ranks with thine, Peru!
France, at our doors, *he* ſees no danger nigh,
But heaves for Turkey's woes th' impartial ſigh;
A ſteady patriot of the world alone,
The friend of every country—but his own.
Next comes a gentler virtue—Ah! beware
Leſt the harſh verſe her ſhrinking ſoftneſs ſcare.
Viſit her not too roughly;—the warm ſigh
Breaths on her lips; the tear-drop gems her eye.
Sweet ſenſibility, who dwells enſhrin'd
In the fine foldings of the feeling mind;
With delicate *Mimoſa's* ſenſe endu'd,
Who ſhrinks inſtinctive from a hand too rude;
Or, like the *Anagallis*, preſcient flow'r,
Shuts her ſoft petals at th' approaching ſhow'r.
Sweet child of ſickly Fancy!—her of yore
From her lov'd France Rouſſeau to exile bore;
And, while 'midſt lakes and mountains wild he ran,
Full of himſelf, and ſhunn'd the haunts of man,
Taught her, o'er each lone vale and Alpine ſteep,
To liſp the ſtory of his wrongs, and weep;

Taught

Taught her to cheriſh ſtill in either eye,
Of tender tears a plentiful ſupply,
And pour them in the brooks that babbled by;—
Taught by nice ſcale to meet her feelings ſtrong,
Falſe by degrees, and exquiſitely wrong;
—For the cruſh'd beetle, *firſt*—the widow'd dove,
And all the warbled ſorrows of the grove;
Next for poor ſuffering *guilt*:—and, *laſt* of all,
For parents, friends, a king and country's fall.
Mark her fair votaries, prodigal of grief,
With cureleſs pangs, and woes that mock relief,
Droop in ſoft ſorrow o'er a faded flow'r;
O'er a dead jack-aſs pour the pearly ſhow'r:
But hear, unmov'd, of Loire's enſanguin'd flood,
Choak'd up with ſlain;—of Lyons drench'd in blood;
Of crimes that blot the age, the world with ſhame,
Foul crimes, but ſicklied o'er with Freedom's name;
Altars and thrones ſubverted, ſocial life
Trampled to earth,—the huſband from the wife,
Parent from child, with ruthleſs fury torn,
Of talents, honour, virtue, wit, forlorn,
In friendleſs exile,—of the wiſe and good
Staining the daily ſcaffold with their blood—
Of ſavage cruelties, that ſcare the mind,
The rage of madneſs with hell's luſts combin'd—
Of hearts torn reeking from the mangled breaſt,
They hear—and hope, that *all is for the beſt.*

SIMPLICITY, *or the* CURATE; *from* Peter Pindar's *Nil Admirari, or a Smile at a Biſhop.*

HOW difficult, alas! to pleaſe mankind!
One or the other every moment mutters:
This wants an eaſtern, that a weſtern wind;
A third, petition for a ſouthern, utters.
Some pray for rain, and ſome for froſt and ſnow:
How can heav'n ſuit all palates?—I don't know.

Good Lamb, the curate, much approv'd,
Indeed by all his flock belov'd,
Was one dry ſummer begg'd to pray for rain:
The parſon moſt devoutly pray'd—
The pow'rs of pray'r were ſoon diſplay'd;
Immediately a torrent drench'd the plain.

It chanc'd that the churchwarden, Robin Jay,
Had of his meadow not yet ſav'd the hay:
Thus was his hay to health quite paſt reſtoring.
It happen'd too that Robin was from home;
But when he heard the ſtory, in a foam
He ſought the parſon, like a lion roaring.

"Zounds! parſon Lamb, why, what have ye been doing?
"A pretty ſtorm indeed ye have been brewing!
"What! pray for rain before I ſav'd my hay.
"Oh! you're a cruel and ungrateful man!
"I that for ever help you all I can;
"Aſk you to dine with me and Mrs. Jay,
"Whenever we have ſomething on the ſpit,
"Or in the pot a nice and dainty bit.

"Send you a gooſe, a pair of chicken,
"Whoſe bones you are ſo fond of picking;
"And often too a cag of brandy!
"You that were welcome to a treat,
"To ſmoke and chat, and drink and eat;
"Making my houſe ſo very handy!

"You, parſon, ſerve one ſuch a ſcurvy trick!
"Zounds! you muſt have the bowels of old nick.
"What! bring the flood of Noah from the ſkies,
"With *my* fine field of hay before your eyes!
"A numſcull that I wern't of this aware!
"Curſe me, but I had ſtopp'd your pretty pray'r!"

"Dear maſter Jay (quoth Lamb), alas! alas!
"I never thought upon your field of graſs."
"Lord! parſon, you're a fool, one might ſuppoſe,
"Was not the field juſt underneath your *noſe?*
"This is a very pretty loſing job!"—
"Sir," quoth the curate, "know that Harry Cobb,
"Your brother warden joined, to have the pray'r."—
"Cobb Cobb! why, this for Cobb was only *ſport:*
"What doth Cobb own that any rain can *hurt?*"
Roar'd furious Jay, as broad as he could ſtare.

"The fellow owns, as far as I can *larn,*
"A few old houſes only, and a barn;
"As that's the caſe, zounds! what are ſhow'rs to *him?*
Not Noah's flood could make *his* trumpery *ſwim.*

"Beſides

" Beſides—why could not you for *drizzle* pray?
" Why force it down in buckets on the hay?
" Would I have play'd with your hay ſuch a freak?
" No! I'd have ſtopped the weather for a week."

" Dear miſter Jay, I do proteſt
" I acted ſolely for the beſt;
" I do affirm it, miſter Jay, indeed
" Your anger for this *once* reſtrain,
" I'll never bring a drop again
" 'Till you and all the pariſh are *agreed*."

VERSES, *written, during a Fit of Sickneſs, by John Lord Hervey.*
(Now firſt publiſhed.)

EACH hour my ſpirits and my ſtrength decay,
Each hour my cares and all my ills increaſe;
In pain and laſſitude I drag the day,
Bankrupt of Joy, and ſtranger ev'n to Eaſe.

And when the world's great Æſculapius, Sleep,
His halcyon balm diſtils through ev'ry breaſt,
Forbids Calamity a while to weep,
And gives Deſpair herſelf a tranſient reſt;

My eyes alone, rebellious to his power,
Refuſe his friendly edicts to obey;
At night the rigour of my fate deplore,
Long for the dawn, yet dread the coming day!

Account of Books for 1799.

A Voyage round the World, in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, *and* 1788, *by J. F. G. de la Pérouſe: publiſhed conformably to the Decree of the National Aſſembly, of the 22d of April,* 1791, *and edited by M. L. A. Milet Mureau, Brigadier-General in the Corps of Engineers, Director of Fortifications, Ex-conſtituent and Member of ſeveral Literary Societies at Paris. Tranſlated from the French. In three Volumes,* 8vo. *With an Atlas.*

NEITHER length of time, nor the quick ſucceſſion of events the moſt important and the moſt univerſally intereſting, ſeem to have diminiſhed the eagerneſs of expectation for the account of the labours of this enterpriſing but unfortunate navigator; to whoſe great care and foreſight the world are indebted for any advantages which they may obtain from the reſults of his reſearches; as he ſeized every opportunity of ſending, ſucceſſively, his journals and obſervations to Europe. The editor juſtly regrets the want of diligence in the other ſcientific perſons embarked with their worthy commander; who, if they had exerted themſelves in the like manner, might have prevented the total loſs of many articles and branches of important information. Yet it appears that thoſe gentlemen were not all alike negligent, as the laſt volume is in a great meaſure compoſed of notes and detached pieces, forwarded to government by the men of ſcience employed in the expedition.

About two years after the time at which M. de la Pérouſe had been expected to return to France, it was propoſed and decreed by the national aſſembly, (their attention having been drawn to the ſubject by a petition from the ſociety of Natural Hiſtory at Paris, January 22, 1791,) that two ſhips ſhould be ſent in ſearch of him: the laſt accounts, which he had tranſmitted home, giving a clue to form an opinion of the route that he had intended to purſue. The ſhips were accordingly diſpatched, under the command of M. d'Entrecaſteaux: but the ſearch was not attended with ſucceſs at all proportioned to their active and humane endeavours; and no new certain information was procured reſpecting the fate of M. de la Pérouſe and his companions.

By a decree of the ſame aſſembly, it was likewiſe directed that the accounts and charts, which this lamented navigator had ſent home, ſhould be printed and engraved at the national expenſe; and the profits were aſſigned to his widow.

Both

Both the decrees manifeſt much regard and attention for M. de la Pérouſe and his aſſociates, and are expreſſed with that degree of feeling which the circumſtances muſt naturally excite.

The preparation of the materials which had been received, for the preſs, was at firſt intruſted to the care of M. Fleurieu, miniſter of the marine: but circumſtances having obliged this gentleman to relinquiſh the undertaking, it was put into the hands of the preſent editor, M. Milet Mureau, ex-conſtituent, and a brigadier-general in the engineers. He offers an apology for having fixed the title of a voyage round the world; which we think very allowable, as all the route of importance to diſcovery was completed, and the return from China to Europe only was wanting.

The editor alſo gives ſome particulars of the life of la Pérouſe;—which, from the age of 15, when (in the year 1756) he firſt entered into the French marine, to the time of his death, was a life of almoſt conſtant hard ſervice. He was in ſeveral actions againſt our countrymen. The following is the character given of him by M. Mureau:

'Uniting in himſelf the vivacity peculiar to the inhabitants of warm climates, with an agreeable wit, and an equal temper, his mildneſs and his amiable gaiety made his company always ſought after with eagerneſs: on the other hand, matured by long experience, he joined to uncommon prudence a firmneſs of character, which is the characteriſtic of a ſtrong mind, and which, increaſed by the hardſhips of a ſeaman's life, rendered him qualified to attempt, and to conduct the greateſt enterprizes with ſucceſs.'

The moſt honourable teſtimony to his character, however, and to which is given the evidence of our own countrymen, is his humane conduct when ſent to deſtroy the Engliſh ſettlements in Hudſon's Bay, in the year 1782. Knowing that at his approach the Engliſh had fled into the woods, and that at his departure, on account of the deſtruction of their ſettlements, they would be expoſed to the danger of periſhing with hunger, or of falling defenceleſs into the hands of the ſavages, he had the ſingular humanity and generoſity to leave them proviſions and arms.

In a preliminary diſcourſe by the editor, a plan is ſuggeſted for the perfection of geography, by eſtabliſhing a congreſs compoſed of aſtronomers, hydrographers, navigators, &c. and it is recommended that each of the maritime nations ſhould contribute a proportion to the expenſe of expeditions, planned by and under the inſtructions of the congreſs, &c. This deſign requires a time of perfect peace and good neighbourhood.

The meridians in the voyage before us are throughout reckoned from Paris: on which head the editor remarks the inconvenience of calculations from many different meridians, and propoſes, in order to obviate diſputes for pre-eminence, to eſtabliſh, as the firſt meridian that 'remarkable peak which nature ſeems to have placed in the middle of the ſeas to ſerve as a beacon for navigators,' *i. e.* the peak of Teneriffe. This new meridian, he obſerves, would leave our immenſe materials of geography in their full value; and he adds that it is with regret that he rejects, for the preſent, the plan which has been

been recommended by Borda, and other learned men, for adopting a decimal diviſion of the circle and of time: as it would almoſt deſtroy the value of the old materials in aſtronomical ſcience, and for a great length of time occaſion much perplexity.

The hiſtory of the voyage commences with copies of the inſtructions given to the commander; to which is prefixed a note from the French king (Louis XVI.), under whoſe particular patronage the expedition was deſigned and executed. They are divided under diſtinct heads.

The plan of the voyage, according to theſe directions, appears to us too extenſive: for more was undertaken than a ſingle expedition could well accompliſh. The time requiſite, according to the calculation of thoſe who formed the deſign, exceeded four years; and allowances muſt always be made, in ſuch long voyages, for accidents which are not to be foreſeen or prevented, but which muſt be expected. Of this circumſtance, indeed, they were not unmindful, for the orders are qualified by giving to M. de la Pérouſe a conſiderable degree of diſcretionary power, relying on his abilities and on his zeal for the ſervice in which he was engaged.

Many parts of the inſtructions are drawn up with great judgement. The acquirement of information reſpecting the intereſts of commerce is an object not neglected. The navigator was directed to inquire into the American fur-trade, and likewiſe into the particulars of the concerns of the Dutch and Engliſh in the Molucca and Spice iſlands; with other matters of a politico-commercial nature. The intereſts of general knowledge and humanity are likewiſe objects of attention. Kindneſs and moderation are in the ſtrongeſt manner recommended to be obſerved in all intercourſe with Indians; with this addition, "his majeſty will look upon it as one of the moſt ſucceſsful parts of the expedition, ſhould it be terminated without coſting the life of a ſingle man:" this is highly commendable, in every view!

The general intereſt which was excited by this undertaking appears in many inſtances; and in the equipment, the ſhips were moſt liberally provided with every thing that could be thought uſeful.

It has been mentioned that no ſtep was taken towards publication, till the return of the ſhips began to be conſidered as almoſt hopeleſs. M. de la Pérouſe, in a letter which he had written to a friend, had deſired that, if his journal ſhould be printed before his return, it might be truſted to the direction of a man well verſed in mathematical knowledge, and not to one who was merely a man of letters. In their appointment of an editor, the French government ſeem to have coincided in opinion with the lamented navigator; and the charts have been executed under the direction of M. Buache, hydrographer of the marine.

The firſt paper preſented to the reader, from the materials ſent home by M. de la Pérouſe, is a narrative of a voyage made in a Spaniſh frigate, la Princeſſa, commanded by Don Franciſco Antonio Maurelle, from Manilla to San Blas in New Spain. This narrative was tranſlated from the Spaniſh original by A. G. Pingré; and is accompanied

nied with a chart conſtructed by Buache. The voyage, by the addition of ſome newly-diſcovered iſlands, aſſiſts, in ſome degree, towards completing the geography of the South Seas: but the ſituations given by the Spaniſh commander appear not always worthy of reliance; and the tranſlator complains that the original journal was, in ſome places, unintelligible. The track and the narrative likewiſe diſagree, though Buache has taken conſiderable pains in endeavouring to reconcile them.

We have here alſo other accounts of voyages of the Spaniards, to explore the N. W. coaſt of America, but unaccompanied with charts.—They differ from our diſcoveries in their account of the longitudes, and there is nothing peculiarly intereſting in the occurrences. With theſe accounts, what the editor calls the preliminary part concludes; and we now enter on the ſubject of M. de la Pérouſe's voyage.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1785, the two frigates la Bouſſole, and l'Aſtrolabe, the latter commanded by M. de Langle, but both under the orders of M. de la Pérouſe, ſailed from Breſt Road. They touched at Madeira and at Teneriffe; at the firſt of which places they experienced much kindneſs and attention from Mr. Johnſon, an Engliſh merchant, and from Mr. Murray the Britiſh conſul.

'October the 16th. They ſaw the iſland of Trinidada, which, ſince it has been forſaken by the Engliſh, has been occupied by the Portugueſe, as M. de la Pérouſe conjectures, from no other motive than leſt ſome other European nations ſhould avail themſelves of the vicinage, and carry on a contraband trade with the Braſils.'

After having quitted Trinidada, they endeavoured to find the iſland Aſcençaon, but miſſed it; which, with what the commodore afterwards heard at St. Catherine's, made him conclude that no ſuch iſland exiſts. On the 6th of November, they anchored at the iſland of St. Catherine, on the coaſt of Braſil; which is deſcribed as a convenient and excellent place for all neceſſary refreſhments. In proſecuting their route from this place towards the ſouth, they ſearched for the iſle Grande of la Roche, but without ſucceſs. The editor is of opinion that M. de la Pérouſe too haſtily pronounces againſt the exiſtence of lands which he cannot find in the poſitions aſſigned for them. He obſerves:

'It would be dangerous to the progreſs of navigation, and fatal to navigators, to adopt the method of expunging iſlands formerly diſcovered from the charts, under the pretence of their having been ſought for in vain, or of their poſition being at any rate uncertain, in conſequence of the want of means to lay them down with preciſion upon the charts, at the time of their diſcovery.

'I have the greater right to expreſs my diſapprobation of ſuch a method, as, a few pages back, I have proved that Aſcençaon really exiſts, and that thoſe who ſhould expunge an iſland from the globe, would be in a manner reſponſible for the riſks to which navigators who might fall in with it would be expoſed by the falſe ſecurity inſpired by the charts; while its being laid down, even in an uncertain manner, by keeping alive

alive the attention of mariners, may render the finding of it again a matter of greater facility.'

In the courſe of 66 days, in theſe latitudes, they experienced only 18 hours of eaſterly wind: but the weather being moderate, they with little difficulty rounded Cape Horn. On the 9th of February they were abreaſt of the Straits of Magellan in the South Seas; and on the 24th they anchored in the bay of Conception, on the coaſt of Chili: the crews being in ſo good a ſtate of health, that in the two ſhips there was not a ſingle man on the ſick liſts. The Bay of Conception is here deſcribed to be one of the moſt commodious harbours that can be found in any part of the world. The old city was deſtroyed by an earthquake in the year 1751, or rather ſwallowed up by the ſea. The new city is three leagues diſtant from the ſite of Old Conception, and is of 'greater extent, becauſe the houſes are built only one ſtory high, that they may be the better able to reſiſt the earthquakes that happen every year.' M. de la Pérouſe ſays of this part of Chili, that 'there is not in the univerſe a ſoil more fertile.—Corn yields ſixty for one; the vineyards are equally productive; and the plains are covered with innumerable flocks which multiply beyond what can eaſily be imagined, though abandoned entirely to themſelves.' The climate is remarkably healthy; and he found here, then living, ſeveral perſons who had completed a century: yet, with all theſe advantages, this is not a thriving colony; which he attributes principally to the prohibitive regulations that exiſt from one end of Chili to the other. European goods pay immenſe duties; firſt at Cadiz, then at Lima, and laſtly on their entering Chili. The adminiſtration of juſtice is likewiſe very defective. The character given of the common people is that they are a mongrel race, much addicted to thieving, and the women exceedingly eaſy of acceſs. The country M. de la Pérouſe obſerves, unfortunately produces a ſmall quantity of gold.

'Almoſt all the rivers being auriferous, the inhabitant by waſhing the earth can earn, it is ſaid, half a dollar a day; but as proviſions are very abundant, he has no real want to incite him to labour.—Without communication with foreigners, and unacquainted with our luxury and arts, he can deſire nothing with ſufficient energy to overcome his ſloth.'—'Sloth, ſtill more than credulity and ſuperſtition, has peopled this country with nuns and monks.'

However, he praiſes the inhabitants of the firſt claſs, and gives them the character of being remarkably polite, obliging, and hoſpitable.

Having ſaid thus much of the inhabitants of Conception, we will preſent our readers with the more curious and intereſting deſcription of the native Indians:

'The Indians of Chili are no longer thoſe Americans who were inſpired with terror by European weapons. The increaſe of horſes, which are now diſperſed through the interior of the immenſe deſerts of America, and that of oxen and ſheep, which has alſo been very great, have converted theſe people into a nation of Arabs, comparable in every reſpect to thoſe that inhabit the deſerts of Arabia. Conſtantly

on horſeback, they conſider an excurſion of two hundred leagues as a very ſhort journey. They march, accompanied by their flocks and herds; feed upon their fleſh and milk; and ſometimes upon their blood;* and cover themſelves with their ſkins, of which they make helmets, cuiraſſes, and bucklers.—Hence it appears that the introduction of two domeſtic animals has had a deciſive influence upon the manners of all the tribes which inhabit the country from St. Jago to the Straits of Magellan. All their old cuſtoms are laid aſide; they no longer feed on the ſame fruits, nor wear the ſame dreſs; but have a more ſtriking reſemblance to the Tartars, or to the inhabitants of the banks of the Red Sea, than to their anceſtors, who lived two centuries ago.

'It is eaſy to conceive how formidable ſuch people muſt be to the Spaniards. How is it poſſible to follow them in ſuch long excurſions? How is it poſſible to prevent aſſemblages which bring together in a ſingle point nations ſcattered over four hundred leagues of country, and thus form armies of thirty thouſand men?'

Major-general Higuins, an Iriſh gentleman, in the king of Spain's ſervice, and who was commandant of the troops in this province, ſucceeded in gaining the good-will of theſe Indians, rendering thereby 'the moſt ſignal ſervice to the nation that has adopted him.'

The Bouſſole and Aſtrolabe ſailed from Conception to Manilla, which place they left on the 9th of April, 1787, though the N. E. monſoon was not yet terminated. In paſſing the iſland of Formoſa, they ſaw a Chineſe fleet, in which was an army ſent againſt the Formoſans, who had renounced their ſubjection to the Chineſe.—Our voyagers now made the beſt of their way towards the Japan iſlands. On the 5th of May, they were viſited by ſome canoes from an iſland which M. de la Pérouſe conjectures to be that which is named *Kumi*, in the chart of Father Gaubil. The men in the canoes at firſt approached with great circumſpection, and with ſigns of diſtruſt, like people unuſed to the ſight of Europeans; but, by tokens of peace, and the ſight of ſome ſtuffs, two of the canoes were induced to come alongſide. 'Theſe iſlanders are neither Japaneſe nor Chineſe, but, ſituated between theſe two empires, they ſeem to partake of both people. Their covering was a ſhirt, and a pair of cotton drawers. Their hair, tucked up on the crown of the head, was rolled round a needle, which ſeemed to us to be gold; each of them had a dagger, the handle of which was gold alſo.' M. de la Pérouſe wiſhed to have landed on this iſland, which was not more than 3 or 4 leagues in circumference, but the currents ſet him ſo far to leeward that he was obliged to relinquiſh his intention. The iſlanders invited them by ſigns to ſtay; promiſing that the canoes ſhould return to them with proviſions.

The ſhips paſſed ſeveral ſmall iſlands, and had foggy weather till the 21ſt, when they made the iſland Quelpaert, the ſouth end of which lies in 33° 14′ N. latitude. The

* 'I have been aſſured that they ſometimes bleed their oxen and horſes, and drink the blood.'

appearance

appearance of this iſland is mentioned as very inviting. With glaſſes, they could perceive the diviſion of fields, 'parcelled out; which is the ſtrongeſt proof of a great population. The very varied gradation of colours, from the different ſtates of cultivation, rendered the view of this iſland ſtill more agreeable.' After this deſcription, we cannot help feeling concern that ſuch an iſland, ſituated ſo immediately midway between China and Japan, ſhould have been paſſed, and 'in the fineſt poſſible weather,' without any knowledge being obtained of the inhabitants, or of the country, except what a very diſtant view afforded. M. de la Pérouſe, however, ſeems to have been deterred from attempting any intercourſe with theſe people, by the narrative of the treatment experienced by the crew of a Dutch ſhip, wrecked on this coaſt ſo long ago as the year 1635. 'Unfortunately (ſays he) it belongs to a people who are prohibited from all communication with ſtrangers, and who detain in ſlavery thoſe who have the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked on their coaſts. Some of the Dutchmen of the ſhip Sparrow-hawk, after a captivity of eighteen years there, during which they received many baſtinadoes, found means to take away a bark, and to croſs to Japan, from whence they arrived at Batavia, and afterwards at Amſterdam. This hiſtory, the narrative of which is now before us, was not calculated to induce us to ſend a boat on ſhore.' Beſides the length of time which has elapſed ſince the ſhipwreck here mentioned, it is not by the treatment which wrecked ſeamen experience, who are wholly defenceleſs, that the welcome to ſhips qualified to defend themſelves can be calculated; and in this inſtance we are not told that the crew of the Dutch ſhip were put to death, though in other reſpects they were ſaid to have been hardly uſed.

On the 25th of May, they ſaw part of the weſtern coaſt of Japan, and paſſed the ſtrait of Corea. They ſailed neareſt to the continent, and could ſee the houſes and towns on the ſea-ſhore. On the tops of ſome mountains, they obſerved 'fortifications exactly reſembling thoſe of European forts,' which they conjectured to have been erected for defence againſt the Japaneſe. The habitations on this part of the coaſt were very numerous. 'We counted a dozen of ſhampans or junks ſailing along the coaſt; theſe veſſels did not appear to differ in any reſpect from thoſe of China; like theſe their ſails were made of mats. The ſight of our ſhips did not appear to cauſe much fear in them.' None of the veſſels came near enough to ſpeak with the ſhips. Towards noon, two boats put off from the ſhore to reconnoitre, but did not come within leſs than a league of the ſhips, and, after having followed them for two hours, returned to the ſhore. In the afternoon, fires were ſeen lighted on all the promontories.

On the 29th, the ſhips paſſed an iſland about 20 leagues diſtant from the coaſt of Corea, of little more than 3 leagues in circumference, which was ſteep, and covered with trees from the ſea-ſhore to the ſummit. In the creeks of this iſland, the navigators ſaw a number of boats building: but moſt of the workmen fled into the woods,

woods, and hid themſelves, till the ſhips were paſt.

The wind ſettling at S. S. Eaſt, M. de la Pérouſe ſteered to the eaſtward, for the coaſt of Japan. On the 2d of June, they ſaw two Japaneſe veſſels; of which a drawing is given with the narrative. The ſhips hailed one of them, and an anſwer was returned: but neither ſide underſtood the other. 'We paſſed ſo near to this veſſel (ſays M. de la P.), that we obſerved even the countenances of individuals. They were expreſſive of neither fear nor aſtoniſhment. It had a crew of 20 men, all clad in blue caſſocks, made like thoſe of our prieſts.'

On the 6th of June, they ſaw part of the coaſt of Japan, which M. de la P. judged to be Cape Noto. Having determined the latitude and longitude of this cape, and the weather becoming foggy, they ſteered for the ſhore of Tartary.

While near the coaſt of Japan, they obſerved ſeveral Chineſe veſſels, and ſome Japaneſe; and on an iſland near the coaſt, they ſaw the houſes and other edifices, but had no communication with the inhabitants. They fell in with the coaſts of Chineſe Tartary in about 42½° N. latitude; and they ran to the northward, along a great extent of coaſt, deſtitute of inhabitants, and where only bears and ſtags were ſeen, paſſing quietly along the ſea-ſhore.

On ſeveral parts of this coaſt on which they landed, they ſaw marks of people having been lately there. They alſo found a Tartarian tomb on the bank of a rivulet, of which a curious deſcription is given; and at one place they ſaw ſome ſkins ſtretched by the ſide of a ſmall cabin, which they conjectured to have been erected for the convenience of hunters. As they advanced to the northward, they found themſelves in a channel, formed by the coaſt of Tartary on one ſide, and the iſland of Sagaleen on the other. On theſe coaſts, they caught fiſh in prodigious plenty, particularly cod and ſalmon.

In a bay of the iſland of Sagaleen, where the ſhips anchored, the navigators ſaw ſome of the inhabitants, who are deſcribed as very ſuperior to any whom they had before viſited in the courſe of the voyage; and from them they learned that the land on which they were was an iſland, ſeparated from the continent to the northward by a narrow channel. Theſe people ſeemed to ſet a value only on things which were uſeful. They were armed with pikes, with bows, and with arrows, tipped with iron. Some of their clothes were of blue nankeen quilting, and the form of their dreſs differed little from that of the Chineſe. Their manner of communicating information, ſhewed great intelligence. On being deſired to deſcribe the poſition of the coaſts, 'one of the old men roſe up, and with the end of his ſtaff ſketched the coaſt of Tartary to the weſt, running nearly north and ſouth. To the eaſt, oppoſite, and in the ſame direction, he repreſented his own iſland, and placing his hand upon his breaſt, he gave us to underſtand, that he had juſt then ſketched his own country: he had left a ſtrait between his iſland and Tartary, and turning towards our ſhips, which were viſible from the ſhore, he marked, by a touch of a pencil, that they might paſs into it. To the ſouth of this

iſland

iſland he repreſented another, and left a ſtrait at the ſame time, ſignifying that there was ſtill a courſe for our ſhips.' The manners of theſe people, M. de la Pérouſe ſays, 'were ſolemn, noble, and very ſtriking. They are in general well made, of a ſtrong conſtitution, very agreeable countenance, and bearded in a remarkable manner. Their ſtature is low. I did not perceive any of them to be above 5 feet 5 inches; and ſeveral of them were leſs than 5 feet.' They had ſilver trinkets, but of ſmall value. Some Chineſe, who were on board the ſhips, did not underſtand a word of the language here ſpoken: but afterward, farther to the northward, on the coaſt of Sagaleen iſland, they met with a party of Tartar hunters, who had come over from that coaſt in four canoes; and with theſe the Chineſe could converſe.

M. de la Pérouſe now proceeded northward, towards the channel between the coaſt of Tartary and the iſland: but, as he advanced, the depth of water gradually decreaſed, and he found that the channel was not navigable for ſhips. While the boats were examining this channel, the ſhips anchored in a bay on the coaſt of Tartary, in the latitude of 51° 29′ N. where they found a village, the inhabitants of which are thus deſcribed:

'The naſtineſs and ſtench of this people are diſguſting. There is not perhaps any where a race of people more feebly conſtituted, or whoſe features are more different from thoſe forms to which we attach the idea of beauty; their middle ſtature is below four feet ten inches, their bodies are lank, their voices thin and feeble, like that of children; they have high cheek bones, ſmall blear eyes, placed diagonally; a large mouth, flat noſe, ſhort chin, almoſt beardleſs, and an olive-coloured ſkin, varniſhed with oil and ſmoke.'

On leaving this place, the ſhips made all poſſible haſte in getting to the ſouthward, out of the gulph in which they were embayed, the prevailing winds being from the ſouth. On the 11th of Auguſt, they had reached the ſouth end of Sagaleen iſland; and they ſoon afterwards paſſed through a ſtrait formed by that and land to the ſouth, which they ſuppoſed to be the iſland of Jeſſo. In this ſtrait, to which the editor has given the name of *La Pérouſe*, ſome canoes from Sagaleen iſland came to them. The inhabitants of this part of the iſland had much the advantage of perſon over thoſe to the northward; but they were by no means equal to them in diſpoſition; endeavouring, by continual importunity, to obtain new preſents. 'All the dreſſes of theſe iſlanders are woven by their own hands; their houſes diſplay an elegance and neatneſs far ſurpaſſing thoſe of the continent; their furniture is of excellent workmanſhip, and almoſt all of Japaneſe manufacture.'

As M. de la Pérouſe was not, at firſt, certain of a clear ſea to the eaſtward, he ſent a boat on ſhore with inſtructions to examine, from a high point of land, in that direction. The officer of this boat, before his return, viſited the habitations of the natives, from whom he met with a very kind reception. He made ſome exchanges with them for ſalmon. The houſes were decorated in the inſide with large varniſhed veſſels from Japan. A ſabre and a linen dreſs of the coun-

try

try were bought of these people, who expressed much regret that the ships were not to remain longer.

Leaving these straits, they sailed to the eastward till they had passed the land named Company's Island, when they steered for the coast of Kamschatka, and anchored in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the 6th of September.

At Kamschatka, the business of the two ships was to refit, and, after so many fatigues, to prepare for new expeditions. While they remained here, an excursion was undertaken to visit the volcano, near the bay of Avatscha, by Messrs. Bernizet, Mongés, and Receveur; who, with great labour, reached the lower edge of the crater. 'All the substances, of which the mountain is composed, are lavas more or less porous, and almost in a state of pumice-stone.' According to calculations, from the weight and temperature of the air, the elevation to which they ascended was 1500 *toises*. The treatment of the French navigators, by the Russians, at St. Peter and St. Paul, was not inferior to the hospitality with which captain Cook was received by major Behm, then governor of the province. Here M. de la Pérouse had the satisfaction of receiving packets from France; by which he was informed of his having been promoted to the rank of commodore, *chef d'escadre;* which event, as soon as it came to the knowledge of Mr. Kasloff, the governor, was celebrated by a discharge of all the artillery in the place.

The Russians continue (it should seem, leisurely enough,) to prosecute discoveries in the northern seas. An Englishman, Mr. Billings, who had sailed with captain Cook, and has been several years in the service of the Russian navy, was, at this time, at Okhotsk, building two vessels for the purpose of navigating these seas.

The Kurille islands are distinguished, among the Russians, by numbers, instead of their former names. 'They now call them No. 1, No. 2, &c. as high as 21, which last terminates the pretensions of Russia.' Of these twenty-one, four only are inhabited, the 1st, 2d, 13th, and 14th. The others are merely occasionally visited, in order to hunt foxes and otters. The population of the four inhabited islands is reckoned at fourteen hundred persons.

From St. Peter and St. Paul, the commodore sent M. de Lesseps to France, with copies of his journals, &c. Mr. Kasloff, the Russian governor, received M. de Lesseps as his aid-de-camp till he should arrive at Okhotsk, whence he undertook to furnish him with the means of proceeding to Petersburg.

On the 30th of September, the ships sailed from Kamschatka, and steered to the S. E. in search of land, laid down in the chart, in 37° 30′ N. and 165° E. longitude. They observed flights of duck and small land-birds, which are certain indications that land is not far distant; yet they saw none. (The French editor is of opinion, that the land in question might be found a degree more to the south.) They crossed the equinoctial line without meeting any land, till the 6th of December, when they got sight of the most easterly island of those named, by Bougainville, Navigators Islands. In running past this

iſland, they ſaw a conſiderable groupe of Indians ſitting in a circle under cocoa-nut trees, and appearing quietly to enjoy the ſight afforded them by the frigates. Some canoes afterwards put off from a ſmaller iſland, and joined eleven others from the eaſtermoſt iſland. They approached the ſhip, at firſt, with great fear and caution, and without arms: nevertheleſs, when they at length ventured to exchange a few cocoa-nuts, they did not like to part with them before they had received the price, and frequently paddled away without fulfilling their part of the agreement. The firſt, or eaſtern iſland, is deſcribed as high and ſteep, and covered with large trees; having alſo ſeveral ſpots of cultivated ground and houſes built half way down the declivity; yet, on the whole, the iſland did not appear fertile.

By the 8th of this month, (December) the ſhips were near the iſland of Maouna, and, on the next morning, were ſurrounded by 'innumerable canoes,' laden with hogs, cocoa-nuts, and other fruit. It is remarkable that, both at the former iſland and at this, the natives diſregarded axes and iron, and preferred glaſs beads to whatever elſe was offered to them. Water was ſeen 'falling in caſcades from the tops of the mountains to the bottom of the villages.'

On the afternoon of the 9th, the ſhips found anchorage, a mile from the land, in 30 fathoms depth. On the ſame evening, M. de Langle, captain of the Aſtrolabe, with ſome other officers, went on ſhore; and, after an hour's ſtay, having been received in the moſt friendly manner, they returned on board. Early in the next morning, 200 canoes, full of different kinds of proviſions, came off to the ſhips; and the people would receive nothing but beads; every thing elſe being refuſed with diſdain. Above five hundred hogs were thus procured, beſides a great number of fowls and pigeons. The boats alſo went on ſhore, and were employed in filling water, which was performed with very little diſturbance. While this ſervice was executing, M. de la Pérouſe relates:

'I thought I might venture to the diſtance of two hundred yards to viſit a charming village, ſituated in the midſt of a wood, or rather of an orchard, all the trees of which were loaded with fruit. The houſes were placed upon the circumference of a circle of about a hundred and fifty toiſes in diameter, the interior forming a vaſt open ſpace, covered with the moſt beautiful verdure and ſhaded by trees, which kept the air delightfully cool. Women, children, and old men, accompanied me and invited me into their houſes. They ſpread the fineſt and freſheſt mats upon a floor formed of little choſen pebbles, and raiſed about two feet above the ground, in order to guard againſt the humidity. I went into the handſomeſt of theſe huts, which probably belonged to a chief; and great was my ſurprize, to ſee a large cabinet of lattice-work, as well executed as any of thoſe in the environs of Paris. The beſt architect could not have given a more elegant curve to the extremities of the ellipſis that terminated the building; while a row of pillars, at five feet diſtance from each other, formed a complete colonnade round the whole. The pillars were made of trunks of trees, very neatly wrought, and between

between them were fine mats, laid over one another, with great art, like the ſcales of a fiſh, and drawing up and down with cords, like our Venetian blinds. The reſt of the houſe was covered with leaves of the cocoa-palm.'

'The inhabitants of theſe iſlands were ſo rich, and had ſo few wants, that they diſdained our inſtruments of iron and our cloth, and aſked only for beads. Abounding in real bleſſings, they were deſirous of obtaining ſuperfluities alone.

'They had ſold, at our market, more than two hundred wood-pigeons, which would only eat out of the hand, and a number of the moſt beautiful turtle-doves and perroquets, equally tame. What cold imagination could ſeparate the idea of happineſs from ſo enchanting a place? Theſe iſlanders, ſaid we a hundred times over, are, without doubt, the happieſt beings on earth. Surrounded by their wives and children, they paſs their peaceful days in innocence and repoſe.'

This viſit paſſed without any diſpute that could lead to diſagreeable conſequences, though the natives began to ſhew great confidence in their large ſtature and perſonal ſtrength. 'Their height of above 5 feet 10 inches, and their muſcular limbs of coloſſal proportion, gave them an idea of their own ſuperiority, which rendered us by no means formidable in their eyes.' About noon, the boats all returned from the ſhore; and, in the afternoon, the ſhips got under ſail, their place of anchorage having been much expoſed and rendered unquiet by the ſwell of the ſea. It appears to have been M. de la Pérouſe's intention not to have remained longer at Maouna: but M. de Langle had diſcovered a landing place, which he thought an excellent harbour for the boats, and he prevailed on the commodore to remain off the iſland, for the purpoſe of getting more freſh water on board, the next day; and thus was a dreadful ſcene of diſaſter preparing for the unfortunate navigators! To a chief, who viſited the ſhip, M. de la Pérouſe made a number of preſents: but, ſays he, 'wiſhing, at the ſame time, to inſpire him with a high opinion of our power, I ordered ſeveral experiments, on the uſe of our weapons, to be made in his preſence: but their effect impreſſed him ſo little, that he ſeemed to think them only fit for the deſtruction of birds.'—'When the natives compared their bodily ſtrength to ours, they laughed at our threats and made a jeſt of our ſentinels;' though the preſence of the chief, above-mentioned, rendered them leſs inſolent.

The ſhips ſtood off and on during the whole night, and, in the next forenoon, four boats, (the barge and long boat of each ſhip) under the command of M. de Langle, the whole party, including officers, amounting to ſixty-one perſons, ſet off from the ſhips. On arriving near the ſhore, the landing-place appeared very different from what it had been deemed the day before, the tide having fallen ſeveral feet. M. de Langle, greatly ſurprized, was about to quit the creek and to repair to the place at which, on the preceding day, the boats had watered: 'but the air of tranquillity and good humour of the crowd, waiting for him upon the beach, with an immenſe quantity of fruit and hogs,' and the ap-

pearance of the women and children among the Indians, determined him on landing here. The caſks were accordingly put on ſhore. M. de la Pérouſe thus relates the melancholy ſequel:

'The number of canoes, which had traded with us in the morning, was ſo conſiderable, that we ſcarcely perceived its diminution in the afternoon; and I gave myſelf credit for keeping them employed on board, in hopes that our boats would be ſo much the quieter on ſhore. Great was my miſtake! M. de Langle's ſituation became every moment more and more embarraſſing. He found means, however, with the aſſiſtance of meſſieurs de Vaujuas, Boutin, Colinet, and Gobien, to ſhip his water; but the bay was almoſt dry, and he could not hope to get the long-boats off before four in the afternoon. He ſtepped into them however, as well as his detachment, and took poſt in the bow with his muſket and muſketeers, forbidding any one to fire before he ſhould give the word. He began, however, to be ſenſible that he ſhould ſoon be forced to do ſo. Already the ſtones began to fly, and the Indians, who were only up to their knees in water, ſurrounded the long-boats at leſs than ſix feet diſtance, the ſoldiers, who were embarked, making vain efforts to keep them off. If the fear of commencing hoſtilities, and of being accuſed of barbarity, had not withheld M. de Langle, he would doubtleſs have given orders to fire a volley of muſketry and ſwivels, which would not have failed to put the multitude to flight; but he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to keep them in check without effuſion of blood; and fell the victim of his humanity. In a very ſhort time a ſhower of ſtones, thrown from a ſmall diſtance with as much force as from a ſling, ſtruck almoſt every one of thoſe who were in the long-boat. M. de Langle had only time to fire his two ſhot, when he was knocked down, and unfortunately fell over the larboard ſide of the boat, where more than two hundred Indians immediately maſſacred him with clubs and ſtones. When he was dead they tied him by the arm to one of the row-locks of the long-boat, in order, no doubt, to make ſure of their ſpoil. The long-boat of the Bouſſole, commanded by M. Boutin, was aground at two toiſes from that of the Aſtrolabe, leaving in a parallel line between them a little channel unoccupied by the Indians. It was by that channel that all the wounded, who had the good fortune not to fall on the other ſide, ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. They got on board the barges, which, having moſt fortunately been kept afloat, were the means of ſaving forty-nine perſons out of the ſixty-one, of which the party conſiſted.'

In leſs than five minutes, not a ſingle man remained in either of the long-boats; all who were able having made their eſcape to the barges, which were afloat. The water-caſks were thrown overboard to make room for the additional numbers, and to render the boats more manageable. The ammunition being all exhauſted, the two barges retreated from the ſhore, and at five o'clock returned to the ſhips. No ſuſpicion had been there entertained of what was tranſacting on ſhore; and when the boats arrived, there were ſtill more than a hundred canoes cloſe to the frigates.

M. de

M. de la Pérouſe found ſome difficulty in reſtraining the vengeance of his crew, who, of their own accord, began to caſt looſe the guns: but he confined the manifeſtation of his anger to the firing of a great gun, loaded only with powder, over the canoes, as a warning for them to depart. A ſmall boat likewiſe came off from the ſhore, which doubtleſs informed them of what had happened; for, in a ſhort time afterwards, not a canoe remained in ſight.

This event, conſidering all the circumſtances, is as extraordinary as any that we find in hiſtory. That ſixty-one armed Europeans, in a ſituation in which they could not be ſurrounded, ſhould be completely overcome by a ſavage multitude, armed only with clubs and ſtones, who had never before ſeen fire-arms, and who were wholly ignorant of their uſe and effect, is really ſurprizing. It is not to be doubted that the ignorance of the Indians, in this reſpect, was one of the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs of their attack, indeed of the attack itſelf; for it muſt greatly have prevented their dread of conſequences. Many of the Indians muſt have fallen by the fire-arms, (M. de la Pérouſe, in his correſpondence, ſays 30,) but the knowledge of this could not be ſufficiently ſpread to have had much effect during the battle. The great forbearance of M. de Langle, and his companions, was likewiſe another cauſe of their defeat; and it is peculiarly to be lamented, when men fall a ſacrifice to their own virtue. It had been, and very humanely, a ſyſtem which theſe commanders had preſcribed to themſelves, that not a ſingle Indian ſhould loſe his life by their means, while they could avoid meaſures of offence; the conſequence of which humane determination, in this inſtance, was that it gave the Indians an opportunity of approaching ſo cloſe before any attempt was made to repel them, that the means of reſiſtance loſt the greater part of their efficacy. Yet it ſhould have been conſidered that the confidence, which the Indians had ſhewn in the ſuperiority of their bodily ſtrength, rendered it the more neceſſary to reſent the very firſt aggreſſion.

The narrative of M. de Vaujuas, an officer who accompanied M. de Langle, ſays, that the caſks were filled with water, and put quietly into the boats: that M. de Langle intended to have remained a little longer to traffic for proviſions: but that, the natives becoming more troubleſome, he gave orders to reembark. In the mean time, (and this, M. de Vaujuas thinks, was the firſt cauſe of the misfortune,)

" He made a preſent of a few beads to a ſort of chiefs, who had helped to keep off the inhabitants. We were, however, certain, that this police was a mere mockery, and that, if theſe pretended chiefs had really any authority, it extended to a very ſmall number of individuals. The captain's preſents, diſtributed to five or ſix perſons, excited the diſcontents of all the reſt. From that moment a general clamour aroſe, and we were no longer able to keep them quiet. They ſuffered us, however, to get into our boats; but a part of them ſtepped into the water in purſuit of us, while the others picked up ſtones upon the beach.

" As the long-boats were aground at a little diſtance from the

ſtrand, we were obliged, in our way to them, to paſs through the water up to our waiſts; and in ſo doing ſeveral of the ſoldiers wetted their arms. It was in this critical ſituation that the horrible ſcene began which I am about to narrate. Scarcely were we in the long-boats, when M. de Langle gave orders to ſhove them off, and to weigh the grapnel; but this ſeveral of the moſt robuſt iſlanders oppoſed, by laying hold of the rope. The captain, witneſs of their reſiſtance, ſeeing the tumult increaſe, and perceiving the ſtones reach him, tried to intimidate the ſavages, by firing a muſket in the air; but, ſo far from being frightened, they made it the ſignal of a general attack. Immediately a ſhower of ſtones, hurled with equal force and celerity, came pouring upon us; the fight began on both ſides, and ſoon became general. Thoſe whoſe muſkets were in a ſervicable ſtate brought ſeveral of the infuriated Indians to the ground; but the others were by no means diſmayed, and ſeemed to combat with redoubled vigour. A part of them came cloſe up to the long-boats, while the reſt, to the number of ſix or ſeven hundred, continued to ſtone us in the moſt dreadful and murderous manner."

Beſides the twelve perſons who were killed, twenty others were wounded, none of them dangerouſly. M. de Lamanon, naturaliſt, was among the ſlain. During the two following days, M. de la Pérouſe remained off Maouna, in ſearch of anchorage, but could not find any near enough to the ſhore to protect the boats in an attempt to land: for without the ſupport of the ſhips, the remaining boats (the launches being both loſt) were not ſufficient to carry, at one time, a party large enough to make good a landing, if oppoſed.

On the 14th, they ſtood towards Oyolava, another iſland, in ſight of Maouna, to the W. N. W. As they approached, great numbers of canoes came to the ſhips, bringing proviſions for exchange. Theſe people had the ſame partiality for glaſs beads, that had been manifeſted by thoſe at the iſland of Maouna.

The natives of the Navigators' Iſlands reſemble, in many reſpects, the Friendly Iſlanders. The cuſtom of cutting off two joints of the little finger, M. de la Pérouſe ſays, in one part of the narrative, 'is utterly unknown at the Navigators' Iſlands:' but in a preceding part, he had ſaid, 'in the iſlands of Navigators, I only perceived two individuals who had ſuffered that operation.'—The language he obſerved to be a 'dialect of the ſame, and derived from the Malay.'

The unfortunate tranſaction at Maouna occaſioned a ſlight alteration in M. de la Pérouſe's plans. On leaving the Navigators' iſlands, he determined not to anchor any where until he arrived at Botany-Bay, where he propoſed to put together the frame of a new long-boat, which he had brought with him from France. They now paſſed in ſight of Traitor's iſland, of the Friendly iſlands, and others; and the commodore ſettled the poſition of ſome which were not before well aſcertained, but had no intercourſe with the natives, except that a few canoes viſited the ſhips. At Norfolk-iſland, the ſurf was too great for his boats to land. On the 23d of January, 1788, he made the coaſt of New

New Holland, and on the 26th anchored in Botany-Bay; at the very time that governor Phillip, with the whole colony embarked under his direction, was failing out of the bay, in order to occupy the preſent ſtation of the ſettlement at Port Jackſon.

Here finiſhes all that has been received of the Journal of M. de la Pérouſe: but from extracts publiſhed from his correſpondence with the miniſter of the marine, and with M. Fleurieu, we may collect the plan which he propoſed to purſue on leaving Botany-Bay. In a letter, dated September 21, 1787, from Avatſcha, he writes that his purpoſe was to be at New Zealand by the 20th of January, 1788: thence to ſail to the northward, to viſit New Caledonia, the Terre des Arſacides, and other iſlands. 'At the end of July, (ſays he,) I ſhall paſs between New Guinea and New Holland, by a different channel from that of the Endeavour; provided, however, that ſuch an one exiſt. During the months of Auguſt, September, and part of October, I ſhall viſit the gulph of Carpentaria, and the coaſt of New Holland, but in ſuch a way that it may be poſſible for me to get to the northward, and to arrive at the beginning of December, 1788, at the Iſle of France.' In a letter of a poſterior date, having received orders from France, he ſays that he ſhall make no other alteration in the beſore-mentioned plan, than that of going to Botany Bay in New Holland, inſtead of going to New Zealand. From Botany Bay, in February, 1788, he wrote, that the misfortune at Navigators' iſlands ſhould occaſion no change in the plan of the remainder of the voyage. 'I have ſtill (ſays he) a great many intereſting things to do, and very miſchievous people to viſit. I ſhall ſail from Botany-Bay on the 15th of March, and ſhall take care to loſe no time till the month of December, when I expect to arrive at the Iſle of France.' There is little probability that it will ever appear to the world, how much of this plan the unfortunate officer was permitted to execute, after his departure from Botany Bay.

The latter half of the 3d and laſt volume is occupied by ſupplementary memoirs, which conſiſt of detached papers on various ſubjects, that had been tranſmitted home by the commodore, and by different ſcientific men who accompanied him in the voyage. Of theſe, are written by M. de la Pérouſe, beſides his correſpondence, a memoir concerning Manilla and Formoſa; and one concerning the fur-trade.—What is ſaid concerning Manilla is principally deſigned to demonſtrate the great eaſe with which it might be taken from the Spaniards; and the following curious fact is ſtated in this memoir: 'It is computed, that Luconia contains no more than 1200 Creolian or European Spaniards; and it is remarkable, that not a ſingle Spaniſh family has laſted four generations, whilſt the population of the natives has increaſed ſince the conqueſt.' Reſpecting Formoſa, M. de la P. writes with the ſame views. He thinks that the Engliſh would derive the greateſt advantage from making themſelves maſters of that iſland; and that it would give them great influence over the Chineſe; whereas, conſidering the preſent ſtate of our tea-trade, he ſays, 'I ſhould not be ſurpriſed to ſee theſe Europeans (the

Engliſh) in a ſhort time reduced in China to the ſame condition that the Dutch are in Japan.'—Formoſa is garriſoned by ten thouſand Tartars, who 'are not ſo inferior to Europeans in courage as in their mode or fighting.' The memoir on the fur-trade contains the following remarkable information: 'that it is the plan of the viceroy of Mexico, to reſerve to government the excluſive trade of otter-ſkins;' and in a letter addreſſed to the miniſter of the marine, he ſtates, 'that the moſt northern of the Spaniſh factories furniſhes ten thouſand ſea otter ſkins yearly; and if they continue to be ſold advantageouſly in China, it will be eaſy for Spain to procure as many as fifty thouſand, and by that means to give a mortal ſtab to the trade of the Ruſſians.'

The ſmall remainder of theſe ſupplementary memoirs contains deſcriptions in botany, and other parts of natural hiſtory; accounts of chymical experiments; geograpical and political remarks on the places at which the ſhips touched during the voyage; and various other ſcientific matters.

The reader of theſe volumes will ſee, among the other valuable qualities of M. de la Pérouſe, a mildneſs of character without affectation: yet there is ſometimes occaſion to remark, that he ſpeaks of his intentions with the confidence of certainty, making no allowance for the probabilities of diſappointment from accidents: perhaps it is not very unfair to ſay of this ſanguine manner of ſpeaking, that it is a national characteriſtic. As a navigator and a diſcoverer, his character will always ſtand high: though the viſit which he made to the weſt coaſt of North America has been rendered of leſs conſequence than it would otherwiſe have been, by the ſubſequent voyage of captain Vancouver. If ſome part of what M. de la Pérouſe diſcovered, during the ſhort time which he paſſed on the American coaſt, has eſcaped the obſervations of his ſucceſſor; yet, in this part of the voyage, where differences appear in the accounts, it muſt be preſumed that in moſt caſes the preference ought to be given to that of the Engliſh navigator; whoſe labours, for three ſucceſſive ſeaſons, were directed to the ſingle object of examining the American coaſt. We have already noticed that the plan of inſtructions given to M. de la Pérouſe kept him in a continual ſtate of hurry, having always more in contemplation than he had time to perform; notwithſtanding that, in ſeveral inſtances, he made free uſe of the diſcretionary power allowed him, to vary, as he ſhould ſee occaſion, from the plan chalked out. Parts of the plan were directed to objects of no great importance; ſuch as viſiting Eaſter iſland, the Society and Friendly iſlands; places already well known, and at which M. de la Pérouſe thought it ſo little neceſſary to touch, that in one of his letters he expreſſes his ſatisfaction that in 'ſo large a voyage, he ſhall have no occaſion to put in at thoſe everlaſting Society iſlands.' In one of the more intereſting objects of the voyage, that which reſpected Japan, the alteration made by M. de la Pérouſe, of inſpecting the weſtern inſtead of the eaſtern coaſt, which latter was recommended in the inſtructions, was perhaps the reaſon why the moſt material part of that article was not accompliſhed.—"With regard to Japan," ſay the inſtructions,

inſtructions, " he will endeavour to reconnoitre and inſpect the north-eaſt and the eaſt coaſt, and go on ſhore in ſome of its ports, in order to ſatisfy himſelf whether its government in reality oppoſes any invincible obſtacle to the introduction of commerce or barter with Europeans, &c. Perhaps the prohibitory laws of this empire, which all the accounts of this country ſpeak of as ſo ſevere, are not in force on the coaſts to the north-eaſt and eaſt, with ſo much rigour as at Nangaſaki and the ſouth coaſt, places too near the capital to expect any relaxation in them." To which it may be added that the weſtern coaſt is probably more populous, and better cultivated, if not more civilized, on account of the nearneſs of communication with the Chineſe, than the eaſtern coaſt; which has for its boundary only an immenſe open ſea.

The diſcoveries of this highly-lamented navigator on the eaſtern coaſt of China, and in the ſeas between that and Japan, are juſtly entitled to be conſidered as entirely new, and as forming a moſt valuable acquiſition to geography.

On the whole, indeed, it may be pronounced that few accounts of voyages can be ranked with this in entertainment and intereſt, and that ſtill fewer are ſo replete with valuable information. May no other ever have ſo melancholy a termination!

Travels in the interior Diſtricts of Africa, performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Aſſociation, in the Years 1795, 1796, *and* 1797; *by Mungo Park, Surgeon. With an Appendix, containing Geographical Illuſtrations of Africa, by Major Rennell,* 4to. 1799.

THE tract of land in which Mr. Park purſued his laborious journey is not very extenſive; it is bounded by the parallels of latitude 12° 20′ N. and 15° 10′ N. and the meridians 16° 30′ and 1° 30′ weſt longitude; the moſt diſtant point that he arrived at from the weſtern ſea is nearly 1100 Engliſh miles from Cape Verd. If we compare the magnitude of this tract of land with that of the whole continent, our expectations may be diſappointed; but, as here are the bounds of Mooriſh ferocity and Mahometan ſuperſtition, as well as of the knowledge which the ancients poſſeſſed of Africa, the travels, conſidered with a view either to the ſtate of manners in half-uncultivated minds, or to a better idea of the knowledge of the ancients than ſome are inclined to entertain of it, are highly intereſting.

'My inſtructions (ſays Mr. Park) were very plain and conciſe I was directed, on my arrival in Africa, "to paſs on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by ſuch other route as ſhould be found moſt convenient. That I ſhould aſcertain the courſe, and, if poſſible, the riſe and termination of that river. That I ſhould uſe my utmoſt exertions to viſit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Houſſa; and that I ſhould be afterwards at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by ſuch other route, as, under all the then exiſting circumſtances of my ſituation and proſpects,

proſpects, ſhould appear to me to be moſt adviſable."

Theſe inſtructions were not completely fulfilled, but the miſſion of Mr. Park is not therefore to be deemed fruitleſs. Thoſe who ſent him were aware that many difficulties were likely to attend the undertaking: but the obſtacles of penetrating into Africa might poſſibly have been exaggerated, or a fortunate combination of circumſtances might diminiſh them; in which caſes, the adventurer muſt be provided with inſtructions to direct his farther reſearches. Tombuctoo and Houſſa were, if poſſible, to be viſited: but, if that were impracticable, the undertaking was not to be ſuppoſed to have failed: They were rather propoſed as terms or limits to the expedition; ſufficiently diſtant indeed under the moſt fortunate union of circumſtances. Of the riſe, courſe, and termination of the Niger, the courſe only has been aſcertained; and a moſt important determination it is, confirming the aſſertions of ancient writers, and preventing all farther controverſy.

The narrative of Mr. Park is ſimple: he ſeems to have deſcribed things as he ſaw them, and to have conſulted his ſenſes rather than his imagination; he is unwilling to glut credulity by the narration of wonders; he draws no exaggerated picture of his ſufferings and dangers; nor does he aſcribe to his own ſagacity any event which reſulted from chance or accident. The manners, diſpoſitions, and cuſtoms of the people are detailed fully and (we believe) faithfully: for if what is deſcribed be not real, at leaſt that which is invented is probable, ſince we diſcover no remarkable deviation from the manners which have been obſerved to prevail among other people in like circumſtances:—they are what we ſhould have ſuppoſed them to be, from the light which former travels afford. Human nature, in its general characters, is nearly the ſame in all times and in all places; admitting modifications from the influence of climate, and from arbitrary regulations, which it is the buſineſs of the traveller to note; and which Mr. Park has noted. Thoſe readers, then, who ſeek in the preſent work for what is marvellous and anomalous, will ſeek in vain. The author found, on the borders of the deſert and on the banks of the Niger, what has been found in all countries, a mixture of good and evil; he ſaw no people exempted from the influence of paſſion, and ſolely guided by a predominating reaſon; no conſummate polity and pure religion: but forms of government, weak, imperfect, or oppreſſive; the wildeſt fanaticiſm and the moſt debaſing ſuperſtition. The inhabitants of Africa, poſſeſſing few arts, could have few of the conveniences of life; and without books, they muſt be without any ſtories of imagery, principles of ſcience, and comprehenſion of knowledge. Their wants were found to be few, yet their means ſcarcely adequate to ſupply them; and their vices and virtues were groſs, ſimple, and circumſcribed in their operation. Their ſchemes of invention, and their ſcenes of happineſs, are beneath the envy or the imitation of an European. Human nature is ſhewn in Africa nearly in its loweſt ſcale; and, after having learnt what its inhabitants think, enjoy, and can

do,

do, we muſt exclaim, with Kafra the ſlave-driver, " Black men are nothing." *.

Two deſcriptions of readers, however, may poſſibly complain of diſappointment, after the peruſal of Mr. Park's travels: but they are ſuch as no author will be very ambitious to ſatisfy; the one, thoſe who purpoſely aſk too much; the other, thoſe who are indefinite in the object of their expectations, and know not what it is which they demand. To all other perſons, who, by a ſenſe of the obſtacles and the means of combating them, tempered the zeal of hope; or who ſaw a diſtinct object in it, by the light of other travels; the preſent work will appear important, as having conſiderably augmented the knowledge of what its moſt learned commentator calls the moral and phyſical geography of Africa.

The inſtructions given to Mr. P. have already been mentioned. In conſequence of them, he left England for Africa, 22d May, 1795, and arrived at Piſania, a Britiſh factory on the river Gambia, 5th July. The firſt object of the author, on his arrival at this place, was to learn the Mandingo language, as being generally ſpoken in the parts through which he was to travel. On the 2d of December, he left Piſania, accompanied by a negroe ſervant who ſpoke both the Engliſh and the Mandingo tongues, and by a negroe boy who ſpoke the language of the Serawoollies, an inland people. His baggage conſiſted of proviſions for two days, linen, a ſmall aſſortment of beads, amber, and tobacco, an umbrella, a pocket ſextant, a magnetic compaſs, a thermometer, two fowling pieces, two pair of piſtols, and other ſmall articles. His courſe was eaſterly towards the kingdom of Woolli; the capital of which, Medina, he reached on the 5th December. He ſtopped here a day, and was kindly treated by the king, who tried to diſſuade him from the journey; warning him of the fate of major Houghton. On the next day, however, having procured a guide, the traveller purſued his journey, and on the 8th reached Kolor. On the 9th he proceeded, and on the 11th he arrived at Koojar, the frontier town of Woolli. Here he drank a liquor reſembling beer, and in fact made from corn previouſly malted, with bitter roots inſtead of hops.—To reach the kingdom of Bondou, he was obliged to paſs a wilderneſs of two days journey; in croſſing which he was accompanied by three negroes, elephant hunters. On the 13th he reached Tallika the frontier town of Bondou, the inhabitants of which are Mohammedan Foulahs; one of the four great claſſes into which the inhabitants on the banks of the Gambia are divided. At Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou, where Mr. P. arrived on the 21ſt of December, he was introduced to the king Almami, who had behaved unkindly to major Houghton. The ignorance and cunning of this prince are thus related:

'We found the monach ſitting upon a mat, and two attendants with him. I repeated what I had before told him concerning the object of my journey, and my reaſons for paſſing through his country. He ſeemed, however, but half ſatisfied. The notion of travelling for curio-

* See Travels, p. 359.

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fity, was quite new to him. He thought it impoſſible, he ſaid, that any man in his ſenſes would undertake ſo dangerous a journey, merely to look at the country, and its inhabitants: however, when I offered to ſhew him the contents of my portmanteau, and every thing belonging to me, he was convinced; and it was evident that his ſuſpicion had ariſen from a belief, that every white man muſt of neceſſity be a trader. When I had delivered my preſents, he ſeemed well pleaſed, and was particularly delighted with the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of himſelf and his two attendants; who could not for ſome time comprehend the uſe of this wonderful machine. After this I was about to take my leave, when the king, deſiring me to ſtop a while, began a long preamble in favour of the whites; extolling their immenſe wealth, and good diſpoſitions. He next proceeded to an eulogium on my blue coat, of which the yellow buttons ſeemed particularly to catch his fancy; and he concluded by entreating me to preſent him with it; aſſuring me, for my conſolation under the loſs of it, that he would wear it on all public occaſions, and inform every one who ſaw it, of my great liberality towards him. The requeſt of an African prince, in his own dominions, particularly when made to a ſtranger, comes little ſhort of a command. It is only a way of obtaining by gentle means, what he can, if he pleaſes, take by force; and as it was againſt my intereſt to offend him by a refuſal, I very quietly took off my coat, the only good one in my poſſeſſion, and laid it at his feet."

Leaving Bondou, Mr. Park proceeded to the kingdom of Kajaaga; the inhabitants of which are called Serawollies; a trading people, and deriving conſiderable profit from the ſale of ſalt and cotton cloths. At Joag, the frontier town, he was ill-treated, and robbed of half his effects by order of Batcheri, king of Kajaaga. Here he embraced a favourable opportunity of proſecuting his journey to the kingdom of Kaſſon, under the guidance of Demba Sego, the king's nephew: to pay for whoſe protection, he was plundered of half of his remaining effects by Demba and his father. Eager to quit people who ſold their kindneſs at ſo dear a rate, Mr. Park, on the 10th of January, 1796, left Teſſee, the frontier town of Kaſſon, on his way to Kooniakary, the capital.

At Kooniakary, the author was treated kindly by the king, who had ſeen major Houghton and had preſented him with a horſe. On account of an impending war, which was likely to involve the kingdoms of Kaſſon, Kajaaga, Kaarta, and Bambarra, the traveller remained in Kaſſon till the 3d of February, when he reſumed his journey, and arrived on the 12th at Kemmoo, the capital of Kaarta. Here he was introduced to the king, Daiſy: who adviſed him to return to Kaſſon, or, if he was determined to proceed, to take a circuitous route through the Mooriſh kingdom of Ludamar, into Bambarra. From Kaarta to Bambarra he could not immediately proceed, without the danger of being apprehended as a ſpy. As Mr. Park was unwilling to ſpend the rainy ſeaſon in the interior, he reſolved to follow the route through Ludamar, which Dai-

ſy

ſy preſcribed; and accordingly, on the 13th of February, he left Kemmoo, and arrived on the 14th at Marina.

On the 18th, Mr. Park arrived at Simbing, the frontier town of Ludamar. 'It was from this village, he ſays, that major Houghton, deſerted by his negroe ſervants, wrote his laſt letter with a pencil to Dr. Laidley.

'This brave but unfortunate man, having ſurmounted many difficulties, had taken a northerly direction, and endeavoured to paſs through the kingdom of Ludamar, where I afterwards learned the following particulars concerning his melancholy fate. On his arrival at Jara, he got acquainted with certain Mooriſh merchants who were travelling to Tiſheet (a place near the ſalt-pits in the Great Deſert, ten days journey to the northward) to purchaſe ſalt; and the major, at the expenſe of a muſket and ſome tobacco, engaged them to convey him thither. It is impoſſible to form any other opinion on this determination, than that the Moors intentionally deceived him, either with regard to the route that he wiſhed to purſue, or the ſtate of the intermediate country between Jarra and Tombuctoo. Their intention probably was to rob and leave him in the deſert. At the end of two days he ſuſpected their treachery, and inſiſted on returning to Jarra. Finding him perſiſt in this determination, the Moors robbed him of every thing he poſſeſſed, and went off with their camels; the poor major being thus deſerted, returned on foot to a watering place in poſſeſſion of the Moors, called Tarra. He had been ſome days without food, and the unfeeling Moors refuſing to give him any, he ſunk at laſt under his diſtreſſes. Whether he actually periſhed of hunger, or was murdered outright by the ſavage Mahommedans, is not certainly known; his body was dragged into the woods, and I was ſhewn at a diſtance, the ſpot where his remains were left to periſh.'

The war which obliged Mr. Park to deviate into Ludamar, aroſe from the circumſtance of a few bullocks having been ſtolen from the Banbarrans by the Moors, and ſold to the dooty, or chief man of a town in Kaarta; the cattle were claimed, but in vain; and in his method of declaring war, and of announcing the fate of his enemy, the king of Bambarra reſembled the Scythians who ſent to Alexander a mole and a bundle of arrows, as emblems of their arts and proweſs:

'With this view he ſent a meſſenger and a party of horſemen to Daiſy, king of Kaarta, to inform him that the king of Bambarra, with nine thouſand men, would viſit Kemmoo in the courſe of the dry ſeaſon; and to deſire that he (Daiſy) would direct his ſlaves to ſweep the houſes, and have every thing ready for their accommodation. The meſſenger concluded this inſulting notification by preſenting the king with a pair of *iron ſandals*; at the ſame time adding, that "until ſuch time as Daiſy had worn out theſe ſandals in his flight, he ſhould never be ſecure from the arrows of Bambarra."

On Mr. Park's arrival at Jarra, the frontier town of the Mooriſh kingdom of Ludamar, he ſolicited by preſents the leave of Ali, the king, to paſs, through his territories; which was granted. The author accordingly left Jarra on the

27th

27th of February; and here began his misfortunes. The Moors, unfeeling, proud, ignorant, and fanatical, hiſſed, ſhouted at, and abuſed him; they plundered him, and openly; for it was lawful, they ſaid, for a Mohammedan to plunder a Chriſtian. Mr. Park, however, purſued his journey, and on March 14th reached Sampaka, a large town; where he lodged at the houſe of a negroe who made gunpowder.

At the village of Samee, Mr. Park was ſeized by a party of Moors, and conducted back to Benown, the reſidence of Ali. He ſuffered here all that religious hatred and ſportive cruelty could inflict; ſolitude and confinement were puniſhments too light for a forlorn traveller and a Chriſtian; and except the perſecution was continual, the malice of the Moors was not ſatisfied. His eyes were to have been put out merely becauſe they looked like cat's eyes, and he eſcaped death only by the circumſtance of a piſtol twice miſſing fire.

At length, after a variety of hardſhips, Mr. Park was fortunate enough, on the 2d of July, to eſcape from the Moors. Traverſing the wilderneſs, in which he ſuffered exceedingly from hunger and thirſt, on the 5th of July, he reached a negroe town, called Wawra, belonging to Manſong, king of Bambarra. Continuing his journey from this place, in company with ſome inhabitants of Kaarta, he paſſed through ſeveral towns of Bambarra; and on the 21ſt of July, he came in ſight of Sego, and 'of the great object of his miſſion; the long fought-for Niger, glittering to the morning ſun, as broad as the Thames, at Weſtminſter, and flowing ſlowly to the eaſtward.' 'I haſtened to the brink,' ſays Mr. Park, 'and, having drank of the water, liſted up my fervent thanks in prayer, to the great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with ſucceſs.'

The city of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, conſiſts of four diſtinct towns, two on the northern and two on the ſouthern ſide of the Niger. Theſe are ſurrounded with high mud walls; the houſes are built of clay, and are of a ſquare form, with flat roofs: the number of inhabitants is nearly thirty thouſand. The boats here uſed for croſſing the Niger, or Joliba (great waters), are compoſed of the trunks of two large trees joined together, not ſide by ſide, but endways. Mr. Park was prevented from croſſing over to the ſouthern bank of the Niger, by an order from Manſong, king of Bambarra, and was adviſed to ſpend the night in a diſtant village. At this village, however, no one would receive him; and he was preparing to paſs the night on the branches of a tree, in hunger and amid a ſtorm, when he was relieved by a woman who was returning from the labours of the field. It was at the hut of this female that his wants were relieved and his ſorrows ſung. *

The king of Bambarra having heard, from the Moors of Sego, unfavourable reports of Mr. Park, ſent him a bag containing five thouſand kowries, † and an order to quit

* The words related by Mr. Park were verſified by the ducheſs of Devonſhire, and we have given them under the head of Poetry in this volume.

† Kowries, or ſmall ſhells, 250 of which are nearly equal in value to a ſhilling.

Sego;

Sego; in conſequence of which, the traveller proceeded eaſtward along the banks of the Niger.

Purſuing his courſe along the banks of the Niger, which are very delightful, Mr. Park paſſed through the towns of Modiboo and Kea, and reached Moorzan; here he croſſed the Niger to Silla, the end of his journey eaſtward. The reaſons which determined him to proceed no farther are ſufficient to juſtify him; he was worne down by ſickneſs, hunger, and fatigue; he was without any article of value to procure proviſions; the king of Bambarra's kowries were nearly ſpent; if he were to ſubſiſt by charity, he muſt rely on Mooriſh charity; if he continued his journey, it muſt be through a country ſubjected to the power of Moors, and he had experienced the Moors to be mercileſs fanatics: he might gain no new information; and what he had gained might periſh with him. Before he left Silla, however, he inquired from Mooriſh and negro traders, the courſe of the Niger, and the countries ſituated in its vicinity.—The information which he received will be found in p. 213—217. We had deſigned to extract it, but we perceive that our limits will not admit ſo large a quotation. As to the extent of the Niger, Mr. Park's beſt informants were ignorant of its termination; deſcribing the amazing length of its courſe only in general terms, and ſaying that they believe it runs to the world's end.

Owing to the ſwamps on the ſouthern bank of the Niger, Mr. Park was obliged to return weſtward on the northern bank. He avoided Sego; and, inſtead of retracing his former route, he continued his journey along the Niger; depending for a precarious ſubſiſtence, and for accommodation, on the charity of the negroes, and ſometimes purchaſing relief by writing ſaphies, or charms to procure wealth and avoid misfortunes. In theſe ſaphies, both the Mohammedan and pagan natives place a ſuperſtitious confidence.

At a town called Bammakoo, Mr. Park quitted the Niger, and proceeded to Sibidooloo, the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding. After having remained here a few days, he purſued his journey to Kamalia, where he was kindly received by a Buſhreen named Kafra Taura. Kafra informed Mr. Park that it was impoſſible to paſs the Jalonka wilderneſs at that ſeaſon of the year: he offered to lodge and ſubſiſt him till the time when the rivers ſhould be fordable and the graſs burnt; and finally to take him along with the caravan to Gambia. Influenced by the kindneſs of Kafra, and by the proſpect of dangers which awaited him, if he immediately purſued his journey, Mr. Park remained at Kamalia from the 16th of September to the 19th of April. During this long interval, he was diligent in augmenting his information concerning the climate, the production of the country, the manners, cuſtoms, and diſpoſitions of the natives, and the chief branches of their commerce.

Concerning the diſpoſition of the women, Mr. Park's teſtimony agrees with that of Mr. Ledyard. They are uniformly benevolent.

Among the negroes, plurality of wives is allowed. Although the African huſbands poſſeſs unlimited authority, they are not cruel, and rarely jealous: inſtances of conjugal infidelity are not common.

The Africans have no aſtronomical knowledge; and the little which they pretend to know of geography is falſe: they imagine that the earth is an extended plain, beyond which is the ſea; or river of ſalt water; and on the farther ſhores of which are ſituated two countries called Tobaudo-doo and Jong-ſang-doo, 'the land of the white people,' and 'the land where ſlaves are ſold.'

In a chapter on the ſtate and ſources of ſlavery in Africa, Mr. Park declines the diſcuſſion of the queſtion how far the ſyſtem of ſlavery is promoted by the ſlave traffic carried on by the nations of Europe, and merely expreſſes his belief that, in the preſent unenlightened ſtate of the minds of the Africans, 'a diſcontinuance of the ſlave-trade would not be attended with ſuch beneficial effects as many wiſe and worthy perſons expect.'

On the 19th of April, Mr. Park with Kafra, four ſlatees, and the caravan of 27 ſlaves, left Kamalia, and on the 23d they entered the Jallonka wilderneſs; which was traverſed on foot, and with great expedition, in five days: the diſtance acroſs the wilderneſs is a hundred miles. After having croſſed the black river, a principal branch of the Senegal, the caravan arrived on May 3d at Malacotta; where Mr. Park obtained information of a war which had happened between the kings of Foota Torra and of Jaloff.

Without experiencing any extraordinary hardſhips, or remarkable accidents, the caravan, after a journey of 500 miles, on the 4th of June 1797, arrived at Medina, the capital of the king of Woolli's dominions, which Mr. Park had left in December, 1795. He proceeded hence to Piſania, and there met with his friend Dr. Laidley, who received him with great joy and ſatisfaction as one riſen from the dead. He had now an opportunity of recompenſing his benefactor Kafra, the kind ſlave-merchant, who parted from him with great regret. On the 17th of June, Mr. Park took his paſſage on board an American ſhip which had entered the river Gambia in order to purchaſe ſlaves, and in 35 days arrived at Antigua; which port they were obliged to make on account of the leakineſs of the veſſel. On the 24th of November Mr. Park took his paſſage in the Cheſterfield packet, and arrived in England on the 22d of December, 1797, after an abſence of two years and ſeven months.

The volume concludes with the inſertion, entire, of geographical illuſtrations and maps by major Rennell. A portrait of Mr. Park, and ſeveral other plates are alſo introduced.

Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the Year 1792 *to* 1798. *By W. G. Browne.* 4to. 1799.

AN adequate knowledge of a country ſo extenſive as Africa, and which it is ſo difficult to explore, can only be expected from the enterpriſe and the labours of many travellers. Mr. Park traverſed a vaſt tract, ſettled ſome dubious queſtions in geography, and exhibited a picture of the manners and arts of life among a new people. The travels of the preſent author had a more contracted range, and add leſs to the ſum of our information concerning

Africa: yet what he has discovered and observed is not inconsiderable, nor of little value. He has given a full and (we presume) an accurate account of the government and people of Dar-Fûr; * and to have failed in doing this would have merited censure, since he had time and opportunity to make his observations, and the inhabitants of the country of Dar-Fûr do not exceed two hundred thousand.

Of Egypt and Syria, the public possess many accounts; yet Mr. Browne's remarks and descriptions generally produce entertainment, and not unfrequently communicate instruction. We shall briefly mark his route, and occasionally give extracts.

Mr. B. arrived at Alexandria in 1792, and his first chapter contains a description of this city. One of his primary undertakings was to seek for the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in which he was unsuccessful. In his next journey from Alexandria to Rashid, † he slightly describes the village of Abûkir; now elevated and dignified in the consideration of the world by two memorable events; the late destruction of the fleet of France, and the murderous defeat of fifteen thousand Turks.

In the chapter concerning Kahira, the author describes the Beys, the Mamlûks, the government of Egypt, and the state of politics while he was there. We do not feel ourselves inclined to give any other extract from this chapter, than a remark concerning Mr. Gray's poetical description of Egypt during the inundation of the Nile.

'Mr. Gray's well-known description of Egypt, as immersed under the influx of the Nile, is exquisitely poetical, but far from just. In Upper Egypt the river is confined by high banks, which prevent any inundation into the adjacent country. This is also the case in Lower Egypt, except at the extremities of the Delta, where the Nile is never more than a few feet below the surface of the ground, and where inundation of course takes place. But the country, as may be expected, is without habitations. The fertility of Egypt arises from human art. The lands near the river are watered by machines; and if they extend to any width, canals have been cut. The soil in general is so rich as to require no manure. It is a pure black mould, free from stones, and of a very tenacious and unctuous nature. When left uncultivated, I have observed fissures, arising from the extreme heat, of which a spear of six feet could not reach the bottom.'

In chap. 6. Mr. Browne thus briefly describes the charmer of serpents:

'Romeili is an open place, of an irregular form, where feats of juggling are performed. The charmers of serpents also seem worthy of remark, their powers appearing extraordinary. The serpent most common at Kahira is of the viper class, and undoubtedly poisonous. If one of them enter a house, the charmer is sent for, who uses a certain form of words. I have

* Instead of the words Cairo, Damietta, and Rosetta, the author uses what he says are the proper names, Kahira, Damiatt, and Rashid.

† For an extract from which see our department of Characters.

ſeen three ſerpents enticed out of the cabin of a ſhip, lying near the ſhore. The operator handled them, and then put them into a bag. At other times I have ſeen the ſerpents twiſt round the bodies of theſe Pſylli in all directions, without having had their fangs extracted or broken, and without doing them any injury.'

At Cobbé, a town in Dar-Fûr, ſituated lat. 14° 11′. long. E. G. 28° 8′ the author was detained for a long time, by an order from the ſultan Abd-el-rachman-el-raſhid; and here he ſuffered a dangerous illneſs, and was robbed by the villainy of his agent who attended him from Kahira.

The route of Mr. Browne on his return from Dar-Fûr was through Kahira, and thence to Damiatt. On the occaſion of mentioning this latter place, he relates an anecdote deſcriptive of the character of the people under the Mamlûk government:

'A circumſtance had recently occurred, tending to paint the character of the people under the Mamlûk government. A caſhef, but not of the higheſt order, under Murad Bey, who had been diſgraced a ſhort time before, retired to Damiatt to avoid his maſter's anger. He had not long reſided there, when, having heard more favourable tidings, he made an inquiry for ſome perſon, capable of exchanging for him a ſum in Turkiſh money, for the like in that of Europe current in the country. Accordingly three Jews were found, who promiſed to ſupply him according to his deſire. They went round the city, and borrowed much in addition to what they already poſſeſſed, and at length carried to the caſhef to the amount of between five and ſix thouſand patackes. He was no ſooner furniſhed with the money, than he directed the Jews to be murdered, and his boats being ready, cauſed their bodies to be packed in baſkets, and put into a ſmall boat of his train. He then ſet off for Kahira. On arriving at a village a little way up the river, the baſkets were diſembarked, and he ordered them to be ſafely lodged till further directions ſhould be given. It was ſome time before the villagers took notice of the packages, or dared to open them in the abſence of the owner. But at length having obſerved a quantity of blood near one of them, and entertaining ſuſpicions, they opened the three, and news was immediately carried to Damiatt that the three Jews had been found in this condition. Thoſe under whoſe cognizance ſuch accidents are, made a memorial of the whole affair to Murad Bey. He replied only by loud laughter, ſaying, "Are they not three dogs? There is an end of them."

At Damiatt, the author embarked for Yaffé, at which place he arrived after a paſſage of five days; he viſited Jeruſalem, Beruth, Naploſa, Nazareth, Acré,* Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, Aleppo, Damaſcus; and from Antioch he proceeded to Conſtantinople.

At Damaſcus, the author ſaw the entrance of the grand caravan from Mecca:

'On the day after my arrival, I was entertained with the entrance

* We have given under our head of Characters, in this volume, an account of the celebrated Paſha Jezzâr of Acré.

of

of the grand caravan from Mecca. The ſtreet was lined for ſome miles, for ſuch is its length, with innumerable ſpectators, all impreſſed with curioſity, ſome with anxiety to ſee their friends and relations, many with reverence for the ſacred proceſſion. Some of the more opulent Hajaîs, or pilgrims, were carried in litters, *(tattarawân)*, but the greater number in a kind of panniers, two and two, placed on the back of camels. They did not appear much fatigued, though it was ſaid they had ſuffered from the want of water.

'On the Saturday following, was the entrance of the Paſha of Damaſcus, who is commonly the *Bmîr-el Hadje*, or chief of the caravan by office. Firſt appeared three hundred dellis, or cavalry, mounted on Arabian horſes, variouſly armed and clothed, but on the whole forming no mean diſplay. Theſe were ſucceeded by fifteen men on dromedaries, with muſquetoons, or large carbines, placed before them, and turning on a ſwivel, in every direction. This deſtructive inſtrument of war is ſaid to have paſſed from the Perſians to the Syrians. Some of the great officers of the city followed, well mounted, and decently attired. Then came part of the Paſha of Tripoli's Janizaries, well clothed and armed; that Paſha himſelf, with his officers, and the remainder of his guard. Next was the tattarawân belonging to the Paſh of Damaſcus, another body of four hundred dellis, a company of thirty muſquetoons, a hundred and fifty Albanians, in uniform, and marching two and two, like our troops. Before the latter was borne the ſtandard of the prophet, *Senjiak Sherifi*, of green ſilk, with ſentences of the korân embroidered in gold, and the magnificent canopy brought from Mecca, guarded by a ſtrong body of Muggrebîns, or weſtern Arabs, on foot. Then paſſed the paſha's three tails, (generally of white horſes) borne by three men on horſeback; twelve horſes, a (paſha of two tails has only ſix) richly capariſoned, and each bearing a ſilver target and a ſabre; ſix led dromedaries, in beautiful houſings; numbers of the chief perſons of the city followed, among whom were the aga of the Janizaries, the governor of the caſtle, and the mohaſſel. Laſt came the paſha himſelf, in a habit of green cloth adorned with fur of the black fox, preceded by his two ſons, the eldeſt about fourteen, all mounted on the moſt ſpirited ſteeds of Arabia, and followed by his houſehold troops, to the number of four hundred, well armed and mounted. More than a hundred camels preceded the reſt, bearing the tents and baggage of the Paſha. The whole was conducted without any noiſe or tumult, to the great credit of the Damaſcene mob, who had been waiting ſeveral hours without their uſual repaſt.'

Reſpecting all works of the nature of that before us, in order to determine the writer's claim to public regard and gratitude, the ſum and novelty of the information communicated are principally to be conſidered. We have already ſaid that Mr. Browne relates many new and important facts: but they might have been told in a narrower compaſs, and would have been more uſeful if more methodically diſpoſed. The want of arrangement is indeed a material evil; and if the author confeſſes this want,

he only ſhifts, but does not entirely remove, the cenſure which is to be attached to him. Mental entertainment is an object, we heſitate to ſay a ſubordinate one, at which books of travels aim; and although we are not able, perhaps, to exhibit paſſages which claim the praiſe of elegance of narration or grandeur of deſcription, ſtill we frequently, during the peruſal of the book, found our attention engaged and our curioſity gratified. Yet, if mental entertainment was intended, mental diſguſt muſt be the ſure conſequence of ſeveral parts of the work, which are obnoxious to the feelings and opinions of the generality of readers. Some paſſages, a regard to delicacy ſhould have expunged; and ſome ſhould have been ſuppreſſed from a becoming reſpect for the prejudices of mankind. The pomp of language but imperfectly conceals the obſcenity of ideas; and images of corrupt enjoyment may be ſeen through the veil of a writer's alluſions. Religion, of whatever kind, or denomination, is invaded ſometimes by inſinuation, and ſometimes by direct and open attack. The follower of Mohammed and the diſciple of Chriſt ſeem to be alike objectionable to Mr. Browne; and he ſpeaks of 'an infernal hatred which two divinely inſpired religions could alone inſpire.—His ſtyle, comprehending under that term *images* and their *ſigns*, is open to great reprehenſion.

Yet, after all abatements have been made from the praiſe of the author, much muſt remain to him. As a traveller, he appears to poſſeſs many excellent qualities; patience, courage, addreſs, vigilance of obſervation, and acuteneſs of diſcernment. Eſtimating him as a writer, we have to wiſh that, to a mind fraught with knowledge, had been added a better judgement; and that he had formed his ſtyle on chaſter models. If his language be ſometimes nervous, it is ſeldom pure; when he attempts grandeur, he is only gorgeous; and he is conciſe and abrupt, without being impreſſive and energetic.

In a word, had he been leſs deſirous of ſwelling his volume, he might have made greater additions to the ſtock of knowledge; and, with a more moderate ambition of ſaying things ſplendidly and forcibly, he might have deſerved the praiſe of having adorned and enforced the dictates of truth.

The Works of Sir William Jones, in 6 Vols. 4to. 1799.

THE greater part of the tracts, contained in theſe volumes, have been in the poſſeſſion of the public for ſome years back, and have already received the attention due to productions of their diſtinguiſhed merit; their value has been too long known, and too juſtly eſtimated to require on our part any detailed examination of their reſpective merits; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with giving a general account of the ſeveral eſſays, &c. in this work, and with pointing out thoſe more peculiarly deſerving notice.

To the firſt volume, the editor has prefixed the diſcourſe delivered by lord Teignmouth to the Aſiatic Society, on the death of their illuſtrious preſident.

This volume contains the whole of ſir William's Diſcourſes to the Aſiatic Society that are publiſhed

in their Reſearches. In the preliminary diſcourſe, he opens the plan of the inſtitution, by taking a comprehenſive view of its nature and object, and by ſhewing, with equal truth, ability and eloquence, the beneficial effects, which, through induſtry and perſeverance, it would infallibly produce. And it is, perhaps, the higheſt praiſe we can beſtow on this performance, to ſay, that the hopes which it expreſſes are now completely realized.

In the ſecond anniverſary diſcourſe, he develops more fully the principles of thoſe ſubjects which it belonged to the ſociety to inveſtigate, and draws a general and pleaſing picture of the ſtate of the arts and ſciences in Aſia, which he repreſents as containing many hidden treaſures, that, when brought to light, would not only be valuable to philoſophy, but ſerviceable to the political and commercial intereſts of mankind.

The third anniverſary diſcourſe contains an elegant epitome of the natural hiſtory of the Hindûs. He commences with a geographical deſcription of India, upon the moſt enlarged ſcale, which he conſiders nearly equal in extent to the continent of Europe. He then proceeds to give a few outlines of the character of the Hindûs, and quotes a beautiful paſſage from the geographical poem of Dionyſius, to prove that this extraordinary people have not changed either in their appearance or manners, during a long courſe of ages. The learned preſident next obſerves, that their civil hiſtory, "beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, from the preſent time, is involved in a cloud of fables," and that we poſſeſs only four general *media* of ſatisfying our curioſity concerning it, namely, "their languages and letters, their philoſophy and religion, their old ſculpture and architecture, and the written memorials of their ſciences and arts." Of all theſe, he gives a moſt learned and intereſting account; and from the whole he draws this concluſion, "that the Hindûs had an immemorial affinity with the old Perſians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuſcans; the Scythians or Goth, and Celts; the Chineſe, Japaneſe, and Peruvians; and that, as no reaſon appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of thoſe nations, or any of thoſe nations from them, it may be fairly inferred, and that they all proceeded from ſome central country."

The fourth diſcourſe gives a conciſe account of the Arabs previous to the Mahommedan revolution, together with ſome admirable philological remarks on their language, and ſome obſervations on their ancient religion, monuments, and arts. Of their religion, he obſerves, "we may ſafely pronounce, that before the introduction of Mahommedaniſm, the noble and learned Arabs were Theiſts, but that a ſtupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people. That until their emigration, no trace of any philoſophy but ethicks, is to be found among them; and that even their ſyſtem of morals, generous and enlarged as it ſeems to have been in the minds of a few illuſtrious chieftains, was on the whole miſerably depraved for a century, at leaſt, before Mahommed."—"The diſtinguiſhing virtues, which they boaſted of inculcating and practiſing, were, a contempt of riches, and even of death; but in the age

of the ſeven poets, their liberality had deviated into wild profuſion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obſtinate ſpirit of encountering fruitleſs dangers."

The reſult of the learned author's inquiries concerning Arabia ſeems to confirm the hypotheſis, that the Hindûs and Arabs are totally diſtinct races of people; but that a commercial intercourſe had ſubſiſted between them from time immemorial.

Tartary, which an elegant writer has, by a ſtrong metaphor, denominated the "foundery of the human race," is the ſubject of the learned preſident's fifth diſcourſe. He gives a general but accurate deſcription of that vaſt region; he takes a view of the manners of its inhabitants; of their languages and letters; of their progreſs in civilization; of the ſpirit of their religion and laws; of their civil hiſtory; of their ancient monuments; and of their proficiency in arts and ſciences antecedent to the age of Zengiz Khân: and the general corollary which he forms from the whole of the facts and circumſtances brought forward in this and the two preceding diſcourſes, is to the following effect; namely, "That the far greater part of Aſia has been peopled, and immemorially poſſeſſed by three conſiderable nations, called Hindûs, Arabs, and Tartars; each of them divided and ſub-divided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them ſo different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that if they ſprang originally from a common root, they muſt have been ſeparated for ages."

In his ſixth diſcourſe he deſcribes the ancient empire of Irân, better known by the name of Perſia, and gives a deeply-learned and moſt maſterly diſſertation on the three dialects of that country, the *Zend*, the *Pahlavì*, and the *Pârsì*. The *Zend* and *Old Pahlavì*, he informs us, "are almoſt extinct in Irân: for among ſix or ſeven thouſand gabrs, who reſide chiefly at Yezd, and in Cirmân, there are very few who can read *Pahlavì*, and ſcarce any who can even boaſt of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pârsì*, which remains almoſt pure in the Shâhnâmah, has now become, by the intermixture of numberleſs Arabic words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquiſitely poliſhed, by a ſeries of fine writers in proſe and verſe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in Europe, after the ſubverſion of the Roman empire." This laſt language, ſo formed, is that which is written and ſpoken by the modern Perſians, and which is as generally underſtood in all the poliſhed nations of Aſia, but particularly in India, as the French is in Europe: it is the current language of courts, and that in which all ſtate affairs are tranſacted. The *Zend*, which was the learned language of ancient Perſia, and in which the *Zeratuſht*, or Zoroaſter,* wrote, ſir William Jones, inconteſtably proves to have been a dialect of the Sanſcrêet. And he is decidedly of opinion that the *Pah-*

* M. Anquetil du Perron, the author of the Zendaveſtà, which he aſſerts was written by Zoroaſter, but which is, in fact, a mere modern fabrication, has given vocabularies of the Zend and Pahlavì dialects, that the Parſiis at Surat enabled him to compile, and that confirms the opinion of ſir William Jones.

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lavì was derived from the Chaldaick.

Of the primeval religion of *Iràn*, he obſerves, "That it was that which ſir Iſaac Newton calls the oldeſt of all religions, namely, "a firm belief that one ſupreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged perſons; a paternal affection for the whole human ſpecies, and a compaſſionate tenderneſs even for the brute creation."—Nothing ſurely can be more truly ſublime, than ſuch a ſyſtem of devotion; "a ſyſtem which," as ſir William well obſerves, "was too pure to be of long duration among mortals." It was ſucceeded by the theology of Zoroaſter, which was, in fact, a corruption of the Brahminical ſyſtem.

The ſeventh diſcourſe treats of the Chineſe; reſpecting whom he confines himſelf to a philoſophical inquiry into their origin, which he traces to the ſame ſource as that of the Hindûs. And he obſerves, in our opinion with the moſt perfect accuracy, that the *Buddha* of the Hindûs, was unqueſtionably the *Foe* of China. There is indeed ſufficient evidence now in our poſſeſſion, to juſtify us in ſaying without reſerve, that the religion of the Chineſe and Japaneſe, is, with a few inconſiderable exceptions, the ſame in its principles, as that of the avowed followers of *Buddha* in the iſland of Ceylon, in the Pegue or Burman empire, in Siam, and in Butan and Thibet. This religion is ſuppoſed to have been introduced into China about the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra.

In the eighth diſcourſe he takes a wide ſurvey of the borderers, mountaineers, and iſlanders of Aſia. He commences in the Red Sea; and, after making ſome remarks on the *Abyſſinians*, and paying a juſt compliment to the talents and accuracy of the celebrated Mr. Bruce, he encircles all Aſia, obſerving the characters, languages, and religions of the inhabitants of its principal iſlands and mountains; and concludes with a general deſcription of the ancient Greeks and Phrygians, and the iſlanders in the Mediterranean.

His ninth diſcourſe, *On the origin of families and nations*, forms a general corollary to the foregoing diſſertations, and is certainly the moſt ingenious, and not the leaſt learned, or finiſhed of his lucubrations on Aſiatic literature. But whether his reaſoning be as concluſive, as it is ſplendid and plauſible, is a queſtion of too much importance to be lightly diſcuſſed, and which we ſhall therefore poſtpone until a future occaſion. It is ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, that he endeavours to eſtabliſh the hypotheſis that all the various races of mankind originally migrated from Perſia. His concluding paragraph, however, contains ſo much truth, expreſſed with ſo much force and elegance, that we cannot deny ourſelves the pleaſure of citing it.

"My deſign," ſays he, "of tracing the origin and progreſs of the five principal nations, who have peopled Aſia, and of whom there were conſiderable remains, in their ſeveral countries, at the time of Mahommed's birth, is now accompliſhed; ſuccinctly, from the nature of theſe eſſays; imperfectly, from the darkneſs of the ſubject, and ſcantineſs of my materials; but

clearly and comprehenſively enough, to form a baſis for ſubſequent reſearches. You have ſeen as diſtinctly as I am able to ſhew, who thoſe nations originally were, whence and when they removed toward their final ſtations; and in our future annual diſcourſes, I propoſe to enlarge on the particular advantages to our country and to mankind, which may reſult from our ſedulous and united inquiries into the hiſtory, ſcience, and arts of theſe Aſiatic regions, eſpecially of the Britiſh dominions in India, which we may conſider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true intereſt; and we ſhall concur, I truſt, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whoſe manly happineſs is our duty, and will of courſe be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor ſecurely free without rational knowledge."

Aſiatic hiſtory, civil and natural, is the ſubject of his tenth diſcourſe. He begins with civil hiſtory, contrary to the rule laid down by lord Bacon, and gives a general outline of it. He informs us with ſtrict truth, "that all our hiſtorical reſearches have confirmed the Moſaic accounts of the primitive world;" and he well obſerves, "that our teſtimony on that ſubject ought to have the greater weight; becauſe, if the reſult of our obſervations had been totally different, we ſhould nevertheleſs have publiſhed them, not indeed with equal pleaſure, but with equal confidence; for truth is mighty; and whatever be its conſequences muſt always prevail."

The eleventh, and laſt diſcourſe, which ſir William Jones delivered about ſix weeks before his death, was on the philoſophy of the Aſiatics, of which he gives a very full and copious account; but from which we ſhall not at preſent make any extracts, becauſe the ſubject is far too abſtruſe to be intereſting to the great majority of our readers, and becauſe we have not room to comment on it, with that preciſion and minuteneſs which it demands.

Upon the whole, theſe diſcourſes muſt be eſteemed the moſt valuable of all ſir William Jones's writings. Taken collectively, they add largely to the ſtock of general knowledge; for they contain a variety of new and curious materials, whereby the philoſopher may illuſtrate the hiſtory of man, and the politician may advance the wealth, proſperity, and happineſs of nations. As to the ſtyle of the diſſertations, it is always eaſy, flowing, perſpicuous, and highly claſſical; ſometimes riſing into eloquence, and never ſinking into tameneſs: yet it is occaſionally tedious, owing to an extreme amplification of the periods; a mode of writing in which Cicero indeed excelled, but which is certainly unſuitable to the genius of our language. Even Clarendon's "period of a mile," (as Hayley terms it,) is often feeble, nothwithſtanding that fire and energy of mind which he unqueſtionably poſſeſſed; and we therefore think ſir William judged ill in endeavouring to imitate him. The capacious and aſſociating minds, however, of both theſe great men, had a natural tendency to lapſe into ſuch a ſtyle.

The next tract in the firſt volume of ſir William Jones's works, is a diſſertation on the orthography of

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Aſiatic words, in Roman letters, a ſubject that ought to be ſtrictly attended to by ſtudents in Oriental literature, as the caprice ſhewn by different writers in ſpelling Aſiatic words, has occaſioned great confuſion, and many miſtakes.

His next diſſertation is on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India; wherein he enters into a moſt learned and ingenious inveſtigation to prove the affinity between the ſyſtems of Polytheiſm that prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, and the popular worſhip of the Hindûs; and moreover to ſhew that, in fact, they reſemble the ſtrange religions of Egypt, China, Perſia, Phrygia, Phenicia, Syria, and, perhaps, ſome of the iſlands and northern kingdoms of America: that as to the Gothic ſyſtem which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, it was not merely ſimilar to thoſe of Greece and Italy, but almoſt the ſame in another dreſs, with an embroidery of images apparently Aſiatic. He then draws a curious parallel between the gods of the Indian and European heathens, and infers from it, that a connection actually ſubſiſted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece and Italy, "long before they emigrated to their ſeveral ſettlements, and conſequently before the birth of Moſes; but that the truth of this propoſition in no degree affects the truth and ſanctity of the Moſaic hiſtory, which, if confirmation were neceſſary, it would rather tend to confirm."

An inquiry into the chronology of the Hindûs comes next; and our author fathoms the ſubject with great depth of learning as well as with ſingular ability. He leaves no part of it unexplored: and he diſplays a very extenſive and accurate knowledge of aſtronomical ſcience.

A moſt learned and ſcientific diſſertation on the antiquity of the Indian zodiac follows the above inquiry; and he has demonſtrated, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, in confutation of the opinion maintained by the ingenious M. Montúcla, "that the Indian diviſion of the zodiac was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs, but has been known by the Hindûs from time immemorial, and was probably invented by the firſt progenitors of that race, before diſperſion."

His next tract is on the literature of the Hindûs, in which he gives a ſuccinct account of the principal books extant among them, taken from a Sanſcrêet book, intituled, a view of learning, communicated to him by a learned Pandit. To this account he has ſubjoined an intereſting commentary, ſhewing the progreſs which the Bràhmans have made both in practical and ſpeculative knowledge. Among a variety of very curious facts, he informs us, Mohſani Fáni, the author of the Dabiſtàn, deſcribes in his firſt chapter a race of old Perſian ſages, who appear, from the whole of his account, to have been Hindûs; and we cannot doubt that the book of Mahábád or Menu, which was written," he ſays, "in a celeſtial dialect, means the Véda; ſo that as Zoroaſter was only a reformer, we find in India the true ſource of the ancient Perſian religion. From the Védas," continues ſir William, "are immediately deduced the practical arts of chirurgery and medicine, muſic,

muſic, dancing, and archery, which comprize the whole art of war and architecture, under which the ſyſtem of mechanical arts is included." —"Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans, from the various medical books in Sanſcrêet, which contain the names and deſcriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uſes, diſcovered by experience, in curing diſorders." Of the Sanſcrêet language he obſerves, "that its proſody contains almoſt all the meaſures of the Greek; and that it is remarkable, that the language of the Bràhmans runs very naturally into Sapphicks, Alcaicks, and Iambicks." Aſtronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: ſeventy nine of them are ſpecified in one liſt; and if they contain the names of the principal ſtars viſible in India, with obſervations on their poſitions in different ages, what diſcoveries may be made in ſcience, and what certainty attained in ancient chronology!"

The other tracts in the firſt volume conſiſt of ſome remarks on the Second Claſſical Book of the Chineſe; of a Scientific Diſſertation on the Lunar Year of the Hindûs; of a Treatiſe on the Muſical Modes of the Hindûs; of a Philological Account of the myſtical Poetry of the Perſians and Hindûs; of the Iſland of Hinzuan; of a Converſation with an Abyſſinian concerning the City of Gwender and the Source of the Nile; and ſome Remarks on the Courſe of the Nile, of a Treatiſe on the Indian Game of Cheſs; and of five or ſix ſhort Miſcellaneous Eſſays on Oriental Subjects. Of theſe tracts, that on the muſical modes of the Hindûs, is the moſt intereſting, and by far the moſt elegant; but all of them contain much curious information, and manifeſt the univerſal learning and ſtrenuous diligence of their author.

The ſecond volume of theſe works contains ſeveral valuable botanical eſſays, compriſing obſervations on Indian plants, together with a catalogue of them, giving their Sanſcrêet, and as many of their Linnæan names, as could with any degree of preciſion be aſcertained. After theſe eſſays, follows his celebrated grammar of the Perſian language, the univerſally acknowledged merits of which render it altogether uſeleſs to praiſe. The preface to the grammar is one of the moſt maſterly, ſpirited, and elegant of all ſir William Jones's philological compoſitions.

To the Grammar, the editor of theſe works has added, a hiſtory of the Perſian language, which it was ſir William's original intention to have annexed to it in the year 1771, when the grammar was firſt printed. In this treatiſe, he takes a comprehenſive view of his ſubject, traces the progreſs of the Perſian language through a period of two thouſand years, and relieves the dryneſs of the narrative by interſperſing it with pleaſing citations from the poets and moral writers of Perſia.

The laſt tract in this volume is a Commentary on Aſiatic Poetry, written in the Latin language, and it is no leſs diſtinguiſhed for various and extenſive learning, than for pure taſte, and correct and elegant compoſition. Our only material objection to this treatiſe, is, the language in which it is written. Surely the Engliſh tongue is ſufficiently copious to expreſs our

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ideas on any ſubject whatever. Why then render a work of this nature repulſive to men of the world, by writing in a language in which, it is well known, they are not converſant? It has indeed been ſaid, in defence of the practice of writing on learned ſubjects in the Latin, that, as it is a general language, it introduces a performance at once into the great commonwealth of letters. But as the French language is univerſally known throughout Europe, and as moſt Engliſh works of any importance, have, for theſe twenty years paſt, been tranſlated into that tongue, we confeſs we can diſcover no poſſible utility in compoſing intereſting works in Latin, eſpecially on Oriental ſubjects, which it ſhould be our firſt endeavour to clothe in an agreeable and familiar attire.

In the third volume of theſe works, we come to the moſt important and valuable of all ſir W. Jones's tranſlation, namely, his Verſion of the Inſtitutes of Hindû Law, or, the Ordinances of Menu, according to the Gloſs of Callnca, literally tranſlated from the Sanſcrêet original. This work is a compendium of that ſyſtem of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, which the Hindûs believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by Menu, the grandſon of Brahmà, and the oldeſt and holieſt of legiſlators. According to the calculation of the learned tranſlator, it received its preſent form about 880 years before the birth of our Saviour, and about 300 years ſubſequent to the promulgation of the Védas, or Hindû ſcriptures. No production of the preſent age contains ſo much new and curious matter. It throws more light upon the Hindû ſyſtem than all the publications that have heretofore appeared on the ſubject; and it proves beyond all diſpute that the people of India had made great advances in civilization, at a period when the nations of Europe were in the rudeſt ſtage of ſocial life. But it is peculiarly worthy of obſervation, that in many parts of it we find much of the wiſdom, ſublimity, and eloquence of the ſacred ſcriptures; and though the text be deformed with innumerable abſurdities, it always breathes the ſpirit of legiſlation and the fervour of a pious morality.

The laſt tracts in the third volume are, The Mahommedan Law of Succeſſion to the Property of Inteſtates, in Arabic, from an original manuſcript, with a verbal tranſlation, preface, and notes; and, The Mahommedan Law of Inheritance from the Arabic text of Sirajiyyah, with a preface and commentary. Both theſe tracts are of the utmoſt importance towards the due adminiſtration of civil juſtice in India, inaſmuch as it regards upwards of three millions of Britiſh Mahommedan ſubjects; and they ought therefore to be ſtudied with the greateſt attention, by all gentlemen intending to enter the civil ſervice of the hon. company.

The three remaining volumes, conſiſt of many elegant compoſitions in Hindû literature, and ſome intereſting tranſlations from the Sanſcrêet.

Aſiatic Reſearches; or, Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the Hiſtory and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and

and Literature, of Asia. Vol. V. Printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition. 8vo.

WHILE we look with satisfaction to the progress of this useful society, we cannot avoid repeating our concern for the loss of the amiable and excellent institutor of so liberal a plan, which has been productive of so much information. The investigations of this society are bound only by the geographical limits of Asia. The field of their researches is not only immense, but fertile in every topic that can excite curiosity or furnish entertainment. The members are not confined to Hindostan, but extend to China, to Japan, to Tartary, to Tibett, to the sterile deserts of Arabia, and to the beautiful provinces of Persia.

A space so unbounded has engaged the attention and care of the Asiatic society since its first institution, and the topics of their inquiry have been vast and without measure. They have examined whatever is performed by men, or produced by nature, within the limits they have prescribed to themselves. They have exhibited accounts of natural productions; have examined the records of empires and states; they have disentangled the perplexities of pure and mixed mathematics; have speculated on ethics and law; and, to unbend, in the softer amusements of literature, have displayed the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention.

Objects so interesting cannot but excite a desire for a farther acquaintance with them; four volumes * have been already published, and the fifth now makes its appearance; but the lucubrations of the Asiatic society have not been so widely diffused as their merit deserved. Nearly the whole of the impression is distributed in the East Indies, therefore very few copies reach Europe; and this, amongst other reasons, has given rise to the present re-publication, which contains the whole of the transactions of the society, without abridgement or mutilation.

We cannot dismiss this article without observing that in the five volumes of this work may be found nearly all the truly valuable articles which compose the pompous and expensive work we have just reviewed, that is to say, all those publications of sir William Jones, on subjects connected with Oriental Literature, Natural History, or Antiquities, which received his last corrections, and were presented by him in a finished state to the society, of which he was so distinguished a member.

* For an account of the third and fourth volumes of this work see our Register for 1797.

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T. Burton, Printer,
Little Queen-ſtreet